

# Sweet Thunder at St. Paul's

THE EASTER MARCH always ends in a muddled and boring anti-climax at the Square—this year there was somewhere to go after the usual ritual from the platform. The 'short walk to freedom' ending in a meeting at St. Paul's did provide some sort of climax to the march and for a change left me feeling (paradoxically) elated, rather than deflated.

The reason was a very well staged and moving tribute to M.L.K., in the form of songs and words, held on the steps of St. Paul's. There is a natural amphitheatre at the top of Ludgate Hill, backed by St. Paul's and flanked by office blocks, and thousands of us, not all anarchists, packed in to hear Dakota Staton open the tribute.

Then a miracle! London first genuine happening! Her voice winged up from the steps and rang around the columns in a sort of vocal explosion—with Philby Joe Jones' drums and Pete King's feathery tenor fanning the flames. There

she stood, surrounded by marchers and police, looking fabulous in a slinky black dress and fur coat and socking out her own version of Cherokee 'for Martin Luther King' as though he were in the audience in front of her.

Other speakers/singers came and went. Stuart Hall, Julie Felix, the beautiful P. P. Arnold and that Peter Pan of the pop world the sinister voiced Alexis Korner all spoke and performed well but it was Dakota Staton who sliced through the self-conscious solemnity of the occasion and somehow made us understand what Montgomery and Selma were all about.

For a moment or two Jazz, Art, Joy and Sorrow all combined there on the steps of St. Paul's and hit us right in the guts. At the end it was not even possible to sing 'We Shall Overcome' without feeling that we'd stumbled into a service by accident.

JEFF CLOVER.

# FOR A FREE SCHOOL

THIS is an appeal circulated in the schools of Ancona; a copy was sent for publication in 'L'Internazionale'.

Students of Ancona:  
A great part of the Italian universities are in a state of upheaval; many faculties have been occupied by the students who were forced to use 'revolutionary' methods after vainly attempting to reach a dialogue with the scholastic authorities, who refused to consider students' suggestions for an improvement in university conditions.

During the demonstrations police intervention was even requested. The police replied with their usual brutal violence to the peaceful intentions of the demonstrators.

It would not be possible here to give a complete analysis of the motives which have driven the students to rebellion, in view of the vastness and complexity of the university problem, one of the most grave and outstanding in our society. But we can say that everything centres round a few fundamental points which should, we think, be considered.

The students demand, within the university, the abolition of all authoritarianism, of every denial of individual and group liberty; they call for the introduction of democracy in the form of a dialogue between lecturers and students. In this dialogue present-day problems of the most outstanding interest should be treated, and the students recognize their duty to take up clear-sighted and respon-

sible attitudes to these problems.

The students, in fact, want a culture which is not merely intellectual (and hence an end in itself), but which will also serve as a basis on which they can form a wider conception of human existence, a conception which will not leave on one side those social, economic and political elements which count for so much in the life of all mankind. Hence, from criticisms of the university structure the students have passed to a criticism of society itself, of which the universities are only the logical reflection. The present political system, along with the myth of the 'welfare' state has been thrown open to discussion and, moreover, condemned. The right of all young people to study has been invoked, from whatever social stratum they originate, and in general equality between all individuals in all spheres of activity.

The ideological orientations, more or less mature, are all diverse, but all tend to a superseding of the plans of political parties, of which some, while putting forward schemes for university reform, have shown themselves incapable of offering a valid way of achieving this.

This situation has led to a rejection of party politics and to the search for a means of united effort which will transcend the banal antics of parliament and of party rivalry.

The need to reject authoritarianism felt by the university students cannot fail to arouse in youth the consciousness of a struggle for the radical renovation of our society.

We call, therefore, on all who are not unmoved by this appeal, to show their support in some concrete way.

From L'Internazionale, Areona (1.3.68).

tr: jws.

# Calling London Workers!

Demonstrate in a great anti-Government March and Meeting on WEDNESDAY, May 1. Assemble at Tower Hill at 11.45 a.m.

# 'Don't Mourn—Organise!'

RUDI DUTSCHKE'S would-be assassin has followed the example of Martin Luther King's killer; German students answered the murder attempt in similar fashion to Negroes in America's slums. The comparison does not stop there. The authorities have also behaved similarly. Both President Johnson and Chancellor Kiesinger sent moving letters of regret to Mrs. King and Mrs. Dutschke, whilst they called out the police and riot troops to control the situation. Official Government propaganda in both countries also resorted to the same trick—to some effect—they have tried to subdue the rebellious populations by exhortations to non-violence.

Martin Luther King's funeral was the greatest tear-jerker in the best Hollywood tradition. All television channels and newspapers gave it the full treatment. Had Rudi Dutschke died it also would have been an occasion for 'national' mourning in Germany.

The death of opponents gives the State officials a great opportunity for pretending conveniently the adoption of the erstwhile opponents philosophy.

Many people noticed and were repulsed by this hypocrisy. How dare a Johnson, one of the greatest murderers of all time, and a Kiesinger, of the German War Machine that insists on acquiring a 'nuclear

capability', how dare they prattle about non-violence?

On a smaller scale, well-meaning individuals and organisations who play up to this Governmental interest in 'non-violence' and succumb to the temptation of free publicity are doing a dis-service to the ideals of both Luther King and Rudi Dutschke.

The importance of Martin Luther King was his determination to do his own thinking. It is not the job of revolutionaries to enshrine him.

Rudi Dutschke, like the Provo heroes, has managed with the help of many likeminded comrades to put vitality into Marxism and, if not exactly anarchism, then Bakuninism. The activities of the German SDS are culminating in 'a wildly ambitious rebellion against authoritarianism, symbolised by the grand coalition in Bonn but encountered in schools, universities and the police'. ('Letter from a Berlin Revolutionary'—FREEDOM, 17.2.68.)

There is now in West Germany something that has not happened anywhere else in the world since Spain—an extra-parliamentary opposition force. This mainly draws its inspiration from students but their slogan 'The Students Today—The Workers Tomorrow' indicates that they are serious about revolution and not as contemptuous about the 'workers' as the Provo were.

They realize that they cannot achieve a revolution without a working-class base.

This is one of the reasons for the virulence of the attacks on them by the German Press and authority who 'warn' against the emergence of an extreme right wing party to oppose the extra-parliamentary forces. This is what they really hope to create anyway.

There are signs that an extra-parliamentary opposition force is also emerging in this country. But whether we are non-violent or violent (and was Martin Luther King really non-violent and is Rudi Dutschke really violent?) we have to put more life into our 'paper' organisations.

JOHN RETY.

# Springer Demo at Daily Mirror

ABOUT 2,000 demonstrators left Trafalgar Square to show their solidarity with Rudi Dutschke and the German Socialist Students League (SDS). They marched to the Daily Mirror building in Holborn where Axel Springer, the owner of two out of three of Germany's national newspapers, has offices on the fourth floor.

Springer's newspapers have been whipping up hysteria against students and must share part of responsibility for the attempt on Rudi Dutschke's life.

Well before the march arrived police and pressmen had taken up their positions. Five coaches were parked in front of the building and the police formed several cordons, the main one being six deep. The march did break through some cordons, not violently but by their weight of numbers.

The police charged the demonstrators and started arresting anyone they could get their hands on. When they failed with one chap, they picked on a teenage girl who was standing nearby, doing nothing. There was an attempt to get her away but this was unsuccessful. This solidarity between demonstrators when arrests occur is a new and welcome aspect of recent demonstrations.

FREEDOM REPORTER.

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

# THEY'RE AT IT AGAIN

ON SUNDAY LAST, April 14, I was as usual selling FREEDOM at my regular 'pitch' outside the Park Lane gate at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, when a police inspector swooped down on me and took me into custody for contravening Section 121 (1) of the Highways Act, 1959, in relation to wilful obstruction of a free passage along the highway.

This same inspector had no occasion to speak to me before my rather abrupt arrest, and nobody had lodged a complaint any time previously. Sellers have always stood on either side of the crowd milling at and near the gate leading into Speakers' Corner itself, and over the years have always stood on or behind a 'line' in this case the edge of the paving-stone. Last Sunday, a cumbersome fruit barrow had pitched opposite to where I was selling, and with the hot-dog merchant selling a few yards away, naturally there was congestion, particularly when a lot of people were leaving the park, while others were entering from the subway.

Anyway, in the mind of this inspector I was obstructing other people's passage into the park (I suppose a fruit barrow three times the width of Oliver Hardy and taking up more room than all the sellers combined doesn't count as an obstruction) and people either bought FREEDOM or ignored me. The inspector asked me to stand in some ridiculous place where I'd have no hope of attracting any custom, i.e. where few people bother to walk because if they want the Bayswater Road, they'd sooner cross the tarmac, and my regular customers couldn't be blamed if they assumed FREEDOM wasn't being sold that afternoon. I told the inspector this, but of course one mustn't argue, and when I told him who I considered was obstructing the passageway, I was escorted to a police car.

In fact if I'd complied with the inspector's request to move I could have stood between the Maoists sellers, who were back by the railings, and very welcome I'd have been! On a fine day I can make a £1 from selling papers, and have plied my 'trade' in the very same spot for two years now, but try telling that to an unsympathetic police inspector, and you will most likely spend the remainder of a sunny afternoon in the cells of Marylebone 'D' Division station. I was released

on bail and I was due to appear at Marlborough Street on Tuesday.

What I think will happen is that there will be a clamp-down on sellers by the police, similar to the action they took last summer, when if I remember rightly the Maoists first starting selling and obstructing other sellers who were then prevented by the police from selling, while Mao's men stayed put. At present, in this, Human Rights Year, you've little right to sell anything which speaks for a minority, but if you are selling fruit, hot-dogs and ice-cream and helping the manufacturers of these products towards big profits for the summer, then you're welcome to all the space there is outside the gates at Speakers' Corner.

RON PEARL.

P.S.—Ron Pearl pleaded 'Not Guilty'. Case adjourned until May 6 because arresting officer not present.

# MOBILE VOLUNTARY WORK TEAM

Dear Friends,

For the past two months a mobile voluntary work team has been undertaking work projects throughout England that will benefit the community. The team is the one instigated by Barnaby Martin, whose articles on voluntary work appeared in FREEDOM and Anarchy in the latter half of last year.

The projects undertaken so far are the decoration of Stanley House Community Centre in Liverpool, and the outside decoration of Formby Hall, which is to be used as a holiday home for the lesser privileged families of the Bronte district of Liverpool. The third was the construction of a playground at Lingfield Hospital School for Epileptic Children. The project to commence on April 1 is at Colchester (106 Hythe Hill, Colchester) and is the decoration of a home for unsupported mothers.

The group consists of 16 men and women living and working as a free co-operative community. Each individual has an equal and responsible feeling towards the group. The principles of most of the members of the group is anarchic, and their aim is to try and

develop a new way of life in which service and enjoyment are the motives of work. These principles are passed on to members of the communities that we work in by discussions and film shows given by members of the group to schools and any local groups, such as peace action, anarchist, etc., who are prepared to meet us.

After the project at Colchester, the team intends splitting to cover a wider range of projects and attracting more volunteers. It is open to anyone who wishes to volunteer for any length of time. Most volunteers are unskilled to start with but devoted to aid fundamental social and economic change. Needless to say donations of any kind, whether material or otherwise would be gratefully received.

Details on any of the above matters can be obtained from John W. Poulson, c/o Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.

JOHN W. POULSON,  
MIKE BAILLIE,  
GRENVILLE CUSTARD,  
MARGARET MILLETT.

# ANARCHY 86

# FISHERMEN & Workers Control

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# Can He Really Be Black?

THERE ARE FEW people in the US who see that country as it is: mass psychosis is so endemic, neither liberals nor radicals are exempt. Any interpreter outside, without having been, however inadvertently, a participator in double-think and in the deranged behaviour patterns of the US gets left behind. It requires exposure on the one hand and conversely, detachment: one has to experience it and not be of it. It is unreasonable to expect someone unfamiliar with the degree of American disintegration (may I say spiritual disintegration?) since World War II to find contemporary US believable.

This is a country with a high casualty in psychological tomfoolery. It makes self criticism exceedingly difficult, for it runs counter to the prevailing tone of psycho-analytically oriented self-justification—where guilt is omnipresent but sublimated—by an ability to rationalize everything. It is the country of weak-minded centrism, of the most meaningless of liberalisms, the country par excellence of Choose the Lesser Evil, add Napalm and Serve. It is the country where anarchists voted for Johnson because Goldwater was much worse!

This is not the appropriate time to analyze the American condition but only in its context can one appreciate the miracle of James Baldwin. I say miracle thoughtfully for with every sort of prop from which to select his blinders—he is an artist and artists with integrity are the most persecuted of all minorities, a political, a Negro, sexually unconventional and conventionally homely (I find him beautiful) and with the vulnerable temperament of a racehorse—he is the most accurate observer of American mores I know. I mean accurate; I do not mean eloquent only, although he is that, certainly.

I find unacceptable and nearly as distressing as they must be to Baldwin, the attitudes of sympathizers, including the author of this 'biography' (Fern Marja Eckman: *The Furious Passage of James Baldwin*, Michael Joseph) for whom he is too individual and too radical, who pat him but disbelieve in the enormity of his genius, and who, because he will not play the liblab reformist safe game, employ featherbedding inuendoes: *S-sh-sh, it's not that bad, nice boy, only keep quiet. Us white liberals'll take care of it all for you . . . by and by. We don't mind your help, but what you fightin' mad FOR?* Is it (slyly they insinuate) that your step-dad was paranoid? (There's that psycho-analytic brainwashing. Paranoia is not the healthiest, but it is the most plausible response to being an American, White or Black. It is, after all, the national disease—one doesn't need a paranoid father when one's fatherland is paranoid—and early heart failure and cancer are merely symptoms.)

Only two among the Negroes I've

known well—and I cannot think of a White American similarly endowed—seem to enjoy sound health; one is a carpenter and an anarchist, the other a singer of international reputation. Both are very good looking and obviously exceptional people anyway, but this cannot explain their escape from the furious lunacy that hounds them, nor can it account for their immense capacity for fun or their contented endurance.

When singing leads and on tour, a Boston hotel refuses to admit him—late at night and in a blizzard—he comforts the company all prepared to leave in solidarity, shrugs, finds another place. It leaves no discernible mark. Impotent fury, murder, arson—what is the healthy response to the insanity of racism? I understand Baldwin because for ten years I have thought of a man behind a desk and dreamed of the destruction of a hotel in Boston.

Perhaps other responses are more intelligent—Martin Luther King's or my aforementioned friends—but they are no more intelligible. When the latter, genuinely but erroneously modest—his is a great voice which I may have been the first, but not the last to compare with

AFTER A YEAR OFF the scene Dylan is back—with a new voice, a new band and a new LP (*John Wesley Harding*, CBS), the wicked messenger has descended from the mountain and it's time for us proles to rush out and hear the news.

Any Dylan LP is an event and this one, coming after a motor-cycling neck-breaking accident routine and a rumoured marriage, is even more of an event. Maybe it's the broken neck that's done it, or maybe the marriage, but Dylan's voice sounds different—shriller, and even more strangled on higher notes than before, but with all the old intensity and conviction plus an obvious care to make each word heard and understood. I've never supported the argument that Dylan is a mediocre performer of very good songs, for me the medium is the message and I've always preferred his own versions of his songs. The televised concerts in 1965 were superb performances and confirmed the power of his own personality which I first felt when he sang, way back, at the Singers Club.

On his new record, Dylan plays his tetchy and idiosyncratic harmonica on every track, as well as singing, playing guitar and piano as usual, and is supported by bass and drums and steel guitar on a couple of songs. This represents a clean break with the rock 'n' roll band backing of his last few pre-accident records and quite clearly the words of these songs are meant to be HEARD. The thicket of mumbled imagery that choked his songs in the period between 'Like a Rolling Stone' and 'Blonde on Blonde' has been swept away too, and

Caruso's—can say: *Look, I know why I'm—where I am. There are lots of good tenors but I'm a Negro and this is Mr. White's bit.* He's not bitter, but how is this possible?

James Baldwin, with the bruised awareness of an inhabitant of No Man's Land, is often, perhaps constantly, bugged. He told me once about attending the President's arts dinner (his anecdotal style is in the manner of the great tragic clowns): *There I was in the line-up in fancy clothes and announced and all that jazz and there across the room dressed same as me and looking like me, all the Negro waiters carrying trays. And I wanted to pick up a tray and . . . We roared with laughter, but it was anguished.*

Through the curiously detached admiration of Mrs. Eckman (one queries her motive in authoring the book) emerges the unmistakable irritation the cool experience when in contact with heat. It is useless to explain that one can't shed so much light without the heat it generates. Liberals, white and black, are frightened by intensity. They keep saying Nice Baby to Baldwin, hoping not so much that he isn't Really

## Welcome Back Bob Dylan

his new songs approach the simplicity of those of the 'Times They are a Changin'' era. The great 'is Dylan going commercial?' debate was an ace drag because it was arguing about the wrong things . . . for me the electricdylan period was marked out by the lack of good songs, not by the decibel level of the backing group, and apart from 'Like a Rolling Stone' and 'Sad Eyed Lady of the Lowlands', very little of his work from that period sticks in my mind. *John Wesley Harding*, then, is a return, not so much to a previous style, as to a previous quality and for my 32s. 7d. is the best LP since the incredibly under-rated *Another Side of Bob Dylan*. This LP included 'It Ain't Me Babe', a very funny spoof on Psycho . . . 'there stood Rita lookin' just like Tony Perkins' called 'Motorpsycho nitemare', the immense and apocalyptic 'Chimes of Freedom', and a wry letdownlove song, 'I Don't Believe You' with these so-right lines . . . 'her skirt swayed as the guitars played her mouth was watery and wet but now something has changed she ain't the same

she just acts like we never have met.'

## Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation.

Demonstrate in a great anti-government march and meeting on Wednesday, May 1 (11.45 a.m. Tower Hill! Offer your help to the London May Day Committee, 29 Love Walk, S.E.5.

AFB ANNUAL CONFERENCE. Can a group take on the job of organising it this year (other than London). Contact LFA.  
LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1. Business meetings first Sunday of the month. For details apply to LFA.  
LEWISHAM. Contact Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone: 01-852 8879.  
EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.  
KING'S CROSS GROUP. c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1.  
S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS. Contact: 14 Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acre Lane end), S.W.4.

### OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.  
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Rooum's; now at 13 Saverlake Road, London, N.W.3.  
3rd Friday of each month at Dennis Fen's, 314 St. Paul's Road, Highbury Corner, N.1 (above Roundabout Self-Service).

### REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS meet 1st and 3rd Wednesdays of month at M. Dey's, 142 Walker Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Liz Smith's, 3 Sinclair Road. Correspondence to either address.  
ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION (SWF) local group. Folk Song Workshop and Committee of 100. Collater Climbing Club. Contact Iain MacDonald, 15 Cotton Street, Aberdeen.  
BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUP. All anarchists, syndicalists, individualists, etc., please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, 32 Swindon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 17 (near Portland Road). Note new address.  
BOLTON. Get in touch with Les Smith, 22 Grosvenor Street, Bolton, Lancs.  
BOURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS. Please contact John McCain, 14 Milton Road, Bournemouth (B'm'th 22279) or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne, Dorset (Ferndown 3588).  
BRIGHTON. Get in touch with Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton. Poetry readings 8 to 10 Pool Coffee Bar, Pool Valley,

Brighton.  
BRISTOL ANARCHISTS. Contact Susie Fisher and Adam Nicholson at 15 The Paragon, Bristol, 8.  
CROYDON and area Libertarians alternate Fridays from April 26, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, Croydon.  
FIFE LIBERTARIANS. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, Fife.  
GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.  
HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South View, Potters Heath Lane, Potters Heath, Welwyn, Herts OR Jeff Cloves, 46 Hughendon Road Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.  
IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.  
KILBURN, LONDON. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.  
LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.  
NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.  
NOTTING HILL. Please get in touch with John Bennett and Marilyn Paddy, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, London, W.11. Tel.: 727 9745. Meetings every Monday at 7 p.m.  
ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.  
READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

### ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Keith Nathan, 138 Penny-mead, Harlow, Essex.  
Group Addresses:—  
BASILDON. M. Powell, 7 Lingcroft, Basildon, Essex.  
BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.  
CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purlidge, Chelmsford, Essex.  
EPPING. John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.  
HARLOW. John Deards, 184 Carter's Mead, Harlow, and/or Geoff Hardy, 6 Redricks Lane, Harlow, Essex. Monthly meetings in 'The Essex Skipper', The Stew, Harlow.  
LOUGHTON. Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

MUCH HADHAM. Leslie Riddan, High Street, Much Hadham, Herts.

NORTH EAST ESSEX. Peter Newell, 'Maybush', Naypole Road, Tiptree, Essex. Group meets first Monday in each month, 7.15 p.m. at 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex.

### NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.  
CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley, Lancs.  
LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT. Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.  
MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Dave Poulson, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.  
MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Pete Sacker, 22 Sandon Street, Liverpool. Meetings: First Thursday of month, 8 p.m.

### SOUTH WALES ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 90 Albany Road, Roath.  
SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact J. Ross, 111 King Edward's Road, Brynmill, Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.

### STUDENT GROUPS

EAST ANGLIA UNIVERSITY GROUP (Anarchists and Peace). Contact Dave King, 17 Havelock Road, Norwich.  
LSE ANARCHIST GROUP. c/o Student Union, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C.2.  
OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Steve Watts, Trinity College.  
SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact Robin Lovell c/o Students' Union, Sheffield.  
SOUTHWARK COLLEGE (New Libertarian Front). Contact Dave Biggs, Room T/7.  
LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact us at the Bookstall in the Students Union Entrance Foyer every Friday lunchtime. May 3, 7.30, Students Union—Cartoon Archetypical Slogan Theatre, Dennis Gould and the Sound Structure Quintet, Brian Patten and Adrian Mitchell.

### LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

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

Black—although that would help—but that he isn't so much brighter than they. Even in London, one weekly devoted two long columns to shaking a chastising forefinger at LeRoi Jones and one brief paragraph, to a nod, via this book, at 'Baldwin's talent . . . real, resilient, and developing'. Shucks. Baldwin was born developed and Offays don't like Developed Nigras, whether they think they ought or not.

I can recommend this book only to those who know Baldwin's work and can afford forty-two shillings for these asides. Otherwise, they'd be better off reading Baldwin, who's out in paperback here. The technique of taping is most satisfactory, for in the abundance of quotes, there's nothing Baldwin says that isn't worth saying.

I certainly have long ago changed my once brash young mind about James Baldwin. A mutual friend brought him to visit before he had published and I afterwards announced that he couldn't amount to anything because he talked too well. He is more eloquent and more entertaining now. With the appearance of his first book, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, it was apparent that here was not only one of the terribly few honest and brave and damning critics in the US, but one of the great writers (which in better than two centuries numbers under a dozen) of American literature.

DACHINE RAINER.

Dylan has written consistently good love songs and 'I'll Be Your Baby Tonight' on his new record is again a tender and pretty song with a strong Country and Western flavour. This song, together with 'Down Along the Cove', a very funky blues with a marked Stax-influenced backing and Dylan playing very fair piano, are the least mysterious and most obviously appealing on the record. The remaining songs are concerned with outlaws, drifters, immigrants, gamblers, hobos and strange meetings . . . at least on the surface they are. Apart from the title song which is reminiscent of Guthrie's 'Pretty Boy Floyd' and the curious 'Ballad of Frankie Lee and Judas Priest' (and these only remotely), none of the events in the songs take place in a land which is recognisably America. Rather, the inhabitants of Dylan's songs meet, act out their dramas and part, in a barren and largely featureless landscape similar to the one in which Estragon and Vladimir fretted and bitched while waiting for Godot.

The songs, too, appear to be free from the lengthy autobiographical references and in-group jargon which the all-electric Dylan was like to pass off as art, and in these songs he even points a moral or two . . .

'stay free of petty jealousies live by no man's code and hold your judgment for yourself . . . in 'I Am a Lonesome Traveller', and in 'The Ballad of Frankie Lee and Judas Priest' . . . 'so when you see your neighbour carrying something

Continued on page 3

### PROPOSED GROUPS

EDINBURGH anarchists contact Konrad Borowski, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3. Tel.: WAV 7459.  
TAUNTON LIBERTARIANS. Contact Jill and John Driver, 59 Beadon Road, Taunton, Somerset. Meetings alternate Friday evenings.  
ELTHAM (Libertarian/Peace Action). Contact Terry Liddle, 83 Gregory Crescent, S.E.9.  
EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.  
FINCH'S (PORTOBELLO ROAD) ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Pamela Pearce, 385 Latimer Road, W.10. Meetings every Saturday 1 p.m. at Finch's.  
LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE ANARCHISTS. Interested in forming a small but dedicated group? Contact Terry Ann Higgins and Phil Woodhead, 6 Beecham Street Central, Morecambe.  
EAST LONDON. Contact Ron Bailey, 128 Hainault Road, Leytonstone, E.11. LEY 8059.

### ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.  
DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Gothersgade, 27, Viborg, Denmark.  
VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.  
USA: VERMONT. New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Meets weekly—discussion, individual action. Contact Ed. Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.  
SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.  
SWEDEN: Libertad, Allmänna Vägen 6, Gothenburg V.  
TORONTO ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact R. Campbell, 219 TorYork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings.  
BELGIUM: LIEGE. Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium.  
EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.  
USA. James W. Cain, secretary, Insurgency Anarchist Association, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.  
GROUP-TREASON. Australian Anarchist, c/o Melbourne University Union or Paddy Evans, c/o the same.  
MELBOURNE. Get in touch with Bob Hopkins, 34 Dorritt Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia. Public meetings at Victoria Hall, Melbourne.

## Should we have stayed away?

Dear Sirs,  
 Congratulations on your thoughtful and sensible editorial, 'Neither Washington Nor Hanoi'. One correction: you give the 1956 peasant uprising in North Vietnam as resulting in 10,000-15,000 killed and 12,000 sent to forced labour camps. These estimates are low. Bernard Fall, whose books are generally the most reliable on Vietnam, estimates a death toll of 50,000 and an imprisonment of 100,000 and, of course, there are estimates which go up to half a million killed.

You also wrote that there is 'a need for non-aligned demonstrations in sympathy with the people of Vietnam'. I agree absolutely and I very much regret that, instead of beginning to organise such demonstrations, some anarchists were hypocritical enough to parasite themselves onto a demonstration which they knew perfectly well was organised to support a communist dictatorship and its extension into the whole of Vietnam. To say that the anarchist's place is with 'the people' when they come out onto the streets to challenge the police and authority, as Wynford Hicks and John Rety do in your last issue, is either stupid self-delusion or deliberately dishonest pseudo-romantic bullshit. They call 'the people' what amounts to .00033 of the population. In any case, the majority of them did not set out with the ideas ascribed to them by Rety and Hicks. Many from the provinces were deceived into believing that the demonstration was for peace in Vietnam, not victory for one side, and were not aware that the VSC were the organisers. Many others who support peace, not military victory, in Vietnam, were foolish enough to associate themselves with this march despite this and despite the fact that there had been clear warnings of violence. As the *Guardian* commented: 'All sorts of people want to see the Vietnam war stopped and those who actually demonstrate about it are just as varied... those who turned up for Sunday's march included many solid (thick?) citizens, many with small children on their shoulders and idealistic young people whose protest was probably intended to cover wider social and political ills than the Vietnam war. But there were also a clearly visible minority determined to be violent.'

I truly grieve that some anarchists belonged to that minority. I cannot call them comrades of mine (if they bloody well don't want to be, that's fine with me). Don't they see that they helped to cause a situation in which innocent people were injured, that their violence was supporting a cruel and oppressive dictatorship, that states are born in this sort of violence carried further, that if CIA agents provocateurs had organised the demonstration, they couldn't have hoped for a better outcome? Are they proud of themselves for having helped to cause a situation in which many demonstrators and 121 policemen were injured? Are they proud of giving a man a fractured spine? What would they have felt like, if some demonstrators or policemen had died? That's what's going to happen, if such violence continues.

That some policemen were out for a fight also and that police brutality of the kind Simon Watson-Taylor describes happened I don't doubt. In completely

non-violent demonstrations that also often happens. I know how provocative police horses riding at you can be, and how clumsy police tactics can turn a situation into an ugly one. It's also perfectly clear that some political and non-political thugs deliberately beat up policemen and that some of those neurotic thugs have the utter hypocrisy to call themselves 'anarchists'. A pity *FREEDOM* couldn't spare a little space to describe these brutalities also and very dishonest of its editors. Rety writes that 'all police would have behaved the same way', but that's just not true. In most countries, many demonstrators would have been permanently injured and quite probably some killed. The National Council of Civil Liberties, a valuable, if limited, ally of ours, while pointing out police provocation and excesses, also said: 'There was widespread praise among those present for the restraint of the majority of police officers. With this the NCCL concurs. Unwarrantable brutality did occur when certain officers were provoked beyond endurance...'

Of course the violence by both sides in Vietnam makes this disgraceful brawl seem unimportant and, of course, those who support either side in Vietnam have no moral right to condemn this violence, but it was still unjustified thuggery which harmed the cause of peace and of anarchism.

What were the effects of this demonstration? Most of the British people, far from seeing the harmfulness of a police force, had what they think of as the necessity of its existence strongly confirmed and their sympathy for it, which they had been gradually losing, was strongly renewed. Most of the British press were able to use the violence of a minority in a demonstration supporting war and Vietcong victory to smear very effectively the anti-war movement with which this brawl had little to do. Those Americans who see newsreels of it and who might have been changing their opinions about the war may now decide not to come out against the war, if doing so seems to mean associating themselves with violent thugs and with a Vietcong victory policy. Those in the Communist countries who see newsreels of it, particularly in Vietnam, will be greatly deceived by them into thinking that the British peace movement supports their side of the war and is usually violently suppressed by the police. Many ordinary people in Britain who might have been persuaded to demonstrate against it may now decide not to, if it seems to them that these are the kind of people that they would be associated with and this is the kind of violence they might be involved in.

Thus the true effects, in the short-term, were a weakening of those forces against the war, a weakening of the anarchist cause, a possible prolongation of the war with more bloody slaughter by both sides, a strengthening of public sympathy for the police and possibly for the US in Vietnam. Johnson and Ho Chi Minh and their agents couldn't have planned it better themselves. Did they?

What can anarchists do? Dissociate themselves clearly and completely in act as well as word from those who support military victory for either side in Vietnam and refrain from violence which serves their opponents' ends (and turns them into their own worst enemies). Start organising, with *Peace News*, the PPU and others, the non-aligned demonstrations they keep talking about. Collect medical aid for the suffering of all people in Vietnam and split it 50-50 between the Medical Aid Committee and the Disaster Emergency Fund. Send blood to both sides. Ask the advice from their Harlow, Lewisham, Fulham and Birmingham comrades about what non-aligned demonstrations mean. And, finally, send money to *Freedom Press*, not only to aid those on charges (silly bastards though most of them (the unframed) are), but also to send to that policeman with a fractured spine, apologising for the thugs who fraudulently appropriate the words 'anarchist' and 'peace' and explaining why we hope he'll make his own decision to leave the police force whose existence we think as harmful as the violence done to him.

Yours faithfully,  
 GODFREY FEATHERSTONE.  
 Birmingham, 16.

## Vietnam Dollars

Dear Friends,  
 As some of you may know, Terry Chandler is appealing against his conviction under the Forgery Act relating to the dollars with a Vietnam slogan on them.

It would be a help for him to know of anyone who has been convicted of some offence relating to these dollars in a magistrate's court: would anyone who has been charged or convicted, or anyone who knows of such a case, please write to me with details (date, place, amount of fine, etc.) as soon as possible.

NICHOLAS BOHM.  
 12 Kidderpore Gardens,  
 London, N.W.3.

## LETTERS/CONTROVERSY

### PEACE NEWS replies

Dear Editors,  
 As you kindly pointed out last week, the letter from Aberdeen Worker—I wish he would sign his proper name—should really have been sent to our contributor Richard Matthews who, it now appears, may well have misled and misinformed people. If this is in fact the case, we can only apologise and ensure that it doesn't happen again. I can only speak for myself, but I certainly would never try to get anyone 'framed' nor would I ever 'shop' anyone to the State. That is the simple truth, and Aberdeen Worker will have to take it or leave it.

However, just let me speak for a moment concerning his ignorant and abusive remarks about assistance for draft dodgers. To the best of my knowledge (and here again, I speak only for myself) absolutely nothing from 'The Aberdeen Branch of the Syndicalist Worker's Federation' about assistance to American draft dodgers has arrived in this office. If it had, we would of course have published the information. Again, that is the truth. If it is to be met by cynical jeers from Aberdeen Worker, so be it. We may not be 'a serious working-class group'—though some of us have done our time in damned hard manual labour in order to keep alive—but we too advocate revolution: the permanent revolution, I mean, which is probably somewhat different to that which Aberdeen Worker advocates.

He charges that we do not have the 'guts' to declare publicly our intention to help American comrades and thus risk possible arrest. For his information, the question of declaring our intentions, actions, and general willingness publicly has never really entered into our style vis-a-vis assistance to draft refusers. Certainly it does not seem such a big deal to me. I say 'actions' and 'style' because, in point of fact, all of us at this office have been engaged for some time in actively assisting American draft resisters, dodgers, and deserters from the American Army—by loaning or giving money, working out escape plans and routes, fixing passports, putting them up at our homes while they're in London, setting up an aid network, hustling them over to the Continent, and so forth.

Then, why the fuss over the 'public' or 'non-public' declaration? If these fellows want to get out the bloody Army or resist the American draft, they find out soon enough that we in London are ready to help them to the absolute limit of our abilities and circumstances. Aberdeen Worker seems to be saying

that, with regard to assisting draft resisters and dodgers, he's the biggest, bravest, toughest man in Britain. Perhaps he needs to do this—but then, that's his psychological problem, not mine. However, it might be somewhat therapeutic for him to be told—now, in public, and, I hope, without any overtones of 'anti-working-class pig-shit'—that we at *Peace News* not only intend to help American comrades but have in fact been doing so for some considerable time. And now I hope he's satisfied.

ROGER BARNARD,  
 Co-Editor, *Peace News*.

### SNP and the Scottish Conference

Dear Comrades,  
 About the letter from my good friend Ian Sutherland (*FREEDOM*, 23.3.68). I can't agree that 'the Scottish scene is moving to the right'. The minority who take part in local elections may show a temporary preference for Tories, but I confidently predict the early demise of the Conservative AND UNIONIST Party. One good sign is the drastic drop in support for that extreme right wing organisation, the Labour Party. As for the League of Russian Empire Loyalists, nobody takes them seriously.

The main political force today is the Nationalists. The SNP includes nearly as high a proportion of racially prejudiced people as the Labour Party. Prejudice is as old as the hills, but there's probably less today than ever before. The SNP is mildly left wing, so if voting means anything, Scotland is moving to the left.

Regarding the proposed Scottish anarchist conference, the reasons for it are obvious. People who have in common a love of liberty will meet to discuss the way forward. The anarchist movement in Scotland is not at present a threat to the state; but we can seek to bring that day nearer. Details of time and place for the meeting are not yet settled. I'll be glad to hear from anyone about this or suggestions for discussion.

3 Eskview Terrace,  
 Ferryden, Montrose.  
 DAVE COULL.

### Identikit

I see that a writer in the *Observer* has suggested that demonstrators should be sprayed with paint and photographed by the police so that they can be tracked down and arrested afterwards. Would Wynford Hicks mind if I called this man a fascist bastard?

Wells, Somerset. GEOFFREY BARFOOT.

## WHY WHINE?

WHAT ARE writers in *FREEDOM* on about?

(1) Why bleat about lack of organization and leadership—the demonstrators decided what to do collectively and separately and improvised as the situation changed. No leader—no martyrs! Too many people got arrested anyway.

(2) I'm very sorry for anybody duffed up by the law—but why whine about police violence? What do we expect when we fight with them? People ain't blind—the demonstration exposed police violence.

(3) The demonstration WAS a success, on several levels—the Press, TV, Police and Government are in a right old sweat about it. Unlike the demos of the early 60's this one presented a real threat because it was angry.

At the same time demonstrators obviously enjoyed the uproar. There WAS an electric, elated atmosphere in the square—it's not just my imagination, that's how it was. We were choosing sides—at last. People ran by shouting 'REVOLUTION!' There was a faint whiff in the air of what it's all about.

And, however you judge the situation, a US Embassy in Europe WAS under siege and would have fallen but for the police. The State was at the drawbridge, the peasants were braying at the moat and the ghost of John Ball breathed on the armour-clad walls of the castle and nearly blew them down.

(4) Why no report on the spontaneous march to the Hilton? One of the best things to happen on that afternoon. Interesting how people instinctively chose that lavish palace as a target for their proletarian abuse. 'Down with the Bourgeoisie!' we shouted over the Bentleys and Chevrolets in the car park and a brown liveried doorman shrank back into the foyer. I joined the march as it jogged down Park Lane and linking arms we spread across the road. The

police broke us up by tearing down the road from behind us on white motorbikes, Land Rovers and white Humber estate cars—lights flashing, sirens wailing and Tuf Boots hard down on the accelerator. No martyrs tho'. Into the kerb, let them pass and form up again across the road. A spontaneous decision to sit in the road outside the Hilton—traffic angry and snarled up, Park Lane strollers outraged and incredulous. When the blue foot-sloggers arrive, up, up and away before they make arrests, under the road via the subway and the same tactics on the other side of the road. And a quick jeer in passing as London's only spade copper appears. No arrests!

Four years ago we would have been politely arrested and politely released after paying a £2 fine into the Police-men's Benevolent Society Funds. Ten days ago we started to learn.

But above all. Let's have no martyrs brothers!  
 JC

### WELCOME BACK, BOB DYLAN

Continued from page 2  
 help him with his load and don't go mistaking paradise for that home across the road', and there's not much we can disagree with there.

But generally, though the language is straightforward, the events in the songs are, for me anyway, inexplicable and mysterious. In the courtroom drama, 'The Drifter's Escape', 'the attendants and the nurse' sweat while the jury is out... 'the trial was bad enough, but this is ten times worse'. Why are the attendants and nurse there? Who is the Drifter? ... Jack Ruby? As the boy mutters beneath his breath in 'Frankie Lee and Judas Priest', 'nothing is revealed'.  
 Tom Paine makes an appearance in

## No Gods nor Masters . . .

. . . just a few heroes

IF YOU DIDN'T buy the *Evening Standard* last Monday you missed this choice remark by Mary Kenny:

Just about the only thing the Communists and the anarchists, the two big splinter groups who now dominate the CND march, agree on is their enthusiasm for Uncle Ho.

Had Miss Kenny substituted Rudi Dutschke for Uncle Ho she would have said something: the shot German agitator is popular with all sections of the left.

He is described by socialists and the bourgeois press as a leader: to me he is a hero—as Che Guevara is a dead hero.

I acknowledge no leaders. But I support men and women struggling for freedom—in the jungles of Bolivia or the streets of West Berlin. Fidel Castro was a hero—a man fighting against tyranny. But he has become a symbol of the oppressive system he once struggled against.

Perhaps Che would have become a successful bureaucrat—perhaps Rudi will become one. Even *Anarchists* have been known to join governments.

But at this moment Rudi Dutschke symbolises the anger and courage of the German students in their rebellion against the state.

### The Dead Match

IT IS DIFFICULT to think of anything new to say about the corpse of CND which marched again last weekend. I feel that many people who joined in did so not from enthusiasm but because of their desire to do something, anything. Most of the crowd in Trafalgar Square listened quietly in the sun as the familiar dead bodies appeared at the rostrum, clapped gently and went home to tea.

The remainder formed two processions which left for different parts of the city: one to pay tribute to Martin Luther King; the other to show solidarity with the German students and Rudi Dutschke. A field day for rentacrowd.

### Gentlemen's Disagreement

THE RECOGNITION of Biafra by the Tanzanian government is a threat to the security of all existing black African states. Until now African political leaders have generally refrained from supporting secessionist movements in other states—even when they sympathised with them.

The existing political boundaries in Africa were drawn by the European powers in the late nineteenth century. The African political leaders who have inherited them have a common interest in preserving the status quo and discouraging secessionist movements: almost all African states have their own tribal problems.

The Uganda government has given no support to the Southern Sudanese in their struggle against the Arab government: the Uganda government feels threatened by the Buganda tribe.

Now Julius Nyerere has broken the gentlemen's agreement the Organisation of African Unity will look sillier than usual.

### Do We Agree?

AS A HYPOCRITICAL parasite unable to decide whether I am stupidly self-deluded—or a deliberately dishonest pseudo-romantic bullshitter—I would like to agree with Godfrey Featherstone that the people at Genocide Square were an unrepresentative sample of The People. However, his point that many people who went there wanted to demonstrate for peace non-violently doesn't support his boycott policy. Surely the more people start by agreeing with us the more we gain by joining them on a demonstration—even when it is likely to be violent.  
 WYNFORD HICKS.

## HELP!

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:	
15 weeks at £90:	£1,350
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£993
<b>DEFICIT:</b>	<b>£357</b>

Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-;	
Dunfermline: J.D. 10/6; Cheltenham:	
L.G.W.* 10/-; Leeds: D.S. 1/-; Shropshire:	
R.W. £1/14/-; Reading: A.K. 4/-; Glas-	
gow: A.J. 2/7.	
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>£3 7 1</b>
Previously Acknowledged:	£216 6 7

1968 Total to Date:	£219 13 8
Balance B/F:	£357 0 0
<b>TOTAL DEFICIT:</b>	<b>£137 6 4</b>

\*Denotes Regular Contributor.

### MOVING FUND

Target is £500.  
 Received to Date—£376 6s. 6d.

### PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.  
 Pledges received to date—£397 18s. 0d.  
 Pledges honoured to date—£306 12s. 1d.

NO PROGRESS

'As I Went Out One Morning' and St. Augustine appears in a 'dream' song, two riders approach in 'All Along the Watchtower', the Wicked Messenger arrives from Eli and the Poor Immigrant is pitted to the tune of 'Come All Ye Tramps and Hawkers'. Strange conversations take place, weird happenings occur and I stumble on behind the lyrics because Dylan COMMANDS me to 'listen'!

And this is what makes Dylan THE outstanding composer and performer in the pop music world. He's convinced us (well he's convinced me) that he's got something to say worth hearing—like the 'Mighty Quinn' he's bringing the message—and what does it matter if, when the message arrives, half of it is in code?  
 JEFF CLOVES.

# The Tories and the Trade Unions

THE HISTORY of trade unionism is one of a hard and bitter struggle. From its outset, every step forward has been opposed by the employers and during periods when they have felt their position especially threatened, and not necessarily in any revolutionary sense, they have turned to the State for support.

## Contact Column

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

**Literary Prize.** Martin Luther King Memorial Prize (£100). Inquiries should be addressed to John Brunner, c/o Midland Bank Ltd., 122 Finchley Road, London, N.W.3.

**Accommodation wanted.** London-Camden area. Cheap unfurnished permanent room wanted by girl. FIN 3138.

**Room Vacant** in mixed community from beginning of May. Girl preferred. £12 monthly. Box No. 8.

**Help wanted.** Will somebody come in to Freedom Press two hours per week to lick stamps?

**The May Day Manifesto Committee** are holding a conference on April 27, 11 a.m., at University College, Gower Street, W.C.1. I am attending and wish to know if any anarchists are interested and would be attending. May Day Manifesto is a non-sectarian group working for an alliance of leftwingers generally. E. Jarvis, 91 Burleigh Road, Enfield, Middx.

**Student,** London, urgently seeks worthwhile part-time work—social, or for a radical organisation. Box No. 7.

**Young girl (or mother** with one 2-year-old) offered own room (June-July-August) plus £2 per week in return for presence (half-days and some evenings) in pacifist home (1 child) in Alkmaar, The Netherlands. Week-end return tickets to Amsterdam provided when desired plus return fare to London. Please write: C. K. Clarke, Honthorstlaan 334, Alkmaar, Netherlands.

**Box No. 4.** Your address has been mislaid. Please write or collect mail.

**N.F.** of Bournemouth (Press Fund, August 19) please contact Bournemouth group.

**'De Vrije' Kalender 1968.** 12 drawings by Arthur Moyses. 4/- (post 6d.) from Freedom Press.

**Student Weekend Conference.** April 27/28, Leicester University. (Free accommodation, bring sleeping bags.) Speakers include: Adelstein (LSE), Barnett (Leicester), Griffin (Aston), Harris (York), Jamieson (Manchester), Kidron (Hull), Kuper (LSE), MacIntosh (Leicester), MacIntyre (Essex), Posner (Essex), Straw (Leeds), Williams (Cambridge), plus Mosler (Berlin) and Rankin (Wisconsin). Topic: 'Strategies for Democratization of the Universities'. Enquiries: contact D. Rosenberg, 51 Evington Road, Leicester.

**Room wanted.** Has any comrade a room to let, however small, furnished or unfurnished, at a reasonable distance from Aldgate East? Lillian Wolfe c/o Freedom Press.

**Neither Washington Nor Hanoi.** Stickers (6/- a 100 including postage), Posters (1/6 each including postage). Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow, Essex.

**Free Modern Jazz.** Ladbroke Hotel, Notting Hill, Wednesday evenings.

**Stickers.** 'Danger: Dictatorship. Stay away from Greece in 1968!' Available from Co-ordinating Committee for Campaign Against Tourism to Greece, 60 Tottenham Court Road, W.1. 1/- for a sheet of 20.

**Greece must be free!** Rally—Trafalgar Square, April 21, 2.30 p.m. Speakers include Melina Mercouri. FREEDOM sellers wanted for rally.

**East Anglia.** If you're near Ipswich, call on us. We stock all Freedom Press publications, and have FREEDOM and Anarchy regularly. Orwell Books, 44 Upper Orwell Street, Ipswich, Suffolk.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

From the Combination Act of 1799-1800 to the latest White Paper on incomes, the pattern is the same, with the State coming to the aid of the employers.

During the post-war years, this help has come from a Labour Government. The Tory Governments have either been unwilling or, more likely, frightened to bring in legislation to curb trade unionists.

Of course, one of the determining factors for the legislation was the economic position of this country. The growth of competitiveness of other industrial countries made it imperative for wage control and the curbing of the 'free for all' of collective bargaining. It could be argued that these measures are only stop-gap ones, until the Royal Commission sets out its recommendations, which could really emasculate the trade union movement.

### A 'FAIR DEAL'?

The Tories, however, decided to publish their recommendations for reforming the trade unions before the report of the Royal Commission. Their policy does not add anything new, but merely repeats what employers' organisations and Tory supporters have been saying for a long time. The statement, 'Fair Deal at Work' does, however, recognise what has long been known by the rank and file, that the trade union leaders are not the danger.

The overall strategy of the policy is to encourage the leadership to control its members far more than they do today. This will be done by giving them legal obligation as well as the 'legal privileges' they now enjoy. But these privileges are, in essence, the freedoms which trade unionists fought to secure for themselves, such as the right to strike. *There will be a register of approved trade unions and only these will retain the 'legal' right to conduct strikes. Those unions not approved by the Register could be taken to court for 'civil conspiracy' if they took strike action.*

### INDUSTRIAL COURTS

Recognised trade unions can sign enforceable agreements, any breach of which would render them or their members liable for damages. Many unofficial strikes are against such signed agreements or are taken at a later stage to improve them. Strikes of this nature would be illegal.

Industrial courts with the full status of legal courts would try cases and any damages or fines would be deducted from wage packets by the employers. Where trade union officials had either encouraged or not been vigorous enough in getting unofficial strikers back to work, the courts could fine them as well. Strikers could be summoned not only to pay damages, but also on charges of negligence, assault, trespass, deceit, threats of injury and slander. The courts would consist of a qualified Chairman, with equal numbers of 'lay' members from the employers and trade unions. The Government could apply to the Industrial Court for an injunction to stop a strike. They could obtain a delaying period of 60 days, during which time a secret ballot could be ordered to decide whether to accept or reject the employers' 'last offer'.

### SYMPATHETIC STRIKES OUTLAWED

Other forms of strike action are also outlawed, such as 'sympathetic' strikes and the 'blacking' of materials or services. 'By "sympathetic strike" we mean one which takes place outside the establishment where the original dispute occurs—unless those who participate are themselves in dispute with their employer or have a direct and personal

interest in the original dispute.' Of course all disputes of fellow-workers are of direct interest because they affect us as a class, but this argument would not hold in court.

Inter-union, 'closed' or 'union' shop strikes would also be banned by law. The inclusion of the 'sympathetic' strike and the 'blacking of goods' is interesting in the light of the recent series of mergers and take-overs, with the inevitable closures and resulting redundancies these bring. These types of action are the ones that will have to be used if these redundancies are to be stopped. They are also necessary to defeat the huge combines that now exist in industry. After all, what does it matter to a company when its workers go on strike if it can switch production to another factory.

### OUTSIDE THE LAW

The Prices and Incomes Board would be reconstituted, not only to look into wage claims and to encourage 'genuine productivity bargains', but also to investigate so-called 'restrictive practices'.

This policy represents a great danger to the working class. Firstly, it restricts, at some length, the workers right to withdraw his labour and this is something that must be safeguarded at all times. Secondly, it encourages still further the separation of the trade union leadership from its members. I think this process is inevitable anyway, given the present structure of both the trade unions and society. But the policy does further the role of the trade unions as disciplinary agencies for the benefit of the employers and the State.

Trade unionists have been outside the law before and, contrary to general belief, we do not enjoy any special privileges that are not enjoyed by the employers. They only want the extra weapon of the law on their side in order to extract higher profits from their employees. FREEDOM has never claimed that the trade unions are revolutionary. They have been content to remain a part of the system, but whereas the leadership has a permanent stake in this system, the rank and file have not.

The methods of direct action used to win wage increases will have to be used to defend against any attacks by the State on the freedoms of trade unionists. This was done in Eire recently and workers went to jail. However, the Electricity Supply Board (the employers) had to pay the fines in order to get a settlement. So the laws, no matter how severe, can be defeated if enough people are willing to break them. Surely, the Liverpool busmen are doing just this right now.

P.T.

## LEVELLERS AND DIGGERS

Dear Comrades,

Peter Cadogan (FREEDOM, 23.3.68) is attacking Arthur Uloth for things he never said. Arthur was reviewing my booklet 1649 which (among other things) is a description of Leveller and Digger doings in that year and says nothing about events in 1647 which Cadogan concentrates upon exclusively. I do not share Cadogan's enthusiasm for the 1647 'insurrection' which I consider to be a military putsch having more in common with the activities of Generals Mola and Franco in 1936 than with social revolution. The 'reactionary' (Cadogan) government of Holles and Stapleton was indeed destroyed but I would like to have Cadogan's opinion of the Cromwell-Ireton-Council of State-New Model Army government that succeeded it. To my mind the principal difference is that the Holles government was Presbyterian,

inefficient and corrupt, while its successors were Independent, efficient and repressive. I have no liking at all for efficient government. I consider the only thing that makes life under a government bearable at all is that most of the time the government is in complete ignorance of the activities of its subjects. As to the extent of Leveller strength prior to the outbreak of the Second Civil War, the Corkbushfield affair (where prompt action by Cromwell quelled a Leveller uprising) surely shows it to be rather smaller than Cadogan thinks it was.

As to THE AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE, I suggest Cadogan studies both it and the Winstanley declaration included in my booklet. Lilburne and his associates draw up a constitution for a parliamentary republic which ignores property, Winstanley calls for a co-operative commonwealth with property

rights done away with. Who's the revolutionary here? Old saws like 'in the context of the time, uncompromising revolutionary challenges to absolutism' (Cadogan) just will not do. Much as I admire John Lilburne's great struggle for what he considered 'the legal fundamental liberties of Englishmen', I just don't agree with his ideas. At the bottom he is revealed to be yet another protagonist for efficient government and I am an anarchist.

As to events in Ireland, again I refer to events in 1649. The conduct of God-fearing, freedom-loving, democratic Englishmen at the sieges of Drogheda, Wexford, Clonmel and Limerick shows efficient government hard at work with fire and sword. This might be what Cadogan wants but it's not for me.

Yours fraternally,

JIM DUKE.

# Freedom

## For Workers' Control

APRIL 20 1968 Vol 29 No 12

## Paperworkers' Pamphlet Gets Good Response

THE JOINT SWF and Solidarity pamphlet *The Aberdeen Paperworker* met with an enthusiastic response when it was sold round the city's Mills. Over 200 copies were sold, and most copies passed from hand to hand inside each Mill, and even on occasion between workers in different Mills. It was also discussed at Union branch meetings. 'A good tanner's worth' or 'That's what I've been saying for years' were typical comments from those workers we managed to speak to. At Donside Mill, when the workers had read the pamphlet, a deputation was sent to the management to discuss unfair work allocation. Sales of the pamphlet itself were followed up by *Direct Action* and *FREEDOM* sales, as well as leafletting.

### INTEREST

Interest in our efforts was not confined to the workers, however; we have learnt from comrades in London that as a result of our activities a full-time SOGAT organizer has been sent to the Aberdeen area. Whether this is to organize the paperworkers for a struggle against their low wages and bad conditions, or whether it is to counteract any influence we may have had upon the paperworkers is difficult to say. We suspect the latter.

Interest was also shown in the pamphlet by the neo-Fascist 'Economic League', the bosses' unofficial watchdog on agita-

tors and subversives. In their current bulletin they devote much space to the pamphlet, and to the *FREEDOM* of 24.2.68 in which large extracts appeared, calling us 'an extreme left-wing group whose aims are the setting up of workers' control in industry'. But for us the most gratifying interest, apart from that of the paperworkers themselves, was shown by the comrades in London round the 'Rank and File Printers' Association', who were greatly surprised and shocked by conditions in Aberdeen's Mills, and from whom we hope fruitful co-operation can be obtained in the event of disputes breaking out in Aberdeen.

### BALANCE-SHEET

This pamphlet has been, by any standards, a most successful venture, and its ultimate results may be further-reaching than we had dared expect when producing it. However, this type of grass-roots activity, which remains the surest method of combating inertia among the working-class, is very exhausting in material and physical terms for those involved in it, and it is a form of activity that by nature must be sporadic, allowing time for recovery. We have provisionally decided to produce similar pamphlets in the future on the industrial scene in the city, with one on Engineers scheduled for late summer.

I.M.

## THE ZONGULDAK STRIKE in Turkey

ON FEBRUARY 5 the miners of the coal-mines in the Zonguldak region, close to the Black Sea, refused to go down the pits, marched on the town, attacked the mine managers and fought with the police. The strike lasted three days.

The minimum daily wage of the miners was a little less than 7s. 6d. a day. They had been slightly raised in 1965, following accidents which had resulted in several deaths. In 1967, a big increase had been granted by the Ministry of Labour, but the state enterprise which owns the mines never put this into effect.

Faced with the miserable standard of living of the workers the Confederation of Turkish Trades Unions, affiliated to

the CISL, that is to say, in the hands of the American unions, behave, it appears, just like their big American masters. In 1967, a second union branch was set up, but it does not seem to have captured the workers' confidence at all.

Nothing surprising, therefore, in the fact that the workers decided to agitate by themselves, and to by-pass the union intermediaries.

This method of action was a success, since, according to *Le Monde* they got satisfaction on their wages. On February 21 a collective agreement was signed, giving them all wage increases promised since 1963.

from *Lutte de Classe*,  
tr. I.R.M.

LETTER