

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly

DECEMBER 21 1968 Vol 29 No 39

ADOLF OUT!

'Capt. O'Neill in sacking Mr. Craig has capitulated to the Romanists and Republicans, the anarchists, the CR agitators and the Communists—the evil alliance against Ulster's Constitution. The man who takes Craig's job* will be an Iscariot' — 'The Protestant Telegraph' (14.12.68).

'In sacking Mr. Craig Capt. O'Neill has shown himself to be a man of courage' — 'The Belfast Telegraph'.
*The bumbling ex-Minister of Education, William Long.

NEEDLESS TO SAY both these views are not only inaccurate but irrelevant. Adolf sacked himself. In a trial of strength with his one-time sponsor and political patron he set out to split the Unionist Party and rally support for himself. By flagrantly opposing O'Neill's so-called liberalism in two speeches and then deliberately repeating them after criticism he set out to achieve his 'martyrdom'. After we had O'Neill's emotional clichés of his Monday evening TV talk and the subsequent flurry of bourgeois business support, 'the masses of letters and telegrams from ordinary people' and the PRO campaign of the *Belfast Telegraph* and *Newsletters* (who account for 90% of Northern Ireland newspaper). The Civil Rights leaders in their usual sell-out frame of mind called a moratorium on marches until January 11 to allow

O'Neill to try to strengthen his hand. The People's Democracy were going ahead with their Saturday march but at a packed meeting lasting until midnight on Wednesday it was narrowly decided that although O'Neill has done nothing for Civil Rights a march following Craig's dismissal would alienate public support. However as yet the Belfast to Derry three-day march should go on. People's Democracy at least allows all to express their views—the local CR bodies are however on the whole self-elected bourgeois who tell the people what's best for them—but perhaps for not much longer. The spontaneity of workers' marches in Derry, the formation of the Belfast Unemployed Men's Action Group are encouraging signs.

Meanwhile the farcical trials in Derry of those charged in connection with the police riot in Derry—needless to say no boys in blue are in the dock—goes on.

Eamonn McCann, one of the few who seems to speak for a large section of the people of Derry, has just been acquitted on two charges but fined £50 for 'inciting people to take part in a march on a banned route'. The big trials continue next week including that of the young anarchist beaten up by the police (see FREEDOM)—he's been charged with 'disorderly behaviour'.

JOHN BELFAST.

Free Schools' Campaign

JUST OVER seven weeks ago Swansea anarchists handed out leaflets to students at the main secondary schools in Swansea, calling for the formation of action groups to press for greater staff-student control over the running of the schools. At one of the schools we discovered that a group of sixth-formers had already taken steps towards establishing a union with just this aim in mind. THEY had distributed a Union Charter round the school—main points being to call for the formation of a staff-student council to take the important decisions about the running of the school, the abolition of petty rules, the abolition of the prefect system, more aid for teachers in non-teaching activities—and had gained considerable support among the students and younger staff. From this firm basis contacts with the other schools in Swansea have been built up and there is now union activity in at least four of them.

Close contact has throughout been maintained between these students and those at the university with a view to mutual aid and support. Similarly, following the arrest of several university students on recent demonstrations, the local Art College staged a march of solidarity with them through the town. A basic solidarity is emerging which encourages all involved in the struggle for more control over their own lives; for they now know that they are not isolated and can rely on support elsewhere in the town.

The latest development is that some of

the school students have been in contact with our comrades in London who are organising similar activity in their schools. We have also heard of such activity in Manchester and Liverpool. The possibility of a national, militant schools movement, which in outcome could be far more important than the movement in the universities, is now quite high. We therefore urge our comrades everywhere to campaign for free, democratically-run schools and wherever possible to link up with one another so as to make the movement as widespread and united as possible.

IAN BONE.

AFB Group List

THE SPREAD of anarchist ideas in this country has multiplied the number of anarchist groups. In 1962 there were only six groups listed in FREEDOM (all of them in London).

Last week's issue contains addresses of 85 groups. This is great news for the movement, but eats up space in our meagre pages. By the end of next year we will probably have to give up the best part of a page for this list. Last week alone 14 new groups have been added. Therefore, as from now, the full list will only be published once a month. The shortened version includes all groups which announce definite activity (meetings, literature sales and other projects). New groups are left in for eight weeks in order to help them find their feet. All other groups will be left out, but readers can write to the London Federation, c/o Freedom Press, who will put them in touch with the required group.

It is also right to mention in this context that not only are there many new groups, but new anarchist publications are appearing. *Red Paper* (Ipswich), *Liberty!* in Yorkshire, and there is talk of a Scottish edition of FREEDOM.

EDITORS.

Direct Action for Homes

THERE MUST be more print used in attacking and putting forward remedies for unofficial strikes than is used for any other subjects in our national newspapers.

Mr. Heath, the Tory leader, recently suggested a 'cooling off period' for strikes, meaning official ones, and that contracts should be binding by law. The Government, this week, has stepped in—where Lord Donovan feared to tread—by proposing a 'cooling off period' for all unofficial strikes which appear to be leading to a serious stoppage. In return, the Government proposes that the status quo will exist if any actions of the employers cause such a dispute.

This second point has always been unacceptable to managements as they see it as a challenge to their right to manage, but obviously there is now something in it for both them and the trade union leaders struggling to control any militant stewards. Politicians, employers and the Government are all giving their views on how to reform and modernise the unions, and even the unions themselves are doing it, often without consulting the people who will be affected by these changes.

In a mixed-economy society, the people at the bottom, who produce and transport the goods and make the wealth, are seldom asked for their views. This privileged society, with one law for the order-givers and another for the order-takers, cannot reform itself from this position. Some of these thoughts might have passed through the minds of building workers locked-out by Turriff's at Ivy Bridge in Hounslow, for nothing has appeared in the national press, except the *Morning Star*, about this dispute. The press complies with the wishes of the employers, from whom it gets its revenue, concerning this type of dispute and keeps silent.

In September, the management started to infer that unless the operatives accept a cut in wages of as much as 50% in some cases, the company would close the contract and sack the labour force. On Octo-

ber 11, the Works Committee was told by the management that all negotiated bonus agreements on site no longer existed and that they were imposing a new bonus agreement, with effect from the following Monday and that they were not prepared to enter into any discussions concerning it.

86 SACKED

The new scheme was thrown out by the men on site and they resorted to normal working, but including overtime. The management followed this by disbanding the Works Committee. From this step, the Turriff's plan of imposing a new bonus scheme which they hoped would precipitate strike action backfired on them. Later in the day, without any consultations, they issued dismissal notices to 86 men. The next day, these sacked men were prevented from entering the site by truncheon-bearing security police and guard dogs, when most were entitled, by law, to a week's notice.

The unions took Turriff to a Regional Disputes Commission, as laid down in the official disputes procedure, who found in the men's favour. They instructed the Company to re-instate the sacked men and to operate the original bonus agreements. However, Turriff refused to abide by this decision and the dispute was declared official by the unions.

On November 5, the management sacked a further 96 operatives. Union officials tried to get their reinstatement, but with no success. Three days later, when the Company said they were making further dismissals, the rest of the labour force came out on strike, which was made official. A National Commission has found in favour of the operatives. However, Turriff have managed to get a clause included in the report concerning the inspection of the site for safety and evaluation of work already completed. It seems that, because of bad management, certain work will have to be pulled down and Turriff are trying to blame this onto the men.

Meanwhile a picket line is being

maintained, representative of all the unions involved, while the remaining members have dispersed.

However, there have been no cries about 'wildcat' employers breaking agreements and disregarding procedure. In this society 'some are more equal than others'. Turriff have intimated that they will not re-open the site until June, 1969, and meanwhile not only are these men locked out and facing the prospect of a long struggle, but the council houses, intended for approximately 7,000 people, are also held up.

HOUNSLOW'S HOUSING PROBLEM

No doubt, Turriff wish to renegotiate the contract with the new Tory Council and get a bigger price. The contract they made with the previous Labour Council allows for this, so any investigation into this contract will embarrass the Labour Councillors as well. It is not surprising that the Lock-Out Committee has drawn a blank when seeking their support.

According to a letter in the *Guardian* this week, from Miss Atkinson, 'there are now about 6,000 families on the borough's housing waiting list'. She says that Hounslow's housing programme has been cut since the Tories were elected, practically by a landslide, and the 1968 figure of 1,058 dwellings 'has been cut by 108, a reduction of about one-tenth. Of the five housing estates scheduled for development in 1970, one has already been abandoned and possible alternative uses for the land are to be investigated.'

This conspiracy of silence needs to be broken. While it remains, Turriff and the Hounslow Borough Council can get away with it. The Lock-Out Committee have tried to publicise the position. They have had marches through the borough, delegates to the Council, and seen MPs, but some form of action is needed to tie up the plight of not only the locked-out men, but also of those people who need these homes. A campaign of action that will embarrass both Turriff and the Tory Borough Council is needed to assist the locked-out men and those on the Council housing lists.

Readers can also help by sending a donation to: D. Hutchison, 38 Fifth Cross Road, Twickenham, Middx.

P.T.

RED-BRICK REVOLT

away with co-opting a few student politicians into the existing structure.

The lengthy period of haggling proved fatal for this plan. By the time the various university bodies had got round to making up their minds about how much they could safely concede, the students' patience had run out and they had moved on to more radical demands. In radicalising student opinion on the issue an important role was played by a small ad hoc group of militants who, from the beginning of this session, began to call for a thorough reconstruction of the university and a revaluation of the purposes it serves. Their demands included the abolition of the archaic Court of Governors and its Council, composed largely of business worthies, which controls the finance and planning of the university; the reconstitution of the academic Senate to give students a half-share in its composition; and an end to the secrecy rules under which university committees operate. Through a series of meetings and small scale demonstrations, these militants put pressure on the student Guild Executive to raise its sights. This pressure was successful and, eventually, the Executive came out for complete acceptance of *Student Role* (by now anathema to the militants); a commission to review the university's structure; open committees; and a demand for an official two-day teach-in at which the whole university could get down to the business of examining just what its role was and ought to be in society. Backed by majorities at extraordinary

meetings of the Guild attended by over a thousand students, the Executive, by this time thoroughly exasperated by the shilly-shallyings of the university authorities, finally put its demands in the form of an ultimatum: accept them by November 28 or face direct action.

DIRECT ACTION

By November 28 communication between the Guild and the university authorities had effectively broken down. Anticipating matters, the ad hoc group of militants began a sit-in in the University Great Hall on the evening of the 27th. Next day the sit-in became official Guild policy, and hundreds of students, led by their President, joined the militants and proceeded to turn the sit-in into an occupation by blocking the main administrative offices. The bewildered Vice-Chancellor, new to his job and not knowing how to cope, finally quit his office, leaving it to be used as the HQ of the special co-ordinating committee of ten set up to run the occupation. Among the first items on the agenda of the rebels was the arranging of the teach-in which the Senate had earlier refused, and which proceeded to take place on the Saturday and Sunday. At the end of the teach-in, the rebels proceeded to formulate in detail their conditions for calling off the occupation: clear acceptance of the students' right to participate; the setting up of the commission; an end to committee secrecy; and the new demand: no victimisation of the occupiers.

Continued on page 4

HELP!

XMAS 'FREEDOM' HELP NEEDED
IF YOU HAVE SPARE TIME FROM 2 p.m. TUESDAY, DECEMBER 24, AND FRIDAY, 27, PLEASE COME AND HELP DESPATCH 'FREEDOM'

BOOKS FOR PRESENTS

Get them from us—or exchange your tokens!

- Obsolete Communism: The Left-Wing Alternative** Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit 25/-
- The Spanish Labyrinth** Gerald Brenan (paperback) 13/6
- Anarchy and Order** Herbert Read 21/-
- Selected Writings** Wilhelm Reich 60/-
- The Sexual Revolution** Wilhelm Reich 25/-
- The Romantic Exiles** E. H. Carr (paperback) 12/6
- The Political Philosophy of Bakunin** (ed.) G. P. Maximoff (paperback) 25/-
- The Making of the English Working Class** E. P. Thompson (paperback) 18/-
- The Barns Experiment** David Wills (remainder) 3/6
- The Hawkspur Experiment** David Wills 24/-
- Memoirs of a Revolutionary 1901-1941** Victor Serge (paperback) 12/6
- Chartist Studies** (ed.) Asa Briggs (paperback) 21/-
- On Aggression** Konrad Lorenz (paperback) 10/6
- Political Justice: A Reprint of the Essay on Property** William Godwin 9/6
- Talks to Parents and Teachers** Homer Lane 10/6
- Throw Away Thy Rod** David Wills 18/-
- Garden Cities of Tomorrow** Ebenezer Howard (paperback) 7/6
- Three Works of William Morris** (News from Nowhere, Pilgrims of Hope, John Ball) (paperback) 10/6

Freedom Bookshop

Write or Come!

Editorial office open Friday, December 20, 6-8 p.m. and Monday, December 23, Telephone: BISHOPSGATE 3015.

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

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

FREEDOM PRESS

are the publishers
of the monthly magazine
ANARCHY
and the weekly journal
FREEDOM
specimen copies will
be gladly sent on request.

Subscription Rates

- FREEDOM** only (per year):
£1 13s. 4d. (\$4.50) surface mail
£2 16s. (\$8.00) airmail
- ANARCHY** only (per year):
£1 7s. (\$3.50) surface mail
£2 7s. (\$7.00) airmail
- COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION**
FREEDOM & ANARCHY (per year)
£2 14s. 4d. (\$7.50) surface mail both
£4 15s. (\$12.50) airmail both

PUBLICATIONS include

- Berkman's**
ABC of ANARCHISM 2/6 (+5d.)
- Rocker's**
NATIONALISM AND
CULTURE 21/- (+4/6)
- Richards'**
MALATESTA: His Life and Ideas.
Cloth bound 21/- (+1/3);
paper 10/6 (+1/-)
- Bakunin's**
MARXISM, FREEDOM and the
STATE 7/6 (+5d.)
- Berneri's**
NEITHER EAST or WEST 6/- (+9d.)
- Woodcock's**
THE WRITER & POLITICS 7/6
and
Annual Volumes of Selections from
FREEDOM 1952-1964
each year's volume 7/6 (+1/-)
Full list on application.

PROSAIC PLAY OF MASS MURDER

ROLF HOCHHUTH is the young German writer whose first play, *Der Stellvertreter* (*The Representative*), caused a tremendous controversy in 1962 by suggesting that Pope Pius XII deliberately refrained from protesting against the Nazi destruction of the Jews. His second play, *Soldaten* (*The Soldiers*), caused another controversy in 1967 by suggesting that Churchill not only deliberately adopted saturation bombing of German cities to terrorise the civilian population, but also might have been responsible for the death of the Polish General Sikorski.

This time the controversy has been less, partly because the issue is not so clear cut, and partly because both points have been pretty fully discussed already. But it has been fierce enough among top people in this country, and the play was banned from the National Theatre and has been put on now only because the Lord Chamberlain's power to censor plays has at last been abolished.

The book of *The Representative* (which was published by Methuen in 1963) was much longer than the stage play and also contained material which wasn't dramatic at all, such as notes and documents. The same is true of the book of *The Soldiers*, which has been published to coincide with the performance of the play (Andre Deutsch, 30s.).

I don't know what *The Soldiers* is like on the stage, though it sounds pretty awful, but on paper it is terrible. The guts of the text is a 200-page three-act play, written in prosaic blank verse, called 'The Little London Theatre of the World'. Churchill is seen with such people as Lord Cherwell (his scientific adviser), Alan Brooke (his chief of staff), Sikorski (the Polish prime minister in exile), the Bishop of Rochester (the voice of conscience). The action—or rather, conversation—is based on real events in early 1943, but little indication is given to show which bits are real and which imaginary. Some attempt is made to marry the two plots—or rather, points—but there is no feeling that this is a drama, except to some extent in the set piece where Churchill and Bishop Bell argue the morality of total war (it is perhaps relevant that they didn't actually meet).

The Soldiers is in fact a historical, political and moral argument written in the form of a dialogue. Until about 1800, it would have been left as a dialogue, which used to be a perfectly acceptable literary form; but in the 1960s a dialogue wouldn't be read (and wouldn't make money), so it has to become a play. Unfortunately it is a lousy play, and it is also a lousy dialogue. The technique fails to carry the weight of the argument, and the language plods along unreadably from point to point. There are also long introductions to each act, and long stage directions, which are painfully bad. Hochhuth seems unable to leave anything out, so we have not only quasi-Shavian interpolations to fill up the gaps in the jerry-built dialogue, but also attempts at greater profundity and significance, including modish quotations

from and references to such writers as Bacon, Pascal, La Rochefoucauld, Hegel, Fontane, Maeterlinck, Rilke, and so on. There are also a prologue called 'Everyman' and an epilogue, which takes place in the ruins of Coventry Cathedral and are, if anything, even worse than the rest.

So *The Soldiers* is not a work of art. Nor is it a work of history, for Hochhuth mixes fact and fiction, and uses fact as if it were the same as fiction. If he is no dramatist, he is certainly no historian. But it is nevertheless a historical work, not so much because it pretends to be a reflection of history as because it attempts to change history. Like *The Representative*,

The Soldiers is important not only for what it says but for what it doesn't say. Both plays deal with major atrocities of the Second World War—the gassing of the Jews and the bombing of the civilians; both plays are primarily intended for German audiences. But it was the Germans who invented the final solution of the Jewish question, the Germans who made the blitzkrieg a fine art. By concentrating on the Pope who didn't protest about the form and the British prime minister who imitated the latter, the plays have the effect of lifting an unbearable war guilt from the German people and projecting it on to other people.

It would be interesting to know how far this was Hochhuth's intention. The evidence of the plays themselves suggests that he has much bigger things in mind. *The Soldiers* is subtitled 'An Obituary for Geneva'—that is, the Geneva Convention of 1864—and it ends with ominous remarks about nuclear weapons. It is at least intended to be a universal parable about total war, though the particular instance does seem a rather odd and even suspicious one, and the way it is told doesn't help. But, despite all its defects, *The Soldiers* will have a good effect in this country if it reminds people that war isn't a game or a crusade but mass murder, that the British did some frightful things in the Second World War and Churchill was one of the biggest murderers of the age, and that if something isn't done to stop people like him they will destroy us all.

N.W.

'If...'—and when

SINCE 'THIS SPORTING LIFE', Lindsay Anderson has not produced a full-length movie. Until now with 'If...' the story of an anarchic rebellion in a British public school. My opinion of the film was salvaged, if distorted, by the pre-showing drinks party and also by a total misunderstanding of Lindsay Anderson's speech to the audience before we saw the film: I took him to mean that the sepi sections of the film (fantasy) were in fact waiting for the colour print to be overlaid. So, although occasionally wondering at such scenes as that which shows our hero, Mick (Malcolm McDowell) giving a marvellous performance) putting a coin in a juke box and getting the 'Sanctus' from the 'Missa Luba', I took everything to be possible, or at least in the strange world that is Lindsay Anderson's idea of a savage attack on the public school system probable. It helped too having been at one of the darned things.

I laughed with horrified recognition at the silly ritual of prize day (a comic

armoured crusader exchanges platitudes on work, service, and the foundation of the school, with the headmaster, no doubt an annual event) and rejoiced at the destruction of the school simply because that's what I would have liked to have done when I was at my school.

Term opens with a ludicrous figure sneaking shifty up and down the stairs, clad, like Fawkes, in muffler and broad-brimmed hat, all black and shifty. The disguise reveals Mick Travers who's grown a moustache during the holidays. His lack of respect for tradition and his betters is soon punished.

He and his two friends are viciously beaten by their own prefects. The poove overtones are hauntingly present in every relationship. But Mick intones to his friends that 'violence and revolution are the only pure acts'. By lucky chance they light upon a cache of arms while toiling to clear out the cellars of the chapel (a witting piece of symbolism). And on the appalling prize day the three rebels let rip from

the roof of the school in a cataclysm of fire and violence.

The film has many strengths and almost as many flaws. It is a film à clef giving a ripely accurate image of boarding school life: the silly lessons about nothing, the useless erudition of classicism, the entrenchment of class and anti-feminism, the hatred of art and even of manners, other than the most formalised bullying. Scarcely a group shot passes without you notice somebody somewhere picking his nose or scratching horribly at a blotchy crop of pimples.

Visually the film is strong. Ideologically, it is less so. Nostalgia does creep in. The pampered life of the prefect is unfortunately enviable. And the rebels are informed by rather the same spirit of public school solidarity as their opponents.

Still, it would be a scandal and a shame were this film not to be distributed. It is unlikely to be, due to the grip of certain philistine persons over the means of film distribution in this country. But anyone with access to a film society should create a fuss to see 'If...'.

It's not anarchism in action. But it'll do for starters. MONICA FOOT.

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

NEXT YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTIONS

AS THE Financial Statement shows, subscription renewals have come in well during the year. A great number of subscriptions, however, fall due at the end of the year. If yours is one of these, it will be a lot of help to us if you will send in your renewal without waiting for a reminder from us.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES (Per year)

Inland		
'FREEDOM' ONLY	£1 13s. 4d.	
'ANARCHY' ONLY	£1 7s. 0d.	
COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION	£2 14s. 4d.	
Abroad		
'FREEDOM' ONLY		
surface mail	£1 10s. 0d.	
airmail	(US\$8.00) £2 16s. 0d.	

'ANARCHY' ONLY

surface mail	£1 6s. 0d.
airmail (US\$7.00)	£2 7s. 0d.
COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION	
surface mail	£2 10s. 0d.
Both by airmail	(US\$12.50) £4 5s. 0d.
'Freedom' by airmail,	
'Anarchy' by surface	
mail (US\$10.50)	£3 17s. 0d.

SELLING OUTLETS

THERE HAS BEEN this year a great increase in interest in anarchism, and a lot more people than ever before know that there is an anarchist movement in this country, and even an inkling of what anarchism is about. We'd like to start off the new year by taking some steps to put FREEDOM and Anarchy with the reach of potentially interested people who have no

means at present of knowing our anarchist journals exist.

We think there are large numbers of newsgroups throughout the country who might be persuaded to take FREEDOM and Anarchy on sale or return. If you know one or two in your locality—for a start any who already stock minority newspapers and 'little' magazines—would you be willing to ask the newsgroups, and take them a few copies regularly and collect the unsold copies and cash at the end of the week? This way we would find outlets which we could not hope to discover from our office; and having an agent on the spot would reduce the paperwork to a minimum as well as ensuring some financial return. If you feel it's worthwhile helping FREEDOM and Anarchy in this concrete way, we'd be very glad to hear from you.

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

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

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Sunday evening meetings at the 'Metropolitan' (corner of Clerkenwell Road and Farringdon Road), 7.30 p.m. Next meeting Sunday, December 22.

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

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

There are also active groups in: LEWISHAM, WEST HAM, EALING and ARCHWAY.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

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

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

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

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

BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton at Flat One, 69 Sandon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 17. (Entrance side of house.) Regular discussions being held on Tuesdays, 7.30 p.m., Crown, Corporation Street (upper room).

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

CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. Meetings every 2nd Friday of each month. Laurens and Celia Ott—35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath (LIV 7546).

LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian

action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.

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

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

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

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

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

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

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

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

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

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Sue Warnock, 3 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester 14. Every Saturday: 'Freedom' and 'DA' selling outside Central Library, 2.30-4.30 p.m. Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 18 High Park Street, Liverpool 8. Contact: Chris Keatch, Basement, 52 Belvidere Road, Liverpool, L8 3TO.

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

SUSSEX FEDERATION

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

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

Other groups in: CRAWLEY and SUSSEX UNIVERSITY.

YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Meetings every 8 weeks. Next meeting February 2. Secretary: Colin Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm, Lund, Selby, Yorkshire. Look out for 'Liberty'—monthly 6d.—out in January.

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

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

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

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

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

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

YORK: Nick Weston, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.

WELSH FEDERATION

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

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

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

EAST LONDON

LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

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

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

STUDENT GROUPS

There are student groups in numerous universities. Full list January 11, 1969.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Dave Coull, secretary. There are also active groups in: ABERDEEN, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, HAMILTON, FIFE, PERTHSHIRE/CENTRAL SCOTLAND, MORRIS, DAVE COULL, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden.

NORTHERN IRELAND

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

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

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

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 59 Eveleigh Street, Redfern, Sydney, 8 p.m.

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

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

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

TORONTO LIBERTARIAN-ANARCHIST GROUP. 217 Torvork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Libertarian'.

PROPOSED GROUPS

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

KINGSTON, WIMBORNE, MERTON. New Malden, and Surrey. New group forming. Please contact K. W. Bennett, 63 Hook Road, Epsom, Surrey, or G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom, Surrey.

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

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

Where We Live

'Oh they're knocking down the building next to ours,
And they're sending us to green belts, trees and flowers
But we dinna want to go, and we daily tell them so
But they're knocking down the building next to ours.'

HOUSING, WHICH OF OUR three basic needs is most subject to Government control is in an appalling condition, has been for years, and is getting worse' (FREEDOM, 23.11.68). Both private enterprise and governmental control fail to provide adequate housing for the people. Not only is present housing insufficient in quantity and poor in quality, but the individual has little choice in where or in what kind of house he is to live.

When anarchists call for more power for the individual in the sphere of housing, the objector usually comes up with the statement that one old woman in a house should not be allowed, because she wishes to stay where she is, to prevent a new road being built, a road that is for the benefit of the whole community. The hypocrisy of the present system can be seen in the treatment meted out to the poor old woman, sent to a council flat to live a life of loneliness among strangers, and the huge sums of money (paid by the community) given to landowners when a motorway is to be built across their land.

True, the collectivity should rule over the individual in the economic aspects of life, but this collectivity must be democratic, it must be one in which each individual has an equal say, in which the town is run by the commune (i.e. the non-party representatives of each street or district) and the units of production run by associations of workers. The experts, in this case the town-planners, state the alternatives, and this in a sense gives them power as they can limit the alternatives as they wish, but the final decisions are taken by the communes and the workers' associations which are the people, and not party politicians influenced by, and part of capitalist and bureaucratic pressure groups.

The revolution creates and is created by an alternative ethos to that prevailing at the present. The road in question may be necessary for the continuation of a system that exploits the earth's resources for profit, but not for one that uses the earth's resources for man's needs. After the revolution changes in the urban and rural environment are based upon real community needs.

Progress marches ever on its way, but progress nowadays seems to mean a greater accumulation of material wealth. However, it is not technology that is at fault, but man's use of, and attitude towards it. Considering the uses that have been made of modern scientific advances, one seems justified in saying that what

man has gained on the roundabouts he has lost on the swings. For anarchists progress is measured not only by technological innovations, but improvements in human relations, so that the earth's resources and man's knowledge and skills are used to provide basic material necessities for all and freedom for individuals.

Modern man's attitude of technology-worship seems to be quite recent when one considers the whole of man's history and has a strong positive relationship to totalitarian regimes from the building of the pyramids (which must be considered among the most useless tasks ever performed by man) to the present day. However it seems that for most of the time man's energy was used primarily

for the development of social relations and art. Consider the complexity of kin-relationships among 'primitive' peoples and the simplicity of their technology. Lewis Mumford's book *The Myth of the Machine* is based on this idea. As anarchists we are concerned with real progress that is natural to man until he is fooled by kings and priests, and their modern counterparts, the technocrats. As Bakunin said in *Marxism, Freedom and the State*, 'It will be the reign of scientific intelligence, the most aristocratic, despotic, arrogant and contemptuous of all regimes. There will be a new class, a new hierarchy of real and pretended scientists and scholars, and the world will be divided into a minority ruling in the name of knowledge and an immense ignorant majority.'

The new hierarchy is already at work. Up the road from where we live the demolition men are at work destroying what appears to the inexperienced eye to be perfectly good houses. It seems a rather foolish thing to do when one considers the number of homeless people; but if the space is needed for industry or office blocks, man's basic needs must be put aside. These terrace houses are near to the centre of town and the inhabitants will probably be sent to a council estate on the outskirts.

Now terrace houses, as an architectural style, have certain advantages.

(a) They do not take up much valuable land as they are not detached and they have no gardens. (Visit any working-class housing estate in this city and one will see numbers of unkempt gardens. Not everyone is willing to devote his leisure hours to gardening, particularly a man who works long hours. An allotment system is better as it prevents waste and collects into one area men who have the same interest or hobby. Open public gardens can provide greenery for those who wish to appreciate the beauty of cultivated flowers and shrubs but do not want to cultivate them themselves.)

(b) They are better and safer than high blocks of flats for old people and children, as long as a play space is provided nearby.

(c) They have two small rooms downstairs instead of the usual one in most council houses; the extra can be used for a children's play room, handicraft room, reading room, or whatever leisure use is

decided by the inhabitants.

(d) They were built when the most common method of transport was walking. The private car, with its noise that irritates us, its fumes that endanger our health, and its numbers which make travel more and more uncomfortable, dangerous and difficult, need not be necessary, for our friends live near to us, the shops are at the corner and the centre of town is within walking distance. (One of the best examples of the misuse of technology under capitalism is the use made of the internal combustion engine which made it possible for men to live away from dirty factories, yet travel to work easily and in comfort if a decent system of public transport was provided.)

Old terrace houses could be supplied with mod cons, such as central heating and indoor lavatories and bathrooms added, rather than be demolished wholesale.

For the future the urban 'village', provided with services, the independent commune, could be the basis, federations of these villages could form an industrial city run by a federation of communes together with the associations of workers and 'the ancient borough of our towns and cities shall be reclaimed from the old maps and marked out by boundaries of fresh grasses so that men may once more walk the bounds of their individual communities, yet see their neighbours but a score of yards away' (A. Moyse in *Anarchy* 91).

By pure accident the capitalist society we live in has created a material environment something like this where I live, a small area of terrace houses near to the centre of town with some light industry, but the heavy industry is a few miles away. Within five minutes walk from the centre of this district I can think of, offhand, one open park, three churches, three pubs, three schools, one labour exchange, a public library, public baths, a bus station, two youth clubs, a host of small shops of all kinds and a few light industries such as a timber yard. The centre of town is ten minutes walk away. I doubt if any new housing estate can provide these amenities, but it is a safe bet that some bunch of bureaucrats are planning to demolish the houses. Must capitalist progress march ever on its way?

B.B.

FIFTH COLUMN

A Serious Issue

THE INTRODUCTION of British Standard Time is a serious issue. Nobody disputes it. Exporters, politicians, local government officials, school teachers, newspaper leader writers, the people who write letters to newspapers—even a FREEDOM correspondent—all consider BST should be argued about, fought for or against, welcomed with open arms or condemned out of hand.

The death of a five-year-old boy, knocked down before daylight, has troubled the nation's conscience: does an increase in exports justify the sacrifice of our children? On a less melodramatic level would we prefer our daylight in the morning or the afternoon?

If our time is to be tampered with by the government—our currency decimalised, our weights and measures metricated—what is sacred? Can we bank on holding on to the 12 calendar months, difficult as they are to fit neatly into a 365 day year? Shouldn't we form now the Committee for the Defence of the Calendar? After all, the other battles are lost.

Or are they? Perhaps we should seek to encourage local direct action to destroy BST—Stornoway has already set an example. Is this the issue which can be used to provoke the Revolution?

My own view is that life is made marginally more convenient by metrication, decimalisation and BST. I find calendar months quaint—and inconvenient. I would add that the sooner we all drive on the right the better: there must be a certain number of people killed every year on both sides of the Channel as a result of the difference in driving habits.

By 'marginally more convenient' I mean this: if you are on the telephone to Paris you can say 'I'll call you again at 3 p.m.' and mean the same thing as the person you're speaking to; when you cross the Channel you don't have to alter your watch; in the autumn and the spring you don't have to muck about turning clocks backwards and forwards. For me marginally is the key word: I don't make many telephone calls to Paris.

But of course I am not an exporter. If I were I would probably be celebrating BST as an indispensable contribution to the export drive. And I would be talking nonsense.

The point about BST—which seems to have been missed by all the exporters, politicians, local government officials, school teachers, newspaper leader writers, the people who write letters to newspapers and the FREEDOM correspondent—is very simple: BST means nothing at all. There is no inflexible law of existence which condemns us to getting up at something called 6 a.m. or 7 a.m. or 8 a.m.; there is no magic in the one o'clock lunch/dinner break; there is no reason why football matches should go on starting at 3 p.m. until the end of time.

Before BST the exporters could have got up an hour earlier; now with BST the schools can start an hour later. Organisations and individuals can adjust to BST—as they could have adjusted to its predecessors.

And it is here that direct action is worth considering, if the appropriate adjustment is not made. Members of a local community who are convinced that children are more likely to get knocked down in the morning darkness than in the afternoon rush hour can refuse to send their children to school in the dark until the school gives way. Workers who prefer to get up and travel in daylight can arrive at their factories and offices an hour late. And so on.

Personally I doubt whether children are more likely to be killed in the morning than in the afternoon and I am not very interested in this mythical 'hour of daylight': in the winter it always looks pretty dark to me.

But those who wish it was yesterday are entitled to try, and take themselves back there. I make one small plea: if you fail, blame the inflexibility of the school, the local education authority, the firm—or the lethargy of the people. Don't blame BST.

WYNFORD HICKS.

ON SEPTEMBER 24 simultaneous demonstrations in support of Czechoslovakia were held in Moscow, Warsaw, Budapest, and Sofia. This 'Support Czechoslovakia' action had been organised by the War Resisters' International in London and was carried out by sixteen people from seven countries. The most refreshing things about it were that it was a good idea, that it was well planned, that it was not leaked, that it was successful, that it got publicity, and that no one was hurt. It was the kind of thing which makes a great impression at the time and then tends to get forgotten; but the War Resisters' International have followed it up by producing a 64-page booklet called *Support Czechoslovakia* (Housmans, 5s.), which documents what happened and is also a useful addition to the literature about Czechoslovakia 1968.

The person most closely concerned with the project, Michael Randle, the chairman of WRI, who is well known for his work in the Direct Action Committee and the Committee of 100, was one of the six sent to prison at the Wethersfield trial in 1962 and one of the three sent to prison at the Greek Embassy trial in 1967. He contributes a short introduction, placing the Czechoslovak crisis in the context of the worldwide revolt of the young and disaffected, and pointing out that the old demand for the dismantling of military alliances is as relevant as ever in view of what eventually happened in Czechoslovakia.

Three chapters deal with resistance to

SUPPORT CZECHOSLOVAKIA

the invasion and occupation in Czechoslovakia, protests in the countries of the Warsaw Pact, and the background of the demonstration—especially the suitability of this particular crisis for this kind of action, the suitability of the WRI to organise it, and the actual details of the organisation. Then there are four chapters describing what happened in each capital. All sorts of minor things went wrong with the Moscow action, but it came off and naturally got the most publicity; Andrew Papworth and Vicki Rovere got one punch each from bystanders, but were very well treated by the Russian authorities, while *Izvestia* alleged (on September 26) that they were being used by Western Intelligence. The five demonstrators in Budapest came from Britain, the United States, India, Holland, and West Germany (the British representative was April Carter, who is also well known for her work in the Direct Action Committee and on *Peace News* and now teaches at Lancaster University); they had a much better reception from bystanders, but were held in prison for three days before being released. The five demonstrators in Warsaw were all Danes active in the peace

movement, and the four in Sofia were all Italians active in the anti-militarist socialist party, Partito Radicale; both groups seem to have distributed a large number of leaflets and to have done well in the subsequent interrogations.

There are also eight pages of illustrations, the only really useful one being a reproduction of the leaflet distributed on the demonstrations, and four appendices—the WRI press release, the briefing notes by Michael Randle, the statement made after the demonstration by Bertrand Russell, and 'some suggestions for follow-up action'. The crucial leaflet begins rather badly, but it ends well—making the important point that the demonstrators represented 'thousands of people in Western Europe, the United States, Africa and Asia, who have campaigned for many years against United States nuclear policies and against the North Atlantic Alliance; and who have demonstrated and gone to jail to oppose the war in Vietnam'. The press release and briefing notes are models of their kind. Russell's statement is a good example of the sort of thing he used to do so well before he went fellow-travelling over Vietnam; he too makes the point

that only those who condemn the American attack on Vietnam can consistently condemn the Warsaw Pact attack on Czechoslovakia. The ideas for further action are well-meaning but inevitably fall short of the initial action, which was essentially a unique thing which cannot really be repeated or followed up.

It is difficult to say what effect the whole episode had. It is good to remind people in the West that the anti-war movement is not pro-Communist, but it is not so easy to get across the analogous message to people in the East. Some of the arguments in the WRI pamphlet, in the publicity for the demonstration, and in this booklet, are rather simplistic and would be qualified by most readers of FREEDOM. But some people presumably saw the leaflets or read the leaflets, or have at least seen through the distorted reports in East Europe, and it is possible that a few of them have realised what it is all about. In the end only the people of the Warsaw Pact countries can destroy the Warsaw Pact, just as only we can destroy NATO, but it will do more good than harm to try and get across to them that the issues on both sides of the Iron Curtain are part of the same struggle. So we should pay tribute to the brave people who tried so imaginatively, and thanks to the War Resisters' International for producing this welcome memorial of what they did.

N.W.

DON'T LET UP!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:
49 weeks at £90: £4,410
Income: Sales and Subs.: £3,764
DEFICIT: £646

PRESS FUND

Blackburn: D.C. 6/-; California: M.R. £1;
Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-;
Kilrup: C.K. £1/7/10; Bangor, N.J.: J.T.
£4; London, N.10: B.K. 5/8; Vancouver:
J.R. 8/-; Vancouver: P.L. 5/2; Preston:
W.L. 8d.

TOTAL: £7 18 4
Previously Acknowledged: £736 9 1

1968 Total to Date: £744 7 5
Deficit B/F: £646 0 0

TOTAL SURPLUS: £98 7 5

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

THE DETONATOR, 2d.

THE PROTESTANT TELEGRAPH, 6d.

WE HAVE RECEIVED copies of two journals published in Northern Ireland. *The Detonator* is a single foolscap sheet, printed by the offset litho method. Its spelling is anarchic, and so are its contents. It is produced by the Revolutionary Socialist Students' Federation. At the top of the page is a small picture of Cohn-Bendit, with the slogan 'Nous sommes tous indésirables!' There is an article which disembowels Enoch Powell, and the racialists of more 'moderate' type, who are playing upon fear and trying to divide people against each other so that they may be more easily exploited. Even the liberal who says 'black men are as good as white men' is making a statement as meaningless as saying 'fat men are as good as thin men'. (Actually *The Detonator* says 'think men' which is rather delightful. It is a pity there aren't more 'think men' in the ranks of humanity.)

There are also articles dealing with the situation in Queens University, and in Belfast and Northern Ireland in general. Beneath the photo of a

Two Voices from Ulster

Gestapo type appears the following, 'Branch Man of the Week. If you spot your special friend on your next Demo, seize him by the left ear and say, "You are this week's pig and I claim my two pounds fine". There is also a quotation from the Vice-Chancellor of Reading University, who said, 'There are those who hold views positively destructive of political and national institutions and who believe that the universities should be part of their movement. These people are tolerated because Universities should be free of political pressure, places where people can read, write and think freely. We must draw the line however when these people think their views should be put into action.'

The Protestant Telegraph is one of the most staggering pieces of cultural atavism I have ever come across. We are back in the seventeenth century. Under the headlines 'Cardinal Congratulates Followers, Attack on three Pro-

testant women in Armagh', we read 'The Bible states that Rome is drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus. The bloodthirsty monster of Popery which devised the Inquisition and slaughtered millions of Protestants has not changed.' It concludes '... In the future, Protestant womenfolk must be protected from the evil intentions of this murderous Church, rightly termed in scripture as the abomination of the earth.'

Nothing is said of the 1,000 armed Paisleyites with guns, axes, bayonets and chair legs, who took over the town centre of Armagh, while the unarmed civil rights marchers were stopped by the police, who later also beat up cameramen, as did the Paisleyites.

Curiously enough, in the midst of all these archaic fireworks there appears an article by Avro Manhattan! It describes the alleged finding of the bones of St. Peter at Rome, rather in the style of an article in *The Freethinker*. It

is surprising to find Avro Manhattan in this particular paper. He has been writing excellent books for years and years attacking the Catholic Church, but I always thought from the rationalist point of view.

The truth is that the Catholic Church is an awful institution. The sole virtue of the Protestant Churches has been that being less centralised they have been less powerful. Both sides have murdered and tortured. Interesting though it is to find a society more than three hundred years behind the times, it is perhaps now that it should take a step into the modern world.

A.W.U.

Still Up to the Rank and File

IT IS IRONICAL that some of the staunchest supporters of the Government's pay policies should now be in conflict. This is the case with the building trade unions, who for years, with a few exceptions, have given their votes to the Government. Now, because they have refused to accept the Prices and Incomes Board's decision and voluntarily give up the disputed penny, Mrs. Castle, Secretary of State for Employment and Productivity, has decided to freeze and refer the recent interim pay increase of 3½d. for craftsmen and 3d. for labourers back to the Board again. The order will stop payments which building workers have been receiving since November 4.

Following the PIB's rejection of the penny, the unions sought a bonus incentive scheme from the

employers which would give workers 20% on basic rates and a 30% lieu rate in the absence of an incentive scheme. The unions said they would forego the penny if the employers accepted this, but of course it was rejected.

After the rejection, the unions decided, by 228,181 votes to 141,786, to ballot their members on whether strike action should be taken to gain these bonus incentive schemes. Mrs. Castle had already warned them that she would freeze all the increase unless they voluntarily dropped the penny. While this decision to ballot on strike action has been described as militant, the past record of the unions, in favour of this course, has hardly been along this line. The strike motion was put forward by George Smith, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, the largest union in the industry. The painters (they are due for a merger anyway) and the Transport and General Workers' Union supported him.

Strike action for these incentive schemes would remain within the law, because the PIB only ruled on the interim increase and so it is this issue, and the full wage claim of £17 11s. 8d. for craftsmen and £15 for labourers, that these union leaders are trying to dodge. The full claim is being sidetracked. Members will be asked, if it ever comes to it, if they will strike for incentive schemes, which a lot of men do not want anyway and which a number already have, earning a lot more than 20% from them. *The whole thing is a red herring engineered by the most reactionary bunch of crooks in the business, who are only interested in preserving their jobs.*

UNOFFICIAL ACTION

These union leaders have again made so many twists and turns, in order to avoid a showdown with the Government, to placate the employers and to keep their members in line, that they hardly know which way to turn. But the aim for the rank and file is a simple one. The freezing of the interim increase, the dropping of the penny or the red herring bonus schemes should not sidetrack the issue of the full wage claim, with no strings attached. Both the unions ('reasonably certain') and the employers (we will 'certainly have trouble in some places from certain people who are well known to us') expect unofficial action and they are right. The West London Branch of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trades Workers has already issued a call for a stoppage on January 2. Further strikes are planned.

There are further meetings this week between employers and unions at which a settlement, in line with the Government's pay policies, could be worked out, but there is not very much room to manoeuvre. All these 'right-wing' leaders have put themselves on the spot and more proposals are likely to be made to avoid a clash with the Government.

George Smith, leader of ASW,

LETTER

Frenchmen in Jail

Dear Comrades,

The French CNT is running a campaign for the release from Bordeaux of fourteen comrades who are in jail for their activities during the May revolt. Money is urgently needed. Please send donations to Confédération Nationale du Travail, 39 rue de la Tour d'Auvergne, Paris (9), C.C.P. Paris 20.990-10, with a note marked 'Solidarité Bordeaux'.

Newcastle-u-Lyme BOB BLAKEMAN.

has now said, 'I cannot have the people I represent treated in this fashion and, if necessary, will go to gaol.' However, I'll believe that when I see it. But it will be up to the rank and file to keep their leaders on the spot, by continuing the campaign for the claim and organising industrial action. However, in doing so, workers will be in direct conflict with the State, with possible fines and imprisonment, but the challenge must be made if wage claims are to be won. Both the Government and the trade union leaders want to avoid such an open challenge and clash with the State. For once this happens workers will realise the collective strength they possess and others would be quick to follow. If the law was used or if the Government gives in to demands, the incomes policy and Wilson would collapse. This is why a direct challenge will be avoided, but it is up to the rank and file to issue one. P.T.

SQUATTERS Special & Supplement

Last week's special 4 pages must have come as a surprise to our readers. This we produced in a hurry to help the London Squatters' Movement. We urge groups all over the country to order bundles from us or from Ron Bailey, 128 Hainault Road, Leytonstone, E.11. LEY 8059. (£1 for 50 copies.)

This also means that there won't be another supplement this month as we have used up our limited printing capacity. EDITORS.

Red-Brick Revolt

Continued from page 1

Although the ad hoc group of militants had set the pace for direct action, the real strength of the rebellion lay in the fact that it enjoyed the backing of the Students' Guild. Hundreds of students who would not have followed the militants were prepared to accept the lead of their own officers. But this source of strength was also a source of weakness. By the end of the weekend, the moderates on the Guild Executive were beginning to crack, arguing that it was unrealistic to think the university authorities would negotiate under duress and that no good purpose could be served by continuing the sit-in. With the connivance of some of the more reactionary professors, these moderates began mobilising the apathetic students, particularly those in the science and engineering departments who were largely hostile to the sit-in. The first counter-attack was beaten off impressively on the Monday evening, but next day at an extraordinary general meeting of the Guild, attended by nearly 4,000 students—the largest meeting ever held on the campus—the vote was 3 to 2 in favour of calling it off. The Council of the Guild rejected this recommendation. As the policy-making body of the Guild, it had the constitutional right to do so; but it was tactically a risky decision since it undermined the democratic legitimacy of the Council.

At this point, it looked as though the sit-in would disintegrate in the midst of a student faction fight in which the Guild Council and its Executive would be voted out of office. Fortunately for the rebels, they were saved by the ineptness of the university authorities. Convinced that the revolt was the work of a handful of 'agitators' and spurred on by the thunderings of *The Times* and of the local press, they believed that a disciplinary threat would break the sit-in. Seizing the apparent advantage of the divisions among the students, the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor (Sir George Farmer, boss of Rover's and chairman of the University Council) issued on the Wednesday an ultimatum: in effect, pack it in by 3 p.m. or face the risk of expulsion.

Freedom For Workers' Control

DECEMBER 21 1968 Vol 29 No 39

LACK OF RESPONSE

A BODY CALLING ITSELF simply 'a group of individuals concerned about Biafra' has produced a leaflet which says:

Tilbury Dockers!

Britain is supplying arms to Nigeria to be used against the people of Biafra. Armoured cars—Ferrets and Saladins—and other military equipment, including small arms, are being used in the invasion of Biafra. Food supplies are being prevented from getting through to millions of starving people in a territory about the size of Yorkshire. We believe that many of the armoured cars, and British arms destined for Nigeria, are shipped from Tilbury Docks. This means that YOU may be handling the weapons that help to create human suffering like that of the children pictured here. They died just hours after the picture was taken. (A photograph of children with ribs showing and stick-like arms and legs then appears.)

The latest estimate is that 10,000 people are now dying in Biafra EVERY DAY and that this will rise to 25,000 A DAY by Christmas. IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY: We ask you to REFUSE to have the suffering of these children on YOUR hands. REFUSE TO HANDLE ARMS SHIPMENTS TO NIGERIA!

If you have any information about arms shipments to Nigeria, please contact us. We shall treat the information with the strictest confidence.

Roger Moody and Barbara Higgins, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1. Telephone: 837 4473.

The response was not too encouraging. There was no strike.

This is disheartening, but one has to take into account that the sudden descent of a group of unknowns with leaflets is not likely to have much effect at first on people whose livelihood is affected. Probably most of the dockers have barely heard of Biafra. In order to get this kind of message across it is probably necessary to be persistent, and to become known in the locality. To appear for a brief time and then vanish again is not effective.

The trouble is that there are so many causes deserving our support, and so few of us, and we too are preoccupied for a great deal of our time with the question of making a living, etc., that most of us have not the time or energy to conduct a campaign 'in depth'.

But undoubtedly this is what is necessary. The workers do not constitute a seething mob, ready at any time to flare into open revolt, but are in fact as conservative as the average middle class crowd.

The economic position of the dockers, and of other workers, and indeed of the less well to do sections of the middle class also, is deteriorating. People in this situation are not likely to take much notice of small flurries of protest concerning causes about which they know nothing. What perhaps is needed is some way of showing how declining living standards, decline in civil liberties, horrors like Vietnam and Biafra, and the enormous expenditure on arms are all tied together, and that we are all victims. M.H.

SOLIDARITY

The effect of this ultimatum was electrifying. The sense of solidarity built up in the previous seven days by the rebels suddenly reasserted itself. When 3 p.m. came, the Great Hall—the centre of the sit-in—was packed by over 2,000 students and staff. Let's see them discipline this lot! was the spirit of the meeting. At the last minute, in a desperate effort to save face, the VC sent along a message: he 'agreed' to the meeting continuing until 5 p.m. That hour came too, and the 2,000 were still there. The VC's authority had collapsed in the face of such a show of solidarity.

At this point it was the rebels who faced the temptation to exploit their opponent's weakness. With a much greater tactical sense than the university authorities had shown, the students realised that the time to call off the sit-in was when they themselves were strong and united. Despite the heady language of revolution used at the beginning of the sit-in, what they had been staging was a revolt and not a revolution; and the rebels needed to retire in good order and in sound heart if they were to continue the struggle that lay ahead. Next day, therefore, at another mass meeting, after reaffirming the students' four points, an almost unanimous decision was taken to call off the sit-in—for the time being. This well-timed decision meant that the emergency meeting of the Senate held later that day had no excuse for continuing a hard-line policy on the ground that it was subject to duress. The decision strengthened the hands of the 'doves' in the Senate, and the upshot was a statement agreeing to no victimisation and immediate further discussions of the points raised by the students.

The result of the sit-in was not, therefore, a clear-cut victory for the students. Given the power structure of the University and the fact that this structure has the legal backing of the State, no realist could or should have expected an out-and-out student victory. But the students were right to claim a partial victory. The door previously slammed in their faces by decisions of the Senate and University Council had been prised ajar and the prospect opened up for serious consideration of their views.

POWER OF THE STUDENT BODY

It would, however, be a mistake to judge the sit-in merely in terms of how many of the students' demands were met. The revolt was above all an extraordinary lesson in political education for those who took part in it. It demonstrated the latent power of the student body. It revealed to the students the important truth that underlies the theory of non-violent direct action: that authority depends in the last analysis on the 'consent' of the governed and that, if sufficient numbers of the ruled reject their voluntary servitude, there is little that the rulers can do about it. It enabled the rebels to display capacities for spontaneous organization which they had hardly realised they possessed. It opened the eyes of innocents to the biased character of the press and the mass media. It made the students conscious of what a free community could be. It gave them first-hand experience of mass participatory democracy in action. And—especially in the teach-in which formed the core event of the sit-in—it gave them a glimpse of what a genuine university education might be like. These eight days constituted a forcing house into which entered unruly, exasperated rebels, with no very clear idea of what they were doing or what they wanted to achieve, and from which emerged a body of self-disciplined, mature revolutionaries. For the active participants at least, the world will never be quite the same again.

One may well conclude: if a revolt of such magnitude can happen at Birmingham, it can happen almost anywhere. The Birmingham student revolt is a clear pointer that the day of universities as ivory towers is over: they are now being rapidly transformed into the outposts of the coming revolution.

GASTON GERARD.

WHO THE HELL, Etc.

This schools leaflet of which another 10,000 had to be reprinted seems to be annoying a number of illiterates who have written (?) several anonymous (of course) letters to the Anarchist Publications Committee.

Keep it up, comrades, you must be on the right track. M.H.

Contact Column

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

Australian Get-together. January 11, 11 a.m., Australia House, Aldwych. Greet Gorton Committee.

Used books, pamphlets, periodicals wanted by Anarchy radical. Box

Hello. Eltham and Lewisham College Anarchist Group. Contact John Bonner, Bexley Anarchists.

Godwin. Has any comrade got a copy of 'William Godwin' (publ. Kegan Paul) to lend to a Japanese comrade in Tokyo for a month for reference in a book he is writing on Godwin?

West of England Schools. Anyone interested in joining a school libertarian movement please contact Steve Gledhill, Hill House, Monkton Combe School, Somerset, B42 7HG.

Job wanted. Young anarchist ex-university student. Colin Smith, 98 Herne Hill, S.E.24.

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

Wigan Anarchist seeks contact with anarchists from same area. Brian J. Banks, 553 Liverpool Road, Platt Bridge, near Wigan, Lancs.

'Far from Vietnam' (Godard's film). AEU Hall, Robinson Road, Crawley, Sussex, 3 p.m., Sunday, December 22. Admission 5/-.

Poster Workshop Benefit Night. All Saints' Hall, Powis Gardens, Notting Hill, 7.30 p.m., Friday, January 10. Admission 5/-. CAST Theatre Group, Angry Arty Film Society, Agit-prop Street Players.

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

French Student of British Anarchism 1918-1950 wants first-hand information. Lalloroth, 18 rue du Cdr. Bichery, 76 Le Havre.

Orgone accumulator required. Pref. rent but buy if cheap. Write Frances Edwards, The Barn, Stair, Newlands, nr. Keswick, Cumberland.

Any comrades going to European Conference in Lucca, Italy, December 28-January 4 with car, please contact: Jen & Roz, 33 Clifden Road, Brentford, Middx.

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

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

If you wish to make contact let us know.