anarchist weekly

DECEMBER 19 1970 Vol 31 No 40

AT THE END of a week of the power men's work-to-rule three things emerged:

The extent to which this nation of 50 million depends upon the continuance at work of 124,000 electricians;

The extent to which this nation of 50 million doesn't give a damn for the welfare of those electriians: and

The complete failure of the Elec-trical Trades Union to ensure that adequate presentation of their case was put before the public by every means of com-munication possible.

This combination of factors has resulted in bitterness and in some cases violence on the part of the bewildered public and a swinging of public opinion towards support for the Government's 'get tough' line

with the unions.

Much of this is due to the suddenness of the power cuts and to the surprise felt by most people at the effect in terms of inconvenience and even danger, each time the power failed. Nobody likes to discover that they are completely dependent on somebody else, and the sudden realisation of the importance in our lives of the working men behind every plug and socket and switch, and the amount to which we depend on the current they generate for us and keep coming through the wires for us and keep maintained for us and keep safe for us has shaken rigid millions of unthinking people who ng laid on for them at the flick

of a switch The great British Public moan like hell at every price increase in public utilities—but never think that at the end of the line is a man with a family and kids just like them with a standard of living to fight for standard of living to fight for-ind that the present Government is determined to depress the standard of living of every worker in the country if they possibly can, in order to maintain some financial myth like

the balance of payments.

'Alienation' is a popular in-word nowadays, and electricity is a classic product to provide a classic example of how alienation exists in modern

IS ANYBODY THERE?

When we all fired our cooking ranges and warmed our homes by coal we could see, feel and smell the coalman coming to our cellar door and tipping the dirty, heavy black stuff right where we told him we wanted it. We handled the coal ourselves and knew it had been dug out of the bowels of the earth by men of the bowels of the earth by men risking their lives in the dark to get it for us to burn. It was real and we could believe in real men at every stage of its production and distribution; we saw trains full of it

every stage of its production and distribution; we saw trains full of it (the great puffing trains themselves were fired by it) and railway sidings piled high with it. It existed.

But electricity? Ask the average person what it is and he looks at you blankly and mutters something about energy. Most of the housewives and unproductive parasites who are getting incensed about the power men's action today haven't a clue about anything more than changing a fuse. Who are these power men? The only representatives of the electricity boards that we usually see are the meter-readers who whizz in and out like lightning at inconvenient moments of the day and who seem to be responsible for us getting a bloody great bill for juice that we are convinced we haven't consumed.

When the dustmen went on strike we could understand what was happening, for dustmen are people that

UBLE BEINGONS

we can see and smell, if not touch. We see them grunt as they heave our overloaded dustbins into their clanking dustcarts. Where they take it all we don't wish to know, but at least the dustmen can be seen to be real. But electrical power wor-kers. . . ? If we think of them as real people then they are simply taken for granted, and since they run a public utility upon which we depend twenty-four hours a day we don't expect them ever to stop working for us no matter what the conditions or pay imposed upon them from above.

APPALLING PROPAGANDA

To this natural alienation has been added the propaganda powers of the media—all securely in the hands of the workers' traditional class enemies. Press stories of the effects of the work-to-rule have not told us about how Lady Ballswhen she had the Duke to dinner, or how they were downing their brandies by candlelight in the Atheneum—we have instead had our humanitarian withers wrung by tales of the old folks' homes and the hospitals in danger, the kidney machines that might stop and the operations postponed.

A tremendous amount of appalling propaganda has gone un-answered, reaching its lowest point in the vicious, ugly, unfunny and reactionary cartoon by Jak (whose work is always ugly and tasteless and who has certainly earned himself a lamp-post with this effort) in the Evening Standard for December 10. This was challenged—by trades unionists on the Standard staff, who refused to print the paper unless a statement was printed alongside the cartoon, expressing disagreement with it and solidarity with the electricians.

By the end of the week feelings were rising among newspaper workers-especially among the electri-cians on newspaper staffs-against the tide of propaganda against the power men, and by the time these

words appear in print it may be that they will have had an effect on the reactionary rubbish spewed out.

But here we come to our third point: the failure in public relations by the ETU, who have done practically nothing to put forcefully appeared.

tically nothing to put forcefully the men's case before the public. In the first place most people think of the action as a strike, which it was not. It was a work-to-rule, which means what it says, but since the public simply see the lights go out—this means 'strike', and the Press has gone along with this.

THE PRICE OF PRODUCTIVITY AGREEMENTS

What a work-to-rule means is that the workers operate strictly accord-ing to the rules and laws for working and for safety laid down by the employers, in agreement with the official trades unions. Now in recent years, productivity agreements have been forced upon the unions in re-turn for wage increases, which have

blurred the edges of each man's work. A certain amount of shiftwork, of overtime, of overlapping and understaffing, of doing another man's work, of redundancy, has been agreed by the unions to get the wage claims met and chalk up a 'victory

Well, the bills for these 'victories' are now being presented. Not only is the present wage claim being resisted, but the concessions which have been wrung out of the workers in previous battles are now being shown to be regarded as 'normal'

shown to be regarded as 'normal' working and further wage increases can be blocked.

As well as all these agreed 'blurring of the edges', in the actual day-to-day running of electricity supply, many of the rules have to be ignored. Men have not only, for instance, to stand in for somebody else from time to time to keep the wheels time to time, to keep the wheels turning, but they have in fact to arrangements affict with procedures the down the Electricity Board's Book of

'Work-to-rule' means simply that you work your 8-hour day and go back to doing things as the rule book and the official agreements say you should. The fact that this means blackouts and reduced voltages show how bloody silly these rules are and how the running of agreements depends all the time upon the good-will and the co-operation of the workers.

The same workers which the yellow press is now calling murderers and vilifying as callous, greedy and all the rest. (The fact that the same yellow press defends, lives off and believes in an economic system which is greedy, callous and murderous is overlooked!)

The facts are that over the past side. No doubt it is a ticklish prob

three years, productivity has risen by 22 per cent while manpower has fallen by 17 per cent—26,000 out of a work force of 150,000. So 26,000 fewer men are producing 22 per cent more electricity! During those three years, power men's pay has dropped well below the national average. The basic pay of an electrican in the power industry is £15 17s. 6d.! But take-home pay, because of compulsory shift-work, overtime, etc., is in the region of £24 a week (which shows how much more than a straight 8-hours they have to work), and still, power workers are paid less than electricians in, say, the building industry and much less than those in, say, newspaper production.

So those who actually produce the juice, and steer it to your homes and factories, get less than those who help the consumers at the point of use. More, those who are at the receiving end are in touch with other, richer industries, in touch with the consumers, while those trucked away in the power stations are not. We are back to our alienation. As far as dangerous situations arising from power cuts, the yellow press omitted to say that the union issued explicit instructions on how to avoid emergencies arising in hospitals, while the Board itself has said that the supply would have to drop by something like 80 per cent before hospitals need be in any real danger. In fact, no cuts were more than 30 per cent. It seems that what might well have happened is that some officials in power stations might well have deliberately organised provocative and irresponsible cuts in order to aggravate public opinion against the power men

But here we come again to the union's failure on the public relation

lem, since all the mass media was against them, but surely some more determined effort to tell the public the facts should have been made. The union was not paying out any strike pay, and have plenty of money in the kitty. Why could it not have bought space in the newspapers, or time on commercial radio and TV to explain, first, exactly what the men's demands were; secondly, the back-ground history of the time the dis-pute had been building up, and thirdly, just what a work-to-rule means as distinct from a strike? After all, for public utility workers, public opinion is very important—especially with the Labour Relations
Act in the offing—and if the battles
looming on the horizon are to be
won, then a great deal of public
education has to be carried out.

If they were not prepared to do it.

If they were not prepared to do it that way, then the sort of action taken by the Evening Standard chapet should have been taken on a breget scale and much sooner. But the initiative was left with the bosses and their influential friends, and the best that can be said now is that a salutary lesson should be learned on just how dishonest and scurrilous the attacks can be from the mass media.

attacks can be from the mass media. The other lesson that should be stressed is just how important the workers are! And far from becoming less important as industry gets more complicated and technical, they are getting more. The system gets more vulnerable, the more complex it becomes, the Government were even having to admit that traces could having to admit that troops could not take over the power stations if the full generating staffs were to come out, since they didn't have the necessary knowledge to run them. Since there's no substitute for workers, why don't they substitute themselves for the bosses?

TUSTIN

essons of December

A BOUT HALF A MILLION workers came out on strike on December 8 in response to the call made by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. In spite of the massive campaign that was built up during the preceding weeks in the press and on television against this strike action, the turnout was good, but the mass media are still being used to generally attack any action by trade unionists. There is no doubt that the opposition to the anti-trade union legislation has stirred up a hornets' nest and any group of workers who are putting forward a militant policy are coming under attack. From this one can only conclude that although the strike of December 8 was played down by the mass media, it was in fact a success. It was the biggest demonstration of the working class since 1926, particularly in Liverpool, Sheffield, Leeds and Southampton, while many places in Scotland were also affected. Most of the workers involved not only stopped work but also demonstrated their opposition. A BOUT HALF A MILLION workers

FUTILE LOBBY

In London about 20,000 took part in a

march that was a mile long, but the only impressive thing about the demonstration was its sheer size. The speeches in Hyde Park by Kevin Halpin, Chairman of the Liaison Committee, Bill Lindley of the Lightermen's Union, Bill Keys, SOGAT Division 'A' President, and Sid Bidwell, Labour MP, contained nothing that had not been said before. About 2,000 men went to the House of Commons to lobby MPs, but as on previous occasions, the police only let a few in at a time while they tightly contained the others. Many resented this treatment and there was considerable pushing and shoving, with one or two being dragged off by the police. The lobby was a futile exercise as always, but we are continually called upon to do this by the Liaison Committee.

What are the lessons to be learned from the strike of December 8? Firstly that there is a considerable number of trade unionists who are willing to strike against legislation that they abhor. Secondly, that when such political action is taken then those who side with the Government and legality are basically frightened when so many stop work.

The Press pulled out all the stops.

TWAS CHRISTMAS DAY IN THE BOARDROOM

WITH THE TORY PARTY cheerfully and willingly girding themselves for the Night of the Long Knives in what their lunatic majority fringe hope to be the long-demanded coup de grace against organised labour, one unpleasant fact must be acknowledged and that is that there is a large minority among the working class who openly give reluctant support to the Tory's intention to destroy

In large towns, isolated rural communities and in the small scabrous industrial townships, men and women isolated from the tooled wealth of our country accept the black propaganda of the right-wing press. Years of frontpaging every major or minor strike has given a sense of despair to too many working people when they find that, despite a lifetime in the company of the battles of the militant left, their standard of living still falls and the hard-saved wealth of a lifetime's work fades with each rise in the cost of living or the fall of the £. They will argue from the poisoned premises provided by the sewerpress of the right 'that there are no longer any rich people left' and that 'taxation has destroyed all the wealthy lazy to work now' and, dangerously, as in Europe in the nineteen-thirties, they can see no other solution to these false problems than the death of their own independence as individuals and the voluntary destruction of those workingclass institutions that men and women have been imprisoned or killed to create.

One would wish to point to the huge blocks of luxury housing units raping the London skyline and the window-displayed wealth within the select shopping street of the town-bound wealthy, but the suburban clerk and the entrapped factory hand will shrug an indifferent shoulder and deny that they exist or claim that they are but the mark of the American show people passing through our strikebound capital, but the sad fact is that millions of men and women who create the wealth of these islands will never see the end product of their labours and they will dismiss any mention of wealthy good taste or rich vulgarity in the hands of the many few as the sour machinations of jealous agitators when all the world and Enoch knows that their personal misery is the lot of all but a few selfish workers and that the rich are no longer with us and the ancient aristocracy long ago sold people' and that we as a class 'are too out and went to live in Bournemouth and

South Africa leaving us only Lord for the aged, the hungry and the home-George Brown and Harold Wilson bedded and boarded in the homes of the ancien régime with various unnamed members of the Trade Union Executive.

Every time one walks by a newlyrising block of luxury flats for the antiworking class, or passes showrooms full of sleek salesmen and expensive cars, or the guarded shops of London's Bond Street, one wonders why we of the working class are so tolerant of those who hate us, despise us and live off us, but propaganda is effective when given out every day in every edition of the right-wing press and who dare stand in judgement on people whose living space is four shabby walls in a concrete prison of industrial development.

Georgi Plekhanov defined propaganda as 'many ideas to a few persons' and agitation as 'one or a few ideas to a mass of people' and if one accepts Plekhanov's definitions it would seem that we, the anarchists, are the propagandists and the Tory establishment who are the agitators, for through every medium of communication they have hammered three simple themes into the people of these islands and that is that the rich no longer exist as a class, that we as a people are lazy and workshy, and that unless we surrender our individual freedom to the State we shall suffer a greater lowering of our standard of living. And, by God, they are nearly

This is Christmas when the collecting boxes are out and the strike-breaking, anti-social service, press will be weeping 1 Box 25 Bolivar Cigars

less, and the picture of Hitler's 1933 Germany with his low-browed SS and SA standing on street corners juggling collecting boxes in the name of Charity. the State and the Lord, comes more and more into focus for, like the 1933 German working class, too many among us fear for the future and will bow down to the gut-guzzling rich in the hope that Christmas will be as kind to them as it is to the rich.

But we are told that we no longer have our rich and in answer to that I would hang the food catalogue of Fortnum & Mason of Piccadilly on the altar within every church that rightly pleads for charity for the hungry in the name of the Lord, and alongside every poster pleading for help for those aged who are officially marked to die of cold this winter I would hang this catalogue as our national flag of shame for if we are a nation fighting for economic existence. if there are the hungry and the homeless among us and if it is accepted, officially, that so many old men and women will die of cold and underfeeding this winter, then let those who own our corrupt society explain away this well-advertised food hamper that Fortnum & Mason so proudly offer for sale for the sum of £125, repeat £125, and have on public display renewing it each time one is sold. For £125 the contents of this hamper are: 2 bottles F & M Non-Vintage Champagne 1 Glass Decanter filled with F & M Red

Seal Whisky in Gift Case

1 Terrine Foie Gras Aux Truffles Du Perigord

16 oz. Jar Finest Beluga Caviar

Whole Uncooked York Ham 2 lb. Box F & M Genuine Liqueur

Chocolates Bottle F & M Fruit Salad in Old

Brandy Cobalt and Rose Spray Jar filled with

Young Stem Ginger in Syrup Bottle F & M Real Turtle Soup

Tin French Coq Au Vin

'Old Foley' China Jar, Chinese Rose Design, filled with F & M Strawberry Preserve

Green Gondola Dish, with white and gold leaf, filled with Assorted Crystallised and Glacé Fruits

Tin F & M Petits Fours Maison

Bottle Clementines in Martell Brandy Decorated Mug filled with Finest Stilton Cheese

Wedgwood Jar filled with F & M Royal Blend Tea

Jar Royal Hawaiian Macadamia Nuts 1 Decorated Jar 'Lowestoft' filled with F & M Bath Salts

1 Glass F & M Venison in Port Wine and Red Currant Jelly

1 Bottle of F & M Elvas Plums in Gin.

God Rest you Merry Gentlemen but not at that price and not when the sick are uncared for, the homeless without a place at the inn even after 2,000 years, and the old, as with the infant Jesus, are marked to die for your unworthy

ARTHUR MOYSE.

December 8th

Continued from page 1

the Press. They think that the only way that people should participate in decision-making is at elections. They, together with the employers and the TUC, abhor the fact that trade unionists have voted with their feet. The Bill that is now going through the parliamentary process is out to stop action of this nature and the only weapon that the workers have to defeat it is industrial action.

STOPPAGES ARE TOO COSTLY

This Bill is directed not so much against the trade union leaders but against the rank and file and unofficial strikes. It is these strikes which threaten the profitability of the employers that are to be outlawed. Industry now has such heavy capital investment that any stoppage becomes very costly, while the intricate link-up for parts and components also poses a problem, for when a handful of workers are in dispute then this link-up collapses.

However, we should not lose sight of the fact that the Labour Government held the same views and they were also willing to enact legislation. It is for this reason that any campaign that is mounted against the present Bill should not be used for a return of the Labour Government as an alternative. They also had similar plans for trade unionists, they also brought back prescription charges, abolished free milk. In fact they mounted the attacks on the trade union movement and the social services and the Tories only took over where they left off Any

future Labour Government would act in the same way and those who are at present calling for a Labour Government with 'socialist policies' are either deluding themselves and others or are just after political recruits.

DEFY IT

The way to defeat this Bill is to defy it. If the trade union leaders called for such action it would meet with a ready response, but having done that, they would be scared stiff that they would be unable to control the situation. As Maurice Edelman, Labour MP, wrote in the Evening Standard about the 1926 General Strike, they could once again find themselves 'leading not a strike but a revolution. The moderates, Social Democrats to a man, found themselves challenging not just a Tory Government that they detested but a parliamentary democracy that they be-

However, because of the present complex nature of industry, any government must outlaw the unofficial strike. Because of this the workers have no alternative but to challenge these proposals, to break the law when the Bill is enacted and ultimately to challenge parliamentary democracy. This should not be done through the TUC but by the workers themselves.

At present the working class has not reached the stage when they feel that this challenge is necessary, but the state of the economy and the need for the Government to attack the social conditions is fast creating a climate where such a challenge is possible. Our task is to see that when it comes it will ultimately lead to social revolution and not be defeated. P.T.

IN CONFERENCE

anarchist conferences are not the the party hand-outs that is) but the social side is always acclaimed as a great success. The smoke-filled rooms of the pre- and post-conference gettogethers (and the smoke smelt a little different) were not filled with plots and vote-cat hing but enthralling accounts of street-fighting techniques in Belfast and, by a non-anarchist, 'How to Run a Libertarian Newspaper'.

This year's conference was called at shortish notice since comrades in Liverpool decided they could give hospitality and they were right-and probably everybody noticed that 1970 was slipping by without a conference.

The conference was foreshadowed by the issue of thoughtful documents by a 'conference of Northern anarchist groups' and a 14pp. pamphlet 'Towards a History and Critique of the Anarchist Movement in Recent Times' produced by a group at York University, which had been discussed by the Northern anarchist groups in their conference. Comrades from Lancaster and Swansea were also 'coming to the same criticisms

IT IS GENERALLY AGREED that as we were and not a few seemed to AFBIB and its impact and implications be reaching the same conclusions that sparkling successes that all political party we [from York] were forced to draw.' conferences appear to be (according to It is impossible to summarize the content of these documents; but several of the suggestions made, qualified as they were by safeguards, met much opposition on the grounds that a membership organization and (admittedly 'contromembers and the criteria for acceptance were held by some to be incompatible with anarchism.

> Discussion of these highly controversial themes was not helped by a heated wrangle on the 'students versus workers' issue and the contributions from time to time of a hippie-anarchist on the psycho-sociological aspects of the anarchist trend in 'relating' to the cosmos did not cast much light nor save much

Unfortunately, half of Saturday was taken up with group reports and the rest of Saturday was given over to discussion around the resolution (see last week's Freedom). Liverpool comrades had spontaneously improvised accommodation for Sunday's session, which as at all conferences, started late and there was only time to discuss the future of Ireland'.

on the malaise of the movement before adjourning for lunch. Unfortunately by this time, many comrades from a distance had departed partly because an afternoon and morning session for Sunday had not been foreseen. The writer was one of these, as were the other London comrades present so it is not known however that Leeds group had offered hospitality to 'a reorganisation conference to be convened within the next

JACK ROBINSON.

FOOTNOTE

This article was delayed owing to hasty layout of the paper due to threatened

Our contributor H is ill and unable, at the moment, to write 'The Week in



LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press, BLACK KNIGHT GROUP, 5 Nelson Road, N.8. Meeting Wednesdays.
LAVENDER HILL. Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyne-ham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086).
NOTTING HILL. Sebastian Scragg, 10 Bassett

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION.
Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill,
N.W.7. NEWHAM. Pat Keen, 26 Farringford Road, E.15.

REGULAR WEEKLY MEETINGS chapel High Street, E.1 (Aldgate East Station).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

RIEMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary, Peter Le Mare. 5 Hannafore Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Meetings every Sunday, 8 p.m., in the smoke room of St. Martin pub, corner of St. Martin's Lane and Jamaica Row.

BOURNEMOUTH AREA. Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset.

BRIGHTON & HOVE. Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton, Sussex 26 Clifton Road, Brighton, Sussex, UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX, Felicity Frank, Keynes Tower, University of Essex, Colchester, Essex, BRISTOL, c/o Ian Stanley, Flat 1, 32 Station Road, Bristol.

Road, Bristol.

CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall. Brian & Hazel McGee, Hillcrest Farm, Hicks Mill, Bissoe, Truro, Cornwall. Visiting comrades PEACE ACTION. Rory Weightman, P.C.T. Peace Action Group, St. Pauls Road, Portsmouth,

Hants.
CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. Laurens and Celia Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, CR4 8QH (653 7546) or contact Keith McCain, 1 Langmead Street, West Norwood, S.E.27. Phone 670 7297.
EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware Middy.

Middx.

FARNBOROUGH. 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey, Tel.: Farnborough 43811.

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

LEICESTER. Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester. Tel.: 29912.

LOUGHBOROUGH. Peter Davies, 67 Griffin Close, Shepshed, Loughborough, Leics., LE12 900. Tel.: 2117.

900. Tel. 2117.

MUTUAL AID GROUP, c/o Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. Terry Phillips, 70
Blenheim Walk, Corby, Northants.

NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact
M. Renick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, Newcastle on Tyne 6.

NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or
Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Webis.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP, Knockholt,
Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2916. Brian
and Maureen Richardson.

PORTSMOUTH. Ken Bowbrick, 26 Hambledon

and Maureen Richardson.
PORTSMOUTH. Ken Bowbrick, 26 Rambledon
House. Landport, Portsmouth, Hants.
READING. 26 Bulmershe Road. Tel.: Reading
65645. Meetings every Thursday.
TAUNTON. c/o Dave Poulson, 473 Bramley
Road, Taunton, Somerset. WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackgray

Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.

MERSEYSIDE. c/o John Cowan, 172a Lodge
Lane, Liverpool 8. Meetings first Sunday in each

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

NORTH ESSEX. Write: Peter Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. BASILDON & WICKFORD. Mick Powell, Glamis House, 24 Cameron Close, Brentwood,

BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House,
Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.
EPPING. John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue,
Epping, Esser.
HARLOW. Stephen Murrell, 34 Sharpecroft,
Essex.

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

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

N.W. Federation Scc.: Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Primrose, Lancaster. BLACKPOOL. Contact Christine and Graham, 2 Fenper Avenue, Southshore, Blackpool, BOLTON. Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, CHORLEY, Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Les Smith,

47 Clarence Street, Primrose, Lancaster.
MANCHESTER ANARCHISTS AND SYNDICALISTS. Jenny Honeyford, 33 Clyde Road,
Didsbury, Manchester, 21.
PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP, Rob Wilkinson, 73 Trafford Street, Preston. Meetings: 'The
Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdaya, 8 p.m.

SURREY FEDERATION

DORKING. Mungo Park, 16 Overdale Road, Dorking, Surrey. EPSOM. G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom. Tel. Epsom 23806. KINGSTON. Michael Squirrel, 4 Woodgate Ave., Hook, Chessington, GUILDFORD, Contact Epsom Group, MERTON, Elliot Burns, 13 Amity Grove, Lon-don, S.W.19, Tel. 01-946 1444.

YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Secretary: Contact Leeds Group.
HULL: Jim Young 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.
KEIGHLEY: Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street,

Keighley.
LEEDS. Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9LB.
SHEFFIELD: Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10. I. C. Wood, 65 Glencoe Road, Sheffield.
YORK. Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Hestington, North

WELSH FEDERATION

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS. J. Smith, Nanteos Mans, Aberystwyth, Cards. Bobus Marsland, c/o Students' Union, Laure Place, Aberystwyth, Cards. CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to:—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street. Splott, Cardiff.

SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. Meetings at the above address every Sunday at 7 p.m.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Temporary Secretary: Neil Munro, 203 Cornhill Drive, Aberdeen, ABERDEEN & PETERHEAD ANARCHISTS. Contact both groups via Neil Munro, 203 Cornhill Drive, Aberdeen. For 'Freedom' Sales: Ian & Peggy Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. Also, for contacts in Inveness. Peggy Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. Also for contacts in Inverness.

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

FIFE, Bob and Una Turnbull, Raith Home Farm, Raith Estate, Kirkcaldy.

GLASGOW. Moira Young, 91 Urghead Drive, Glasgow, S.W.1.

ROSS-SHIRE, Centact David Rodgers, Broomfield, Evanton, Ross-shire, Scotland.

NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP. No address ivailable. Letters c/o Freedom Press.

SOUTHERN IRELAND

20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.

STUDENT GROUPS

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

KEELE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Pete Hannah, c/o Students Union, University of Keele, Staffs.

OXFORD ANARCHISTS, Contact John Nygate, New College, Oxford; Steve Watts, Trinity College, Oxford.

SWANSEA. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, TAUNTON. Contact Dave Poulson, 47b Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset. YORK. Contact R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York. LSE. St. Clements Buildings, Houghton Street, LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY GROUP. At the Anarchist Bookstall, Union Foyer, every Friday lunch time or write Anarchist Group, Student Union, Liverpool University. SCHOOLS ANARCHIST GROUP, Kate & Joe, 3 Withy Lea, Leonard Stanly, nr. Stonehouse, GL10 3NS, Gloucestershire.
SCHOOLS ANARCHIST GROUP — BELFAST AREA. Michael Scott, Longshot, Ballyaughlis Lisburn.
UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX. Felicity Frank, Keynes
Tower. University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Tower, University of Essex, Colchester, Essex.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000. BELGIUM. Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Liège. rue Vivegnis, Liège.

RADICAL LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE, Box 2104, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017.

PROPOSED GROUPS

BERMONDSEY. Roy Heath, 58 Thurburn Square, S.E.I.
MONTREAL, QUEBEC. Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Sigler. Tel. 489-6432. EAST ANGLIAN LIBERTARIAN GROUP, John Sullivan, c/o Students Union, U.E.A., Wilberforce Road, Norwich, Norfolk, NOTFINGHAM and area. Contact Jim Hewson, 43 Henry Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham. NOVA SCOTIA. P. Ridley, c/o Newport Post Office, Newport, Nova Scotia, Canada. VANCOUVER I.W.W. and Libertarian group. Box 512, Postal St. 'A', Vancouver 1, B.C., Canada. Read 'The Rebel'—please send donation for postage.

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

D. H. LAWRENCE was born in the year 1887, at Eastwood, Notts., which was situated in a new and developing coalfield where a yearly hundred acres of the surrounding beautiful countryside was despoiled by smoking slag-heaps, pithead gears and ugly cottages. The contrast between the beauty of nature and the hideousness of industrialisation is often-very often-reflected throughout Lawrence's writing.

Lawrence's father was a miner with a native gaiety, having a sensuous delight in his working life. He resisted his wife's attempt to confer and share a greater measure of living. She was endowed with a censorious evangelicalism bestowed by a Primitive Methodist upbringing, and having been a school teacher, she had written some amount of verse. With this disappointment and with the advance of time, she grew gradually further away from her husband, with consequent unhappy and sordid scenes of quarrellingshattering the nerves and security of the young children. Such was the anguish of the home discord. So, she conferred all her high hopes and desires for betterment upon her favourite confidant, her son Bertie. He was, as he describes in Fantasia of the Unconscious,

forced towards consciousness and responsibility, into becoming his mother's man-what she dreamed and desired her husband might have been. What the father has failed the mother by not accepting responsibility for the next purposive step into the future' then, says D. H. Lawrence,

'the unhappy woman beats about for her insatiable satisfaction seeking

whom she may devour. Usually she turns to her child. Here she provokes what she wants. Here in her own son who belongs to her, she seems to find the perfect response for which she is craving-so she throws herself into a last great love for her son, a final and fatal devotion-that would have been the richness and strength of her husband and is poison to her boy. And then what? The son gets on swimmingly for a time-till he is faced with the fact of sex-necessity. He gleefully inherits his adolescence and the world at large, mother-supported, mother-loved. Everything comes to him in glamour, he feels and sees wondrous much, understands a whole heaven, mother stimulated. Think of the power which a mature woman thus infuses into her boy. He flares up like a flame in oxygen.'

They say geniuses mostly have great mothers. They mostly have sad fates, for to their persons is attached a label upon which is written the word tragedy. Thus was the circle of his existence determined. Because he was maimed emotionally so early in life, together with external events, D. H. Lawrence never attained a complete and free love relationship in adult life. The consequent frustration, enhanced by circumstances, was often terrible to endure. The inward agony great-to a nature essentially loving and

By dint of scholarships, Lawrence went

D. H. LAWRENCE

to Nottingham University College, His reading was wide and diverse throughout his life. He had a deep and shrewd insight into human persons-clearly defining the female principle, being free in his relationships, which were not of lasting duration, being formed from either sexual or intellectual attraction. When at Nottingham, and introduced into the Weeks family, he and the Professor's wife, Frieda, soon became aware of their mutual attraction and love. He was invited to take the husband's place in bed whilst the latter was away teaching. But Lawrence's affection was true and complete: it did not permit of subterfuge. Then, leaving three small children, Frieda and Lawrence eloped abroad. Frieda went with Lawrence because she had fallen in love with him and suffered agonies of regret for her children. The situation was charged with misery and suffering for everyone concerned-the genuine human difficulties of the children involved and Frieda's subsequent yearning to be with her children rarely left her and the tragical importance of her children in their two lives could hardly be exaggerated. It was often desperate. The anguish and distraughtness of Frieda's husband-a kindly, enlightened English Professor, who had helped Lawrence in his studies and early writing-is contained in his letters to her. There could be no doubt that these two persons were made for each other. From Frieda's narrative, it was certainly she who chose him and for Lawrence, after he met her, no other woman was possible and he came to depend more upon her than she him. But his fidelity was not matched. Frieda had many passionate affairs. Prussian officers, Italian peasants, Lawrence's friends and others. Loving for a season -not detracting from her basic love for Lawrence and her devotion to his genius. Lawrence was aware of the situation, which was often unbearable, and he was provoked and betrayed into violence upon a woman on two occasions. But he knew his dependence and the actions of Frieda set in a large part the mould of their life together.

Abroad, the Lawrences lived simply and travelled cheaply-coming to live in an old farm house at Pirinisco, up there in the Abruzzi. They were surrounded with snow peaks 'glittering like hell'. It was staggeringly primitive, ice-cold stone floors and iron-barred windows to a large room with a dark, open hearththe fire fed by foraged wood and upon which the food was cooked. But the cold, the 'air itself had a tang of ice'. Their income was derived from Lawrence's writing and gifts from friends, which was often generous. Poor, they were glad of small gifts from peasant

neighbours-mainly vegetables and maize.

From here, Frieda went to spend a holiday with her sister-the wife of a German diplomat-in their castle home, whilst Lawrence went to stay with the Aldingtons. Frieda's stay was prolonged and she was loth to return, but eventually receiving a promise, Lawrence, for several days, made repeated laborious descents to the tiny railway station below, meeting every train without result. Frieda was enjoying a stay in Vienna, having picked up a young Austrian Eventually, a meeting arranged in Florence, also with Frieda's two daughters-now grown girls-who were holidaymaking in that city. After meeting, the party were seated around a cafe table, Frieda smoking, a cigarette dangling from her lips. Lawrence, acutely aware of the cause of Frieda's absence, suddenly-with the exclamation 'vou whore'-violently slapped her face. Frieda started crying in which the girls joined their mother and, though the latter was for leaving Lawrence there and then, they persuaded her that it was her duty to go with him.

Later, during the 1914-18 war periodliving in England-Lawrence reverted to a labourer, working in the fields. Yet he had not abandoned writing, or all intellectual pursuits. It was whilst the Lawrences were sharing a Cornish cot-tage with Katherine Mansfield and Middleton-Murry, that an incident occurred. Katherine Mansfield had taken Kotvlinsky, a visiting friend, as a lover. Murry and Frieda had become so too. Lawrence was provoked into a violent physical assault upon Frieda, in the lane outside the cottage, Frieda screaming to Murry for help. So again was trust

Subsequently, the Lawrences travelled extensively, first in Europe and then Australia and America—finally to Europe in 1929. In September of that year Lawrence's illness worsened, and he became seriously ill. He died in Vence, a small French village, overlooking the Mediterranean, whilst Frieda held his increasingly cold feet-seeking to induce some warmth. So life ebbed slowly away and he rejoined the elements.

Throughout Lawrence's writing can be found passages of wonderful beauty and clearness, a power and directness. Observe his wonderful descriptions of nature:

Now in the last week of April, the cherry blossom is still white, but waning and passing away: it is late this year and the leaves are clustering thick and softly copper in their dark bloodfilled glow. It is queer about fruit trees in this district. The peach and the pear are out together. But now, the pear is a lovely thick softness of new and glossy green, vivid with a tender fullness of apple-green leaves, gleaming among all the other greens of the landscape, the half-high wheat, emerald and the grey olive. Half invisible, the browning green of the dark cypress, the black of the evergreen oak, the rolling, heavy green puffs of the stone-pines, the flimsy green of the small peach and almond trees, the

sturdy young green of horse-chestnut. So many greens, all in flakes and shelves and tilted tables and round shoulders and plumes and shaggles and uprisen brushes of greens and greens, sometimes blindingly brilliant at evening, when the landscape looks as if it were on fire from inside, with greens and gold.'

That is a descriptive passage from Flowering Tuscany. When so describing he reflects beauty with a painter's eye, and a peace and serenity. Read his descriptions of farm life in Nottinghamshire, at the turn of the century-the method of building a hayrick contained in Sons and Lovers is concise and true -perfect. See too, the added colours his travel scenes in Italy, Sicily, Ceylon, Australia and America. Such is the flame of his genius. His novels The Rainbow and Women in Love are of the best novels of our time. Lawrence's poetry and essays, his sustained polemics and original short stories and tales, also his letters, show him to be a writer of genius, earning a place amongst the greatest writers of this

Within his novels and writing, Lawrence shows a social analysis which is deep and fundamental:

'Ugliness betrayed the spirit of man in the nineteenth century. The great crime which the moneyed classes and promoters of industry committed in the palmy Victorian days was the condemning of the workers to ugliness, ugliness. Meanness and formless and ugly surroundings, ugly ideas, ugly religion, ugly hope, ugly love, ugly clothes, ugly furniture, ugly houses, ugly relationships between workers and employers. The human soul needs actual beauty even more than bread. The middle-classes jeer at the elderly colliers trying to learn to play their pianos. See them listening with queer alert faces to their daughters' rendering of the "Maiden's Prayer", and you will see a blind unsatisfied craving for beauty. It is far more deep in the men than in the women. The women want show. The men want beauty and still

That is a passage from Nottingham-shire and the Mining Country.

Lawrence was deeply aware of the unhappiness of civilised man in whom all belief has died. No longer taking refuge from his fears-seeking shelter arms of a divine father-figure, which he himself has created. Gone too, has his self-imagined centrality in the Universe to an infinitesimal position-a grain of sand-in one of many million galaxies. Men and women in our industrialised materialistic society do little but pursue the bitch-goddess, Success, mostly reaping ugliness and ousting beauty. Lawrence wrote is prophetic. We still have the increased pursuit of success, whilst the prospect of foul Air, Earth, Rivers, Seas and eventual, possible extinction confronts mankind.

The basis of our experience are the facts of life and death. It is a rhythm that humans share with all living nature,

with the animals and grass. The emergence of the new necessitates a new man-woman relationship—the prime of which is the confinement of sex within the orbit of Love between two persons, and which develops the whole of persons and enforces every part of them, whose sex-life links them to the sources of creation. The important ends of human life include the creation and enjoyment of beauty-natural and man-made. The preservation of all sources of pure wonder and delight and an assured awareness and recognised participation in lasting projects and cosmic evolution.

'No great motive, or ideal, or social principle can endure for any length of time unless based upon the love and sexual fulfilment of the vast majority of individuals concerned.

To thine own self be true, always,'

observed Polonius, and to this precept D. H. Lawrence adhered all his life through believing that a man's life capital is invested in his body, whence his life's happiness comes. To be successful in life does not consist in acquiring external possessions, but in a free healthy life of the senses. Such a persuasion in no way supposes a reluctance to acquire a share of society's perquisites. Sex is the backbone upon which the fair grace of the body is built. Lawrence was always conscious of the primacy and potency of love between the sexes. He apprehended the poetical vision of life and this and imagination was his gift to the Novel as an expression of art. His work illustrates the unfolding of this personal search and discovery. He was instrumental in sweeping away suppression and the unhealthy nauseous Vic-torian moral attitudes. We are part of the sun as our eyes are part of us and the marvel is to be alive in the flesh. Man most passionately wants his living wholeness, his physical fulfilment, first and foremost-for, alive-he is in the flesh and potent. So Lawrence's influence has been considerable and far-reaching indeed. His was a lonely crusade against prudery and prurience. 'It will bring me only abuse and hatred' and so it proved. His name was linked with every insultation, and, slowly dying of tuberculosis in his sick bed overlooking the Mediterranean. Lawrence wrote to the very end, despite the tumult. 'I always labour at the same thing', he wrote, 'to make the sex-relation valid and precious, instead of shameful.' When we contemplate D. H. Lawrence, we contemplate tragedy, but he transcended his own condition—he was no longer a victim of it. There is a worse kind of tragedy than death—continued living when all that matters has been destroyed.'

Truly, he was a strange mixture of bitter and sweet, for his personality had a unique magic and fascination. When he was happy and gay, which he often was, he saw the beauty and strangeness of the living world most vividly, for he had an infectious delight in small things.

The years have passed. Much said and written. We have had the radio testimonies and writings of his wife Frieda, time having winnowed all the petty cruelties, quarrels and sorrows, even tragedy itself. He lifted me into a new existence.' So too, his old working man friend who had known 'Bert Lawrence' as a sensitive, intelligent lad, 'When he died, a light went out in my life.' He enhanced the lives of many and his death gave pain and sense of personal loss to his friends. S. L. ROBINSON.

ALBERT DE JONG

AT THE AGE of nearly 80 Albert and ends in the class struggle and in de Jong, of Heemstede, Holland, wars of liberation was published (1932). died at his home after a short illness.

In him we lose one of the leading personalities of revolutionary antimilitarism in the Netherlands. A teacher by training, he lost his job over a matter of principle during World War I and became a shorthand reporter. In this capacity he reported numerous meetings of various anti-militarist and libertarian socialist congresses, and he earned his bread by reporting municipal council meetings, etc.

He was the secretary of Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis during the last years of his life and since then filled the secretariat of the Domela Nieuwenhuis Fund and Archives.

During the mass action in favour of Herman Groenendaal, a conscientious objector on hunger strike in 1920, he was condemned for sedition, together with inter alios Bart de Ligt. With the latter in 1921 he took the initiative to found the International Anti-militarist Bureau. Difference of opinion in the matter of non-violence in the class struggle at the same time led to the separate foundation of the WRI. Nevertheless, co-operation between the two international anti-militarist movements, the IFOR and the Quaker, during the interbellum has been intensive and fertile, together in 1937 they organised the meeting in Paris of Rassemblement International contre la guerre et le

The IAMB, together with the syndicalist international, the IWA, for several years published a press service in four languages, in which the interesting and far from obsolete discussion on means

In the same spirit de Jong, after Hitler's advent to power, took a stand against those who preached a preventive war against German fascism. In 1934 he left the IAMB to take over the editorship of the Syndikalist, a weekly he took care of till the occupation in 1940.

Meanwhile the controversy over the Spanish Civil War, in which he did not fully draw the consequences of his earlier stand on war against fascism, had alienated him from the Dutch anti-militarists who did not want to support a war against fascism, either in Spain or elsewhere in Europe.

Though since the war this controversy got into the background, Albert de Jong did not take part in the anti-militarist activities of ANVA after the war. He edited an anarcho-syndicalist press service, later the monthly Buiten de perken (Out of Bounds). Some years ago he gave over the editorship to his son, Rudolf de Jong. Lately de Jong has been mainly active in editing a biography of Domela Nieuwenhuis, and in historical studies of the anarchist and anti-militarist movement in general.

During his secretariat of IAMB, he repeatedly addressed WRI conferences, e.g. that in Vienna in 1927, moreover he attended most international meetings of the IWA. Together with the Swedes and the refugee Spaniards, he tried to give new life to the cause of anarcho-

Now that libertarian ideas are coming to life again in Provo, the Kabouters (Gnomes) and the like, he followed those new movements with great interest. In the beginning of his militancy, during

the first municipal elections after the introduction of general suffrage, in 1920, a group of Amsterdam libertarians had entered a protest candidate, a wellknown beggar, to protest the penalty on not voting. One of his friends, the late Anton Bakels, together with the artist Eric Wichman (later to become an admirer of Mussolini-he died however before fascism became a real threat), were among the originators of this action.

A few weeks before his death, during the last municipal elections in Amsterdam, the Hague, i.a., the Kabouter party continued the electoral successes of Provo: they got 5 seats (of 45) in the Amsterdam Council, two in the Hague.

Though the successes of the Kabouters occurred at the cost of the pacifist socialist party (for which Hein van Wijk is a senator, and de Jong's lifelong friend, ex-treasurer of the IAMB, Bertus Bot, was a councilman in the Hague) and the Christian Radical dissident groups of pacifist leanings, the success of the Kabouters, who had got into the public eye by their non-violent squatter actions on behalf of the homeless, is a sign of that revival of libertarian and anti-militarist ideas Albert de Jong devoted his life to.

Still occupying the seat Provo had won in 1966, Roel van Duyn, one of the leading Kabouters, submitted to the Amsterdam Municipal Council (and had it printed in the Municipal Journal), a memo on non-violent defence against an invader, in which he proposed turning the army into a school for sabotage and non-violent defence. Most of the ideas set forth in this memo are the same as those Albert de Jong brought forward in his address to the 3rd International Anti-militarist Congress in the Hague, 1920.

When opposed by an ex-social democrat CO, gone over to the new Com-munist Party with the argument that the proletariat should decide whether refusing military service was necessary, de Jong answered: 'When you say the proletariat will decide you mean: we, the party, will decide. When I say: I will decide whether I go into the army or not, I oppose both the army and any party dictatorship.

In this address, already the idea is contained of 'no man, no cent and no work for militarism and war', that has been the inspiration for a whole generation, and that now is being taken up by the youth born after the atom bomb, in doing their utmost to make an end to war, not only in Europe or among the privileged nations, but also in the underprivileged world of the exploited coloured peoples. It is the same struggle Albert de Jong stood for during 60 years.

The same day that Albert de Jong died, Ina de Ligt, Bart de Ligt's widow for nearly a quarter of a century, died at her home. She was cremated in the Hague at the same moment de Jong was in Westerveld (near Haarlem).

In 1916 she was one of the first

victims of repression: she had signed the CO-'s manifesto and refused to withdraw her name when asked to do so by the board of the Dutch Reformed Church school where she was teaching.

It is well known that she devoted her life to her husband, Bart de Ligt, and that she did everything possible to enable him to pursue his studies after he had been obliged to leave the church he served. She continued to support his work after his death, but having moved to Switzerland, maintained only intermittent contact with the Dutch movement. Those who have known her, in WRI or IFOR, will remember her with gratitude.

WIM JONG.

BUREAUGRAGY IN ACTION

Continued from page 3 creates nothing but utter confusion. The convenience of mere people is secondary to the brainwave of the bureaucrat. The bureaucrat is an unnecessary adjunct to human society and human activity. He must justify his existence and his inflated salary. So, out come the computerized plans and confusion reigns. Now relate this little experience to capitalist society as a whole and realise, little comrade, why the anarchists reject all government and all bureaucrats.

PETER THE PAINTER.

A TEA BREAK

THIS STORY is very petty and doesn't mean too much because it's happening every day. Though maybe that makes it a whole lot

Tuesday was a sunny day and I was sitting on the steps in Trafalgar Square reading a paper. An American came over and asked me where could find the United States Embassy and I told him.

Then two police appeared on the steps and they came over, looking interested in a vague way. I told the American he'd best get the Underground and he left.

The cop with a posh voice did most of the talking while the other one fiddled with his pocket radio. Do you remember Lauderdale in 'Dixon of Dock Green'? Neither

'Where do you come from?'

'London.'

'Have you ever been in trouble

'Before what?'

'We just want to talk to you. Have you been in trouble for anything with the law? Apart from traffic offences?

Then a pleasant talk—that's not ironic-about what work I did, whether I lived anywhere settled, and the paper I was reading: Roll-

The posh one asked if I'd like to give them my name and address. said 'Harry'

The man wrote it down in his book and asked what came next. I said I didn't want to tell them any more and asked why they wanted to

It seemed to them that people who looked and dressed like me were the sort who often carried drugs-heroin seemed to fascinate them for some reason-and it was their job to check it out.

They were nice, smiling and talking in normal voices and it seemed we could have some sort of con-versation. I asked what their success

The other one said that one in ten was an average score. Not necessarily drugs though: wanted people, offensive weapons, vagrancy. They talked to maybe thirty people a day. How does that sound?

I explained that I didn't want to give any details because it seemed sick enough the tax and insurance people having it all, as well as Reader's Digest, let alone uniformed strangers coming up in the street and wanting more.

The posh one smiled. He understood how I felt but the law is the law. If I wouldn't co-operate they had the right to take me along to the station on suspicion of possess-ing dangerous drugs. There I would

be searched and questioned. 'What suspicion?' I asked.

Well, first the way I looked. Long hair, black scarf, lilac shirt, maroon trousers. And second, the fact that I refused to give the ordinary information that most people wouldn't have objected to.

I said it seemed pretty funny to me and asked about all the men in smart suits. They immediately thought I meant the Kray brothers for some reason. Perhaps the greatest triumph for law-and-order

We were able to have a long talk, to the interest of tourists and passers-by, about law, authority and what constituted a crime. No surprises: as far as they were concerned we needed law to protect people (from what?) and whatever was written down as against that law was a crime, no matter what they felt about it personally.

Though as far as this particular law goes, Britain is a police state. We can do what we want,' said the posh one. 'You said it.' But I still didn't want to say any more about

He said he was getting a distinct feeling that I wanted to be arrested. You're the one who's doing it, not

'But we don't want to. Just give us the details. Only myself and the station officer will know. He has to write it down in the book.

He showed me his notebook to let me see how many people were willing to co-operate when asked. Just lists of names, addresses, descriptions and birthdates at the back. One from Shakespeare Road, Herne Hill. Anyone remember?

I asked what was likely to happen if I said what they wanted. They perked up. 'We'll just check to see you're not wanted for anything.'

So more people will know then?' 'No, not really. Just a few things and your date of birth to the records people and they'll check through to

I asked what would happen if I gave the wrong date of birth. 'But why, if you've not done anything?' Suppose I wanted to cock the

Well, that's up to you. It's not an offence if that's what you mean.'
Very interesting. There was something similar in the Anarchist Black Cross bulletin a few months ago.

Let's not forget it.
We went on a little longer. Mild pleasantries about a 'distinct smell of cannabis'. Ha-ha. The other copper was talking and he said he thought we'd reached a difficult position. I wasn't willing to say any more and really they didn't fancy taking it any further.

But it seems like an abuse of authority,' he said.

'Don't you mean contempt?'

Well, only those in authority can

abuse it. You mean I'll hold your authority in contempt.'

It was beginning to turn into a game and he even smiled at this Look, just to satisfy honour on both sides will you answer three questions?'-Yes.

'Are you wanted for any kind of offence?'—No.

'Are you carrying anything that could be an offensive weapon?'—No. 'Are you in possession of any kind of drugs?'-Tobacco.

I said I was hardly likely to say

yes to any of them anway. 'No, but you seem a decent sort of person.'

The posh one: 'Don't get into any

You brought the trouble to me. They genuinely were pleasant about the whole thing. No sort of actual compulsion, no hard leaning or breathing fire down my neck. They even let me know I could report them if I wished. But in that event it'd be best to give them my name and address in case anything

And, of course, the threat of arrest isn't exactly non-violence. In the same way as money is as much a weapon as a gun. They could afford to act nice about it because they are moving inside a law that allows as much room as they need. And what a law

The Square was full of people, some in suits, others like me. troop of police could, within the law and with reasonable suspicion, come up, question everyone, take a book full of names, addresses and descrip-

And the few who didn't like the

idea of it would be taken to the station, searched, questioned, their details put safely on file for possible future reference.

Naturally, when you get to the station and they find there's nothing on you they're expected to say sorry. But as if they could resist planting the odd little bit of something. One in ten success rate is too good.

We're not liberal reformists, we know that we can expect nothing but stupidity and often downright viciousness from any system that builds itself on authority and the ultimate repression of any instinct

We know that no amount of goodintentioned patching and mild protest is going to do anything to alter this basic fact. And not everyone who comes into contact with it has it as easy as I did.

When they left I played their game and followed them to see what or who they would do next. Down Whitehall and left into Cannon Row Police Station. For a well-earned tea-break, no doubt.

HARRY.

Anarcho-Marxist Synthesis

NUMEROUS are the revolutionary militants who, for the last fifty years, wanted to reconcile the enemy brothers of socialism by realizing a synthesis of Marxism and Anarchism.

Even before examining this proposition, let us recall that Lenin's book, The State and the Revolution, appeared, opportunely, as the fruit of this effort at synthesis, and that it motivated quite few anarchists to rally to Bolshevism. Without taking into account the consequences of their actions, these anarchists thus made the bed for the totalitarian counter-revolution. This teaches us, at least, that it is necessary to be very pru-dent and to make a decision only with full knowledge of the facts.

Be that as it may, certain persons per-sist in demanding this fusion of Marxism and Anarchism, justifying their exigence by the necessity of not rejecting the Marxist method, namely dialectical and historical materialism.

WHAT IS THE DIALECTICAL METHOD?

The dialectic is defined, originally, as the art of reasoning methodically and soundly. Methodical reasoning, sequence of proofs, proceeds through induction and deduction using definitions as a point of departure. Thus understood, we other anarchists would not see any inconvenience in qualifying our method of analysis and research as dialectical. But such is not the case for the Hegelian inspired Marxist dialectic, and in order to avoid any confusion, we prefer to qualify our method of analysis and research as inductive rather than dialec-tical. Let us note in passing that induction, according to Bacon, is the essential process of the experimental method.

Hegel, followed by Marx, tried to renovate the dialectic, defining its process by thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. It is a method which, in the abstract, can give some results, but which, applied to social realities, not only reveals itself as too simplistic to explain whatever, but also becomes extremely dangerous in day to day applications.

MARXISM AND DIALECTICAL

Marxism can be perceived in two ways: as ideology and as praxis.

(a) The Marxist Ideology

Basing itself on the dialectical inter-pretation of history, Marxism wanted to prove that history, thanks to the dialogue of contradictions, was moving towards communism, which it would attain after having passed through a certain number of necessary stages.

Simply to ascertain the innumerable errors of foresight by Marx suffices to make clear the value of his dialectical materialism. And it is not the rupture of Marxism into multiple parties, sects and chapelles (all in agreement for using and abusing dialectical materialism) which will be able to invalidate our opinion.

Let us remark simply that certain Marxist theoreticians, conscious of the impasse in which they find themselves. speak today of antagonistic contradic-tions, which poses an insoluble problem if one admits with Marx that nature is conditioned by the dialectical law of nonantagonistic contradictions.

The reality is that the dialectical

in the narrow cadre of economics where Marx placed it) cannot explain the movements of history, which constrains the Marxist, who had, thus far, claimed to interpret in advance the developments of history to a pirouette preserving his

It is necessary for us to draw attention the dangers which the Marxist ideology presents since it claims to have discovered an orientation to history and an end attained after several necessary The anarchists remember only too bitterly the exactions committed by the Marxists (of all obediences) in the name of 'historical necessity' in order to be able to subscribe to it in their turn by adopting the dialectical interpretation of history. Unfortunately, it is not rare to see, from the pen of so-called anarchists, a recognition of this necessity. which goes even to admitting implicitly the necessity of the totalitarian stage.

(b) The Marxist Praxis

In deeds Marxism is characterized by calumny, the deformation of the ideas of its adversaries, the most disloyal manoeuvres in order to assure preponder-In short, it has adopted ance, etc. the motto 'ends justify means'. must not see in this a simple accident: it is in fact an inevitable consequence of its dialectical method which opens the door to all political inversions, to all opportunisms, to all treacheries. On the other hand, the inductive method of the anarchists proclaim that 'the means determine the end', which does not allow at any stage to justify the behaviour described above. In this, we should conclude in favour of the superiority of the inductive method over the dialectical

ON THE SUBJECT OF A FEW DISHONESTIES

The partisans of the Anarchist-Marxist synthesis like to present the Marx-Bakunin coalition against the Proud-honians, inside the First International, to justify their desire for a synthesis. This dishonest argument in the sense that this opposition was made between revolutionaries and reformists (problem private property) and that it cannot

justify in any way the proposed synthesis.

There would certainly be no need to to the doctrine of dialectical materialism to recognize and condemn Proudhon's weaknesses. Bakunin himwas not exempt from weaknesses, and it is the task of the consequent anarchist movement to determine, with the help of its own methods, what is useful to conserve and what is necessary to reject in the works of the libertarian theoreticians.

A more evident dishonesty is that which invokes the works of young Marx, when he had not yet formulated his 'scientific' propositions, when he was animated by ethical exigence (like the other socialists) and when he, therefore, was not yet 'Marxist'.

Likewise, it is thoroughly dishonest to rely on some texts, such as 'The Civil War in France: circumstantial text, extractive, obviously opportunistic.' It would be ridiculous for the libertarian militants of today to let themselves fall into the trap when those of that epoch knew how to avoid it. Moreover, we do not think it necessary to insist any more in this paragraph.

which one's first ideological 'food' can exercise on the mind, is faced immediately with the problem of editing. It is not by accident that the partisans of the Anarchist-Marxist synthesis are as numerous as before. It is necessary to take into account that the two books on anarchism the most widely read these last few years by the new militants have been Bakunin's La Liberté and Daniel Guérin's L'Anarchisme.
In the first, the prefacer endeavours to

demonstrate, with numerous citations, that Bakunin was a Marxist. But, playing the game of citations, it would be easy for us to demonstrate the contrary. Also, as we have already given our opinion on Bakunin, we do not think it necessary

As for Guérin's book (a Marxist), it

contains that particularity of presenting anarchism as a sum of intuitions (luminous, certainly, but intuitions in spite of everything) somehow arranged in an ideological ensemble more or less coherent. Not one word on Kropotkin's works Ethics and Mutual Aid, not one word on the inductive method, etc. The anarchist is presented as a romantic revolutionary whose visceral revolt and sure instinct suffice to determine it. In short, this brave anarchist lacks only a method, and it is the dialectical method, naturally, which Guérin, in a second try, Pour un Marxisme libertaire, is going to propose to him.

Either: Guérin is completely alienated from his original ideology, to the point that he cannot resolve himself to do without it while adopting the anarchist ideal, and thus has skilfully manoeuvred.

Or: in spite of all his erudition, anarchism has appeared to Guérin, really as he has presented it, and thus it is necessary to say that he has failed to understand that anarchism is based on solidarity as instinct, sentiment, practice, human morality, factor of progress and revolutionary ideology deriving from those facts studied in the history of societies.

However that may be, once these few facts are displayed, it is necessary to repeat stronger than ever that it is the task of a really anarchist organization to take in hand the diffusion of anarchist ideas, to assure the formation of anarchist revolutionary militants, if one wants only anarchism, for it has happened too often, i.e., siding with individualists, or re-formists, or Marxists, or philosophists, or romanticists, or terrorists, etc.

ANNEX II

When one will have said that the majority of Marx's 'ingenious' inspirations have been formulated before him by others, one will be entitled to ask himself what interest could anarchism have in a fusion with Marxism.

The Anarchist Revolutionary Organization (ORA) condemns and combats the Marxist ideology, just as the ideologies derived from it, and which rely on a dialectical materialism historically outof-date, presently questionable, and at any rate fundamentally different from anarchist methods and principles.

PAUL DURAND, Espoir, no. 421, Feb. 15, 1970, translated by George Wuerth.

Bureaucracy in Action

T USED to be so very simple. When one had gained the necessary qualifications for entry to a Scottish university, one made an application to the university of one's choice. Upon acceptance, one applied for a grant from the Scottish Education Department and, on the opening day of term, joined an orderly queue, presented the letter from the SED confirming the award of the grant—and received the cheque. The whole oper-ation, including filling out the forms, might have taken a five-year-old twenty

But somebody had a bright ideasomebody usually has. An old anti-Would you give a loaded revolver to an idiot?' The idea might be rephrased— 'Would you give a computer to a

Once one had received the grant, in the simple manner outlined above, the next move was to obtain a student identity card-a ghastly piece of cheap plastic bearing a colour photograph of the student. This was done in order that no 'outsider' might be admitted to the Students' Union building.

But somewhere in the rabbit warren of the offices of Aberdeen University, something stirred in a pigeon-hole and looked lovingly at a system which had the intolerable impudence to be quick, simple and efficient. This is the age of technology-all must change. The reader

must look closely now, lest he founder.

A form was received by all students, including a space for countersigning by the student's adviser of studies. Once he had done so, the student had to take the form along in order to be issued with an identity card. No grants would be issued unless an identity card was produced— the award letter from the SED would no longer suffice.

Afraid, no doubt, of competitors stealing their trade secrets, the university bureaucrats told no one. As a result, hundreds of students turned up at the university registry, presented their SED letters and were told to present their identity cards from the Students' Union. Next door, they realised, of course, that you couldn't get an identity card unless your adviser of studies had countersigned the appropriate form. Unfortunately, many students did not have an appointment with their adviser until Thursday or Friday-and the university opened on Tuesday.
So, no grants. However, entirely by

word of mouth (God only knows which student discovered it), a little man was discovered who would countersign the SED award letter and, if this was presented, one would be issued with an identity card and, eventually, one's grant.

So, why did they bother with the whole rigmarole? Why change the system? Why change the system and tell nobody? The simple answer is that bureaucracy Continued on page 4

DURING NOVEMBER/DECEMBER the imminence of the trial of the Sixteen in Burgos called for meetings and protests all over Europe. The Anarchist Black Cross arranged for Miguel Garcia Garcia to address a series of meetings in Italy and Germany.

Speaking as a former prisoner who had recently completed twenty years in a Spanish jail, Miguel spoke to large meetings in Milan, Turin, Genoa and Lecco, in Socialist and Communist halls as well as before Anarchists. He pointed out that already 'the sixteen' had been reduced to fifteen, as one woman who had been pregnant died as the result of torture while awaiting trial. dealt with the background to the Besque movement as well as of the general prison conditions in Spain, and outlined the work of the Resistance. Replying to questions, he did not think 'an amnesty' meant anything. Totalitarian governments would not give a real amnesty in any case. The fact in Spain however was that the government was bending its own laws and constitution to keep political prisoners in jail. If there was an application of the benefits

POST-MORTEM

Well, Peter Harvey in the Guardian

said there was only a little over 10,000

(and he couldn't have been on a different

march as I saw him once) though he

perhaps only saw the front. I had

to catch up from somewhere towards

the back, it was comfortably over the mile

long-what I saw-at an average width

of eight to nine people walking as slowly

as the last day of an Aldermarch-by

my reckoning over 25,000, and that was

before the teachers turned up—the 2,000

Harvey referred to as continuing the

march had not for the most part been

on the first leg, and had only come out

Not good perhaps, but though one

bulk of the march was made up of

people for whom obviously this was a

new experience. One of my union

marshals was particularly shocked at

hearing me engaged in political argument

with a workers' press seller. (The SLL

was handing out a Charter for Unionists

which was quite incredibly reformist;

it talked of getting a fair day's pay

almost in those words, which since

Marx had written 'For the conservative

slogan of a fair day's work for a

fair day's pay we substitute the abolition

of the wages' system' was a bit ironic.

This young seller tried to maintain that

this was a transitional demand, which

shows that he knew nothing about what

Trotsky meant by the term.) For many

it was a beginning and a serious begin-

ning, and there was amongst them the

same rather joyful sense of novelty,

and of doing something really rather

way-out that one met on the first Alder-

march: and all in an industrial context.

I think there are reasonable grounds

for being hopeful. I don't know if one

should multiply Torode's figures in the

So we have entered a new era of

CP industrials-who, as the party mem-

bers most in contact with ordinary

workers, were not so long ago on the

right wing of the CP when most issues

were international-are now moving in

certainly had omissions.

way, but his detailed analysis

for the afternoon.

LETTER

and rights due to prisoners under the law of 1870, most of the long-serving politicals would be out of jail.

He was continually questioned by young Catholics now uneasy about the fact that the Church had supported Franco. Many people asked about the Resistance in Spain and there was a surprisingly large knowledge of collectives in Spain during the civil war. He was also questioned about the role of the Communist Party. He said that in this series of meetings he did not want to criticise the Communist Party, since this was a campaign for the release of all political prisoners, including theirs. Still, he could not let pass the assertion that Russia supplied arms during the war without mentioning the fact that they were well paid for doing so and this could not be thought of as more than a commercial transaction. Responsibility for losing the war lay firmly with the Republican Government had they armed the workers in July 1936 there would have been no military uprising. They were afraid to do so for fear of Revolution. Had the CNT had arms it would have been the same

the same orbit as the Institute for

Workers' Control and other such centrist

factions and with them and with the

left of Tribune Labour left mobilizing

numbers comparable to those who were

behind Cousins twelve years ago. For

what credence the Gallup and other

polls now command, they show that if

there were an election the Tory Party

would be decimated in a landslide that

would make 1945 look tame, and it would

only need a minibus load of Tory MPs

to crash on the M1 to make that election.

(In which case we would have Wilson

returned with the power to force through

the Feather - amended - Castle legislation

and have many of the present opponents

will sort the sheep from the goats very

nicely and force many a pseudo-leftist

to see that there are no solutions short

of anarchism.) - This must make the

Government feel a little insecure, it must also force the Labour Party and the TUC

the Left thrashed—to say that they

cannot stand back and allow the Tories

to do it without interference and this

would entail a direct onslaught on the

push the Stalinist Liaison Committee for

the Defence of Trade Unions and their

quasi-Trot hangers-on? Obviously we

certainly cannot afford to allow workers

to be misled into trusting this leadership,

for it will assuredly sell them out if the

party orders. But on the other hand

to make too frontal a critique would

be to alienate potential support, who

will tend to say if they are against the

unofficial committee they must either sup-

port the TUC bureaucracy or Carr. In

the Leninists do, we must find as the

Dac did for CND a way to make

direct action not merely as an end

Fraternally,

JOLFE ROSS.

but as a propagandist technique.

The question is-how then do we

foundations of their own power.

Carr's legislation happily accepting

A fearsome prospect, but one which

all over Spain as it was in Barcelona. Following the meetings, local socialists

agreed to put pressure on their leadership to make representations to the Spanish Government on the subject of the trials, and later leaders of the socialist and social-democratic parties (now in the government coalition) asked the Italian Ambassador to point out the public feeling the trials were arousing in Italy.

In Frankfurt, Comrade Garcia addressed the Spanish immigrant workers. Delegates of Spanish and Italian workers are set up in every factory and these immigrant workers have their own shop steward system integrated in the German trade unions. This represents an important link between Spaniards in exile and those at home. After the meeting, he gave an interview to the Frankfurter Rundschau, and went on to Cologne, where an illustrated interview appeared

in the Kolnischer Nachrichten, and he also spoke on the radio.

Addressing the University of Cologne through an interpreter, he was taken aback by the enormous crowd and the huge number of red-and-black flags with which he was greeted. It was the climax to a hectic tour which has sparked off many actions in support of the Spanish Resistance and prisoners.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS. London

 Munich Radio mentioned, among other attacks on Spanish official institutions including a bomb at the Munich Consulate, that the Spanish Embassy in London had been machine-gunned. None of the British newspaper editors, so touchy of their personal rights to decide what goes in the papers (which they confuse with freedom of the press), permitted this news to appear.

99999999999999999

Any book not in stock, but in print can be promptly supplied. Book Tokens accepted. Please add postage & cash with

PAPERBACKS

Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist Alexander Berkman 30/-

Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell Vol. I 1920 to 1940

Vol. II 1940 to 1943 + 10d Vol. III 1943 to 1945 postage Vol. IV 1945 to 1950 Homage to Catalonia George Orwell 6/-Road to Wigan Pier George Orwell 5/-George Orwell 5/-

Animal Farm George Orwell Crystal Spirit (Study of George Orwell) George Woodcock 8/-

The Biological Time-Bomb G. Rattray Taylor 8/6 Selected Essays Albert Camus 15/-Society of the Spectacle Guy Debord 9/-

HARDBACKS

1984

Anarchy and Order Herbert Read 21/-Memoirs of a Revolutionist

Peter Kropotkin 40/-Kronstadt 1921 Paul Ayrich 80/-The Hawkspur Experiment

W. David Wills 24/-A Question of Living

R. F. McKenzie 18/-Revolutionists in London

James W. Hulse 48/-Fields, Factories and Workshops Peter Kropotkin 105/-

FREEDOM PRESS

Malatesta: Life and Ideas

(ed.) V. Richards 21/-The State: its historic role

Peter Kropotkin George Barrett The First Person **Towards A Free Society**

Charles Martin 2/6 About Anarchism Nicolas Walter Jump, My Brothers, Jump: Poems

SOGAT'S ATTEMPT to allege that John Lawrence had been expelled from union membership failed in the High Court last week when an interim order restrained them from such allegations. This order is effective pending the trial of an action by John Lawrence and Laurens Otter (father of the Guardian chapel), against Mr. Briginshaw of SOGAT and officers who were the trustees of Division One of Natsopa. This action is for directions as to the proper person to receive all sums in the hands of Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Otter collected for payment to Division One.

John Lawrence's counsel said that an attempt was being made to drive through a reorganization of SOGAT without consulting the rank and file members. 'This is being done by persons previously in authority in Division One of SOGAT for their own purposes,' he added. 'They are seeking to divide the union into its constituent parts. They are attempting

to stifle opposition in what was a united union.' If John Lawrence did not obtain the temporary order he was seeking the damage to him would be enormous. He could lose his employment and be debarred from seeking any other in his

For the defendants, counsel said John Lawrence had failed to comply with the properly given directions of his branch. His complaint was simply that the directions were given and the charge was laid in the wrong name.

The Judge said, 'He may have been stiff-necked but is that a reason for expelling him?'

The defence counsel replied, 'The Society has taken steps in accordance with its rules. How else is authority, through the chain of command in this Society, to be maintained when the father of an im-

portant chapel is insisting on rejecting the directions of the branch?' Right on!

Opening Hours

IF WE ARE going to have a day off,

Day. So the bookshop will be open,

though probably not for selling books,

from Noon on December 25. Coffee will

be available, but please bring anything

But we shall be closed from December

26 to January 1, inc., so that a bit of

cleaning, clearing, and general sorting can

be attempted. Mail may be answered a

little later than usual, though efforts will

be made to keep that side of things

Anarchists pulling the State down to-

And finally, a hope that 1971 may see

'Freedom's' next number will be on

then a start ought to be made on May

Freedom

Bookshop

else yourselves.

gether a bit more.

January 9, 1971.

FIGHTING MOUSE

Due to a severe lack of filthy lucre, am unable, at least until January, to send out free copies of the Aberdeen Anarchists' broadsheet The Fighting Mouse. All those who have paid for it and those mags ands papers with whom I have exchange agreements will get theirs. Otherwise, no! I'll send out issue 9 in January when I'm flush again. IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen



PRESS FUND

December 8 to 14 inc. Leicester: P. & J. 10/-; Hamburg: J.L. £5; Edinburgh: T.H. 4/6; Geneva: K.K. 7/6; New York: R. & P.C. £19/4/-; London, N.W.3: Anon 3/-; Coleorton: H.V.B.C. 14/-; Liverpool: H.H.J. £5/10/-; Southall: D.S. 10/-; Glasgow: A.J. 3/-

Total: £32 6 0 Income Sales and Subs.: £90 16

> Expenditure: £150 0 0 Deficit b/f.: £1,208 £1.358 5 3 Less Income: £123 2

> > DEFICIT: £1,235 2 11

£123 2 4

4-page leaflet

5/- per Hundred (4/6 on 500 and over)

reedom publish FREEDOM weekly and ANARCHY monthly 84b Whitechapel High Street London E1 01-247 9249

Entrance Angel Alley, Whitechapel Art Gallery exit, Aldgate East Underground Stn. SPECIMEN COPIES ON

Open Afternoons Monday to Saturday

2 p.m. to 6 p.m. Open Evenings

Wednesday 8 p.m. to 10.30 p.m. Thursday close at 8.30 p.m.

POLICE VIOLENCE IN MILAN

struggle. We need to be pretty certain ourselves heard independently for the just what the possibilities are. The same ends and illustrate the need for

THE MILAN POLICE seem determined of young anarchists who broke away to murder an anarchist for Christmas each year. It has just been reported that last night (December 12) a young anarchist student was killed by Milan police while he was taking part in a protest against the trial of Basque nationalists in progress in Spain and against the continued detention of our comrade Pietro Valpreda, accused of planting the Piazzo Fontana bomb.

It is exactly a year since the Piazza Fontana bomb incident of December 12, 1969, followed three days later by the murder of Comrade Giuseppe Pinelli at the hands of killer-police led by Dr. Calabresi in the Milan police HQ.

Our young comrade, Saverio Saltarelli, slain yesterday by the modern praetorian guard, was, it seems, one of a group

from the main march of 5,000 and clashed with the cops. The radio says that his companions claim he was killed by a blow from a rifle-butt. It says 30 were arrested. So that booze-sodden President Saragat

and his 'democratic' herds can tranquilly snooze all the way to the slaughterhouse, on Saturday his hired butchers smashed our comrade into the grave.

As Lysander Spooner wrote: 'These so-called governments are in reality only great bands of robbers and murderers, organized, disciplined and constantly on the alert.' (From No Treason: The Constitution of No Authority, first published 100 years ago, in 1870.)

BERNARD R. MILES.

'NO MAN IS GOOD ENOUGH TO BE ANOTHER MAN'S MASTER'

POSTERS ON SALE 5 for 2s.6d. including postage from Freedom Press

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE— THE POWER TO STRIKE

Plus 1/- per hundred Postage

50/- per thousand, postage extra

from Freedom Bookshop

SUBSCRIPTION **RATES, 1971**

INLAND Freedom 12 months £2.50 (£2 10s.) 6 months £1.25 (£1 5s.) £2.00 Anarchy 12 issues £1.00 6 issues Combined 12 months 6 months ABROAD (in \$ U.S.) Freedom 12 months \$3.00 6 months 12 issues \$5.00 Anarchy \$3.00 6 issues Combined 12 months \$11.00 6 months \$6.00 AIRMAIL 12 months \$10.00 Freedom 6 months \$5.00 12 issues \$10.00 Anarchy

6 issues

\$6.00

WHEN I USED to want a cast iron good read, I'd get myself a jazz book. They rarely failed. Condon's We Called It Music and Mezz Mezzrow's classic Really The Blues are among the best things I've ever read. They really had style and good feeling, pace, humour and a wealth of captivating anecdote -soul, in fact-and in that they matched up to the music. Thinking it would be the same with pop. I recently got myself three books relating to that

I was very disappointed. They had about as much soul as the stock market reports.

About eighteen months ago, unswinging Radio One and the music papers were heralding a great rock'n'roll revival. Pop was moving into its present sterile phase, it needed an injection of vitality and there was a deal of that in old rock. In the event the thing bombed. I attended the Bill Hailey concert, one of the curtain-raising events of the projected revival. It was mostly attended by tired, thirtyish Teds, who looked as though they'd drifted in from outposts like the Essex marshes, where things don't change too quickly. A bottle or two were thrown, there were a few scuffles and some pretty unspontaneous spontaneous jiving in the aisles. Afterwards, it all broke up and they drifted out into the dank night and went home in lonesome

Rock couldn't really be revived because most of the old performers, like Hailey himself, were as tired and dated as their residual fans. It was, in fact, a thing of the past, a lost folk music, something that lived in the memory and. like the rural blues, on scratchy old 78s. Yet, again like the rural blues, it was a rich scene and just waiting to be used for a hot nostalgia trip.

This is what Nik Cohn tries to do in the early parts of Awapbapaloobop Awopbamboom, subtitled 'Pop From the Beginning' (Paladin, 8/-). He tries really hard, sweating away to create an atmosphere of rave and magic. That he fails to make it work is the result of his limited linguistic capabilities and his lack of a genuine depth knowledge of his subject. His style is 'It's-all-happening', and leans heavily on a few endlessly repeated stock phrases strawn from the Transatlantic hip phrase book. But it is his lack of real facts that grates the He hasn't done the kind of

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ROCK

articles on the early and seminal Sun label and on Highschool Rockers that appeared recently in OZ.

He tells us nothing we didn't know already. We just follow along, checking off the familiar names and titles, and palmed off with potted biographies and background details that seem drawn for the most part from cheap trade publicity handouts. There are also some significant omissions-Jimmy Jones, for instance, and Bruce Chanel. And there is much about his structuring that seems awry, particularly when he comes to deal with black-based music. Black and white pop are, although they come together occasionally, entirely separate streams, and remain so for social and political reasons. Cohn deals inadequately with black music, making it a minor adjust of white. And he even tacks Blues onto Soul as a minor appendage!

He deals fleetingly with what rock's about. The message is in the title-Awopbopaloobop, Alopbamboom! climactic reprise of Little Richard's 'Tutti Frutti'. That is to say it's about swing, soul, rave-the basic, the nitty gritty.

This is accurate. Rock is basic and simple. And Cohn is also right when he says that the worst thing that ever happened to the music was when the musicians discovered they were Artists. He might also have added that it received another crippling blow when, cocking an ear to the sociologists, they found out that they were Rebels. As result of such developments, pretension set in, the musicians felt they had to live up to the image and tried to develop and become more significant. Being simple, rock gets lost when overstretched. It is most happy when fitted into the confines of the standard 45. Attempting to spread itself over one side of an LP, it's floundering. Jimi Hendrix's masterpieces, for instance, were his singles, especially All Along the Watchtower. And when other musicians try to be slow and serious, they often end up sounding like the ballad crooners

they'd rather swallow their amplifiers than be seen dead with. When they try to get spiritual and employ choirs and violins, we're back with the heavenly choruses and soaring strings of schmaltzy Hollywood musicals. When they try to get elaborately funky, they get hung up on technical problems that an experienced jazzman would cruise through

Cohn also believes that rock is also very much about style. Thus in his novel I'm Still The Greatest Says Johnny Angelo (Penguin, 5/-), his hero, a 'fabulous' figure who spans the entire history of rock and contains elements of all its greatest superstars, is a precocious 9-year-old Baudelaire taking pictures of himself in his red babysuit in the attic where he seeks refuge from his predictably squalid family. From there he goes through the motorcycle stage and thence to stardom. His personal style is Brandoesque: a compound of gunslinger cool and mannered juvenile delinguent bravado.

This is really what Nik Cohn's impressed by-the fantastic image of the rebel superstar, the mean man who's made it and, through the agency of the medium, transformed into something fantastic, superhuman. The beautiful decadence of it, the ruthless ambition and the gratuitous violence, are all emphasised. As are the gimmicks. At times the book reads like a compendium of pop gimmickry-clothing, hairstyles, motor bikes and limousines, comic strip heroes, American place names, drinks, . The ultimate goal is film stars. oblivion, an ecstatic death. A death with style.

The novel is, in fact, a potted history of pop in the form of a fable. The vehicle is unsuitable, as is the style of writing, which is formal, incantatory, pretentious. Again, pop is simple and basic. It is trivial, and although trivia are as essential for us as air, they become ridiculous if overstretched. This book is overstretched and ridiculous.

The last book, Groupie, by Jenny Fabian and Johnny Byrne (Mayflower, 7/-), was sad, and not just for being badly written, either. groupie, anyway, but about a girl bent on making it as a pop publicist. The scene had shifted to the contemporary Underground, the music was that particular brand of rock, but the values were much the same as in Nik Cohn's The heroine, Katie, is interested more or less solely in stars, and then in precise ratio to how big they're making As she climbs up the ladder of fame towards the superstars, there are more and more people she rejects, indeed must reject for the sake of her And each conquest isn't just an ego boost, but useful to her in what she calls her 'work scene'-her career.

It's incredible how the Underground rock world has created its own form of capitalist success system with a spanking new set of rules and class distinctions. The book oozes snobbish-What matters is not what a person is but how well he's got it together. Image is all important, and clothes, hairstyles, drugs, mysticism, intelligence (this is the Underground!) and sexual refinements in that they serve to fabricate image. Power freaks are ubiquitous, sado-masochism the basis of relationships. The music is a superfluity almost, a mere basis on which all the ego-tripping and hustling takes place. Communication is non-existent, love just for the lyrics, and every freak is very worried what his neighbour freak is thinking of him.

Predictably, the groupie loudly vaunts her sexual liberation. Yet even in this is as old as the hills. She uses her body to gain herself prestige and advancement just like Moll Flanders did. And, like Moll, she has her own little traces of Puritanism-she thinks the Plaster Casters of Chicago are pretty perverted. Her own principal taste is 'plating', an updating of the old word 'palating', meaning fellatio. She describes how she goes about it in some detail. Yet what the erotic passages lack is real tenderness or even a real delight in the activity itself. What is

really obtrusive is an unpleasant selfcongratulation at being so liberated. For her fellatio is ultimately not an erotic activity but an aspect of her image, a gimmick.

She would, of course, be stupid if she were unaware of all this. She is, and does attempt to bring in genuine feelings. She even rejects a pop star of very auspicious standing because he isn't treating her with warmth, as a real Yet there is something dishonest about these touches for the truth is that if she were really in search of such things she would skip the scene forthwith. That is the last thing on her

Drugs also figure, and here again the new snobberies of the Underground are revealed. Anyone who hasn't turned on, or who turns on inexpertly or messily, is outcast straightaway. One scene describes a callow initiate who, having taken an overdose, gets the horrors and is taken out and dumped in the street in case his ravings should attract the fuzz.

All this could be passed off as a form of liberated amorality, and yet it more forcibly suggests an erosion of All those who seek to transcend themselves in this way, to enter and live in the world of those exaggerated synthetic projections we call superstars, seem doomed to a loss of The recent deaths of basic humanity. Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin, both genuinely sensitive and creative artists, tend to confirm such a view.

JOHN SNELLING.



The Ad Hoc Basis of Revolutionary Organisation. The notorious article by Terry Phillips (originally published in FREEDOM) is soon to be republished as a duplicated leaflet. Available free from: Corby Anarchist Northants.

Industrial Worker: now available from Freedom Bookshop. Last 5 issues in stock at 1/- each + postage (4d. on 1 or 2, 6d. otherwise). Can supply up to 6 of each issue to bulk buyers for re-sale. Also see book list inside.

Solidarity, 1/- from 55 Union Street, East Brighton, Victoria 3187, Australia.

Young Man (degree) desperately seeks some form of employment. Ring 229 6713 (evenings only).

Exeter Group. Anyone interested in getting a group together contact: Nigel Outten, Westeria House, Cullompton Hill, Bradninch, Exeter. If possible, please write first.

George Foulser, now squatting as No. 090123, HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, S.W.2. Letters, books wel-

To Mike W. in Norwich: Thanks for note. Address please? Dave and Patricia.

Durham Anarchists-new group being formed. Contact Mike Mogie, 8

Mavin Street. Proposed Group: Kingston - on - Thames and surrounding area. Write to Roger Willis, 69 Woodlands Avenue,

New Malden, Surrey. Comrades in Plymouth wishing to form group or just meet other anarchists. Contact: John Northey, 16 Adelaide

Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth. Freedom Weekly? Eight pages every week? If all readers could get one extra subscription—it could be done. You may prefer to sell by the week. We can let you have copies on sale or return.

Wednesday discussion meetings at Freedom Meeting Hall from 8 p.m.

Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards.

Please help. Union of American Exiles in Britain: c/o WRI, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Los Amigos de Durruti. A group of active campaigners in London dedicated to the propagation of Anarchy (society organized without authority) and the defence of brothers in need. Write to Bill Dwyer, c/o Freedom Press.

Anarchists in Enfield area please contact Leroy Evans 01-360 4324.

Published ov Freedom Press, London, R.1

THIS WORLD

A NARCHY APPEARS in a radically different format as from the new year. The range and treatment of material will, I believe, match the technical changes. One of the results we hope for is increased circulation and one way any anarchist living in the London area can assist is to join the teams of sellers which are now being formed. You may write to Graham Moss at Freedom Press if you can help or come along to our social on the 23rd to discuss details. Graham will be at Freedom Press on Christmas Day and will be happy to welcome all callers. This particular effort is based in London but groups anywhere else are encouraged

Sellers for the new ANARCHY

to take similar action as they see fit. "You too" from South Africa

On his return from his South African tour the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ramsey, said that one of the features of life there that appalled him was the use by the government of security police employing large numbers of informers. In reply, the Commissioner of Police, General J. P. Gous, asserted that governments everywhere made use of such services. The use of informers by the British authorities, he said, was 'on a large scale'. There has been no reply from the British

Who goes to university?

The Universities Central Council on Admissions has published a booklet analysing the social groupings which are privileged or otherwise in their children securing admission to the universities. Professional men, technicians, artists comprising 8% of parents place their children in 31% of the available places in the universities. Similarly, administrators and managers (6%) obtain 15%, Manual and agricultural workers (64%) obtain 27%

This analysis is important practical evidence of the nature of privilege in society. It is not merely that we are living in a society where people enjoy higher incomes and greater privileges but that these are perpetuated in the family. A naive observer might conclude that the children of the clever will be brighter than those of ordinary workers. Unfortunately, what is true is that educated and better off families can provide the necessary incentives to curiosity and learning that are seldom present in the homes of the under-privileged. From my own experience, the fact that my father placed in the home Arthur Mee's Children's Encyclopaedia when we were still very young provided a source of general information, an incentive to the

natural desire of all children to learn, a to Colin Ward's 'Anarchism as a Theory wealth of valuable information, that in itself gave us a decided advantage in life.

This booklet, which is invaluable to all observers of our society, may be obtained from the UCCA, PO Box 28, Cheltenham, GL50 1HY.

Alternative Social Change

Dr. Donald Schon, who gave the fourth Reith lecture on BBC, contrasted conventional methods of social change with new, incomparably more spontaneous, means in such a way as to be of considerable interest to anarchists. Firstly, the conventional methods which apply to imperialism, the communist movement and industry all have in common central authority acting on a periphery which is expected to yield obedience and positive response. These systems are efficient as long as the periphery is compliant. Secondly, Dr. Schon refers to new business techniques which are only of academic interest to us and while partly an example of the new system still maintain a basic central control. It is the example of the youth movement with no fixed centre which is the better example and of prime importance to us. Dr. Schon

The message of the civil rights movement, the message of the Vietnam movement, the message of the youth movement has been constantly shifting. The theories arise spontaneously, they modify themselves over time, and the best you can say about them is that they have a kind of family resemblance to one another.

'You cannot describe the system as a centre-periphery system. . . . It is a kind of amoeba, with very light, clear boundaries, with no clear centre, with no clear structure, but with a very powerful, informal, inter-personal network that pulls the whole thing together.'

It is not denied that much of the success of the youth movement depends on modern technology. But it would be a very primitive anarchist indeed who would strip society of the positive aspects of technology-and they are many. Dr. Schon points to the value of the new system in education, in non-disruptive social change, in change of behavioural patterns according to the changes in situation. I maintain that there is the essence of substantial contribution to anarchist theory and practice in the Schon thesis. Something of an extension

of Organisation' (Anarchy 62).

Sacrifice in High Places?

Matching its determination to contain workers' wages the Government has announced rises of £3,500 in the salaries of marshals of the Air Force, admirals of the fleet, field marshals and at least £2,000 extra for the higher Civil Service, Lord Chief Justices, judges, chairmen of nationalised industry boards (hurray for socialism?), etc. These worthy gentlemen have made the grand gesture of agreeing to forego these increases for a period of six months. For example the Lord Chief Justice proposes to kick along with his present measly pittance of £14,250. Out will go his eager paw in six months for the awarded £16,750 if the Government accepts his charity of the moment. These gentlemen represent, we are told, the pick of intelligence, dignity, and propriety in our society. The Judges, in particular, are represented as symbols of impartiality. Who the hell do they think they are fooling?

A non-demonstration

No doubt as a follow-up to the denunciation of the decline of morals made by the annual conference of National Council of Women (Women's Liberation could make a good start in their onslaughts here) the Chief Constable of Lancashire and the Bishop of Blackburn have joined forces to stage a march against the 'evil running rampant in this country'. One evil which these worthies will ignore was highlighted recently by the legal attache to the Jamaican High Commission when he stated that:

'after visiting many magistrates' courts in Britain I can say with confidence that the attitude of the magistrates was to accept the evidence of the police officer unless the prisoner could prove his

ANARCHIST TOPICS

Worker Control of Industry

Readers of this column have asked me, in addition to treating with topical matters from an anarchist viewpoint, to include items of anarchist theory. This I propose doing henceforth. I start with the question of worker control because of its immediate concern to everyday life now. In a series of articles denouncing those who undermine 'our society' the Daily

Trotskvist, Communist, Socialist ('Anarchists with their Black Flags' are also mentioned) groups. One of the aims emphasised is worker control which has usually been thought of as a particularly anarchic objective. Some anarchists have, however, taken exception to the aim, objecting to the tyranny usually associated with the word 'control'.

Viewed objectively, worker control is

plainly an endeavour to secure for wor-

kers a share in the running of their lives

at work. Societies today-whether capitalist or communist-are characterised by the slavish position occupied by the worker, who is expected to obey without question the orders of his betters. Some individualist' anarchists maintain that the worker is fitted only for obedience. For example, S. E. Parker in a talk at Freedom Press on November 25 recalled from his experience in a printing shop that the workers were incapable of grasping even the simplest issues and he did not see any prospect of change in this situation. Part of the answer to this, I would say, is that when people have been conditioned to obedience and authority from the very beginning of their lives they will often show apparent inability to exercise faculties which lie dormant but are nonetheless innate. The fact that workers have, given the necessary preparation and education, displayed initiative and creativity gives the lie to the bald statement that change is impossible. We must concede the difficulties but a philosophy of despair and pessimism will bring its own results viz. nil Although Francis Ellingham would probably be opposed to the anarcho-syndicalism which I am espousing he did show, in last week's FREEDOM, the basic weakness and impoverishment of Parker's position which is essentially elitist and insulting. Another objection made to worker control is that because of the size of the population participation in decision-making for all is impossible. This is extraordinarily simplistic as it envisages only the situation where millions of people are called on to make collective decisions. Of course in fact we all live in relatively small groups-even a large industry is comprised of a multitude of departments and sections-and it is within these groups that collective decision-making is meaningful and possible. It is on this limited goal we should first concentrate. Problems of larger coordination can be resolved as development requires. We need no blueprints BILL DWYER

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1