

Freedom

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DEATH IN SYLVAN SETTING

IN THE HEART of Gareloch, Dunbartonshire, is a massive Submarine Base, HMS Neptune, which cost £48m. and during the past few years has swelled the population of Helensburgh and District by nearly 8,000 men, women and children. The nuclear missiles which it exists to maintain are capable of reducing Moscow and Leningrad to atomic nothingness. But one reply from the Soviet Union could mean the death of nearly two million people living in nearby towns and the industrial city of Glasgow—25 miles away.

The tragedy of the situation is that the Helensburgh Town Council accepted the Base with a unanimity that was incredible—even for people who are 'non-political'. The local small businessmen and shopkeepers did not object because the existence of the Submarine Base at Faslane, several miles from town, and the Royal Navy Ammunition Depot at Coulport and a subsidiary depot at Glen Douglas on Lochside, has swelled their profits. It has also made their destruction—in the event of a third world war—almost certain.

INTEGRATION

Of course the job of the Royal Navy was not only to convince the local populace that they were there for their good, for their defence, if you please. Integration was the operative word. But first they had to house their personnel: serving men and their wives, bachelors, civilian employees and civil servants under the aegis of the Ministry of Defence.

The Dunbartonshire County Council decided to join forces with the Scottish Special Housing Association and nearly 800—repeat 800—houses, good solid houses were built at a cost—to the rate-payers—of hundreds of thousands of pounds. This was at a time when 150 people who were born and bred in Helensburgh have been waiting for years for a Council house because the Town Council had not built any for four years.

Organisations were formed as were clubs, which tried to work with townspeople, at the same time keeping their identities. The local press co-operated to put over the image that the Navy was here to stay. But there have been examples of the difficulties of integration and it would seem that the Ministry of Defence (Navy) is tolerated rather than accepted.

ATTITUDE TO THE PRESS

The attitude of the Royal Navy to the press was reflected in two incidents of the River Clyde. The whole of the Gareloch is now under their jurisdiction in order to protect the yachtsmen and people in boats, because from time to time huge submarines, armed with the devastating nuclear missiles with warheads, occasionally come through the Rhu Narrows and a collision must be avoided!

The Editor of the *Helensburgh and Gareloch Times* received an eye-witness report of a near-collision of a visiting American nuclear submarine with a British conventional submarine. The Navy told the Editor not to use the story, a conversation between the News Editor and a Commander of the Base Security Office was telephone-tapped and reproduced. To its credit the newspaper—circulation, 5,000—printed the item. The reaction showed the true attitude of the Navy. The Commander threatened the Editor that, henceforth, relations would be soured. Since then the rival newspaper—which suppressed the item—seems to get more information

than the old-established *Times*. But this is done in the crafty modern manner referred to in the article by Farquhar McLay.

NO RESTRICTIONS ON THE MINISTRY

One day a huge signalling mast appeared at Helensburgh Pier. The County Council—the so-called democratic Authority for the whole area—nearly had a fit: planning permission had not been asked, the slavish Town Council agreeing IN PRIVATE. Objections were made and published in the *Times* which took the line that all other organisations were subject to this planning permission. The other newspaper took the opposite line: to hell with the County Council. Good old Ministry of Defence. Helensburgh District Council joined with the County Council in pointing out that at the time of the formation of the Queen's Harbour it was promised—faithfully—that no installations would be built. Letters poured into the local and national press: the democratic 'game' was played to the full. After a few weeks it was obvious that the Ministry, like God, was not subject to the normal restrictions placed on ordinary mortals.

Navy people—who can't help being there—began to find that the town's firms and shops were not averse to some extra exploitation: on paydays, wives began to find that prices suddenly rose. Coincidence? No, said the shopkeepers, it was just the law of supply and demand! An investigation revealed that the profit accrued was beyond what even Karl Marx had dreamed of, suggesting that *Das Kapital* would have to be revised.

Wives now began to discover that, although no official or political objection had been made, this did not prevent individual people in shops and streets from making their own objections in a subtle but, for some Navy people, a frightening manner. An occasional

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THINGS SEEM TO HAVE quietened down for the moment in Czechoslovakia. The enemy at present does not seem to be the Russian soldiers, but the Czech police and army, who last year were lukewarm or stood aside inactive when the population protested. Not so now. In Brno, the second largest city in the country, four people are said to have died by shooting on Thursday and Friday. The police acted with the sadistic brutality which seems to be the generally accepted thing these days in every civilised (ha! ha!) country. In Prague demonstrators were knocked down and savagely kicked. Women were beaten with truncheons in the street, and those

POSTERS

Freedom in Fascist Ulster
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FREEDOM PRESS

Victory in Derry—Murder in Belfast

TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY years ago the walled city of Derry underwent a violent and bloody siege. On August 12 those same walls overlooked another violent and bloody siege in the Bogside area of the city. The people of the city, systematically exploited by a corrupt government for fifty years, and since October 5 subject to sporadic attacks by police thugs, were faced with the prospect of the annual commemoration of the original siege being used by Paisleyites as an excuse for teaching the people of Bogside a lesson.

As it turned out, it was the police who assumed their usual role of official hoodlums, though helped to a large extent by Paisleyites. Having displayed magnificent courage and impeccable discipline for two hours while being stoned by a group of Derry's 'Young Hooligans', the boys in blue decided enough was enough, brought out their armoured cars, and beating their shields Zulu-style, made an attack and drove the stone-throwers from the city centre along Rosville Street to the heart of the Bogside ghetto. They were followed by a group of several hundred Paisleyites who smashed windows and attacked people in the area.

The attack was halted only when a young boy ran out of a side street, pulled open the back door of an armoured personnel carrier which was leading the charge, and threw a petrol bomb into it. The carrier spluttered to a stop and the fuzzi jumped out, two of them in flames. The police hesitated then retreated as the people counter-attacked and drove them and the Paisleyites to a cross-roads on the edge of the area.

POLICE RETREAT

Barricades were erected to prevent further police incursions and a major battle developed between the people and the police, during which the main force of police, numbering several hundred and supported by armoured scout cars, personnel carriers, landrovers and two water-cannon, were forced to retreat even further to the edge of the chief shopping centre. Since property was being threatened, they opened fire,

wounding two people in the chest and the mouth. This in no way deterred the young 'hooligans' and as a last desperate attempt to hold their position, the police began to use CS tear gas. They saturated the area with it, forcing everyone to retreat behind a second barricade within the Bogside area.

Having gained a foothold in the Bogside, the police began to fire CS shells through the windows of houses and flats in a quite indiscriminate manner. The effects on small children, women and old people are easily imagined, and many had to be hospitalised and others evacuated.

A stalemate situation developed with each side gaining some ground, then losing it again, though the fighting was continuing at a very high level of intensity all the time. On Wednesday night, however, this stalemate was broken when the people in the Bogside, in spite of the tear gas, drove the police out, only to be confronted with hundreds of Paisleyites. Hand-to-hand fighting took place for several hours, while the police had their first rest for 30 hours.

After the Paisleyites retreated, about 3 a.m. on Thursday morning, the refreshed fuzzi attacked the barricades, again shooting revolvers and tear gas, and gained about 50 yards into the Bogside. They could get no further because of half-a-dozen youths on top of a block of flats who rained down a hail of petrol bombs on the police whenever they attacked. This situation lasted for 12 hours until once again the police were beaten back, this time right into the city centre, and just as we were about to administer the coup de grace on them, a convoy of British troops arrived on the scene, bayonets at the ready, and threw barbed wire barricades across the road in front of us.

LIMITED VICTORY

The sullen faces of the police reinforced our belief that we had won a great victory. But later we were to realise that, though we had defeated the police, our victory was a limited one and also a very costly one for which others were to pay

with their lives.

BELFAST

At the same time as troops were being called in to 'restore order' in Derry, the Unionist Government was mobilising ten thousand B-Specials, a discredited force of bigoted fascists.

In order to take some of the massive police pressure off Derry on Wednesday night, Belfast, Armagh, Lurgan and half-a-dozen other towns held demonstrations of various kinds. In Belfast it took the form of building barricades behind which people sheltered in case of a police attack, which came in due course, with armoured cars failing to break through the barricades.

Thursday night was a very different story.

The mobilised B-men, as soon as they were issued with their new Stirling machine guns, Bren guns, automatic rifles, and Brownings mounted on armoured cars, began to try them out, using the people in the Falls Road and Crumlin Road areas as targets. Armoured cars swept down the streets raking the rows of terraced houses with heavy machine gun fire. Five people died as a result, two of them while sitting in their own homes. Other B-men climbed on top of high buildings, set up machine gun nests there and began to shoot indiscriminately. Others acted as snipers with their rifles.

Police claim they fired only after they themselves had come under heavy fire. This is completely rejected by people in the area and the statistics would seem to bear this out. (People—8 dead, 153 wounded; Pigs 3 wounded.)

HELP WANTED

Troops have now been sent to Belfast, and the Government in its bid to cling to power began to use the Special Powers Act to imprison people without trial. People here will not be intimidated by such methods, however, and we look to our comrades in Britain to help us in getting rid of this bunch of gangsters who have the blood of ordinary people on their hands and the profits from their labours in their pockets.

COLUMCILLE.

It's the same the World over—another Police Riot!

of both sexes who were arrested were beaten again in the police stations. Probably the shootings were also the work of the police.

The situation has altered since last year. The government is no longer anti-Moscow of course, even to the very mild degree of a year ago. What is disturbing is that police who were prepared to be mild under one government are quite capable of changing their entire behaviour when the regime changes, and act ferociously with quite evident enthusiasm. Are these creatures human at all, or are they zombies, whose behaviour can be altered at the touch of a button? The police of all countries are becoming themselves an international country, which is at war with the peoples of all other countries. America, Ulster, Czechoslovakia, it is the same everywhere.

The cities of the world are becoming unsafe because of the activities of these well-organised psychopaths, and it may eventually become necessary for an international anti-police movement to be

developed, in order that people may protect themselves against those who are supposed to be their protectors!

It looks as if it is no longer just a case of patriotic Czechs against Russian tyranny, the usual thing that we have become used to since the beginning of the Cold War. It is the police against the people. Eight hundred 'security troops' have been brought into Prague, whatever they may be. Most probably they are yet another kind of police force. The B-Specials of Czechoslovakia perhaps!

... AND IN ULSTER

From Czechoslovakia to Ulster is but a step, spiritually if not physically. We are continually told that the B-Specials are either being disarmed, or are about to be. One is left with the feeling that even if they are deprived of their official armament they will still be a menace. Many of them are said to have guns of their own in their homes. It would be better if the force could be altogether disbanded. No doubt even this would not

get rid of them altogether, as they could still form an underground army of their own.

The Specials have even less inhibitions than the regular police force. However when they kill someone the regular police force will cover up for them. John Callagher was shot dead in the streets of Armagh. It seems that he was not participating in a demonstration. Upon enquiries being made by a reporter of the *Daily Sketch*, the Armagh police stated, 'The identity of the persons concerned in the death of John Callagher is known to the police.'

This statement was repeated later in the communiqué issued by the headquarters of the regular police at Belfast. Then a curious statement was issued to the effect that 'no witness had come forward', and there the matter rests. Meanwhile at Armagh two Specials known to have fired at the moment that John Callagher died are still on duty, with their rifles.

A.S.

Abolish Stormont Junta!

THE SIEGE OF BOGSIDE is over. But the defeat of the police and B-Specials has not meant a victory for the people. The intervention of British troops on Thursday evening merely released more police and B-men to attack people in other areas. Now eight people are dead, nearly four hundred wounded, and more troops are intervening in Belfast. In almost every case the intervention of troops is usually a last desperate attempt by a bumbling imperialist government to maintain control over people who want to decide their own destiny. On this occasion, however, the troops did not intervene, as is reported by the media, to separate warring factions. In Belfast the troops intervened to prevent a bloodbath organised by the armed enforcers of so-called law and order.

There have been many well-documented examples of the partisan behaviour of the RUC. In Bogside they led an attack of B-men and Paisleyites into the area. On occasions they handed their weapons to the Paisleyites so that they (the police) could have a rest. They permitted B-men

to carry and use automatic rifles before the mobilisation of these thugs took place.

The presence of Paisleyites and B-men, all extremist Protestant, has encouraged many in the belief that this is a sectarian struggle. It is my belief it is sectarian on one side only. This is not to say there are no bigots on the Catholic side. After fifty years of mis-government by a bunch of incestuous siblings the wonder is that the whole population is not bigoted. The majority of the Catholic people see their struggle as being basically against the police. They are only too eager to say they have nothing whatever against their Protestant neighbours.

I myself, together with the other agnostics and atheists (and occasional Protestants) who were fighting with the people of Bogside, believe that this is a people's struggle against fascism. The Paisleyites are working-class Protestants mainly. For this reason we have, in the past, refused any conflict with them, since such a conflict would inevitably be interpreted as being a sectarian one. But

more important than their religious or class origins is their political base. It is fascist and it is our duty, as people who can take an objective view of the Christian splinter groups, to try to educate the people, both Catholic and Protestant, of the nature of Paisleyite fascism. I believe it is time to oppose this fascism, with force if need be.

As far as Stormont is concerned, though always incapable, their incapacity for government has been demonstrated to the world. People here have a naïve belief that 'Scilly' Harry Wilson and Smiling Jim Callaghan will intervene and take control from Westminster. We are much less confident, since Wilson will only act when he is certain to reap some political advantage from it. Meanwhile people are dying here. We appeal to you, comrades, to take any action whatsoever which will pressurise the greasy eminences of Whitehall to suspend the corrupt junta at Stormont and free the people here from the intimidations of fascist hoodlums.

COLUMCILLE.

IRISH SOLIDARITY DEMO

LAST SUNDAY, another demonstration was held in support of the people of Bogside and Belfast in their struggle for basic civil rights.

Unfortunately the march did not start from Shepherds Bush Green or some other suitable area, but from the hallowed space which allows free speech to the tourists, Hyde Park. This lost the demonstration a lot of the casual support it managed to gain on the previous Sunday.

There were several speakers and after a suitable amount of turmoil the Connolly Association's Front organisation and the Clan na Eirean decided that they didn't want to march with the Solidarity campaign. This breach which still operates even in the face of a very desperate situation is a disgrace and acts as a very divisive force amongst the ordinary Irish worker who cannot understand what all the recriminations are about.

The demonstration went down Piccadilly, not being allowed to pass the Ulster Office which was protected by about 500 law. It eventually ended up after a considerable amount of frustration in Downing Street.

An unsuccessful breakaway to the Unionist's HQ in Smith Square resulted in a rather spectacular chase and two people arrested. Nobody seemed to realise what was happening until it was all over.

A highly unsuccessful demonstration. Although attendance from the anarchists was quite good, a fair few didn't seem to realise that most of their chants were rather irrelevant to the situation. Our comrade, Ian Purdy, arrested at last Sunday's demonstration, is still in Brixton jail.

DIGGER.

It's all Happening in St. Ives

IN ST. IVES, one is amazed at the beautiful scenery to the naked eye, but what is hidden from view?

What actually is happening in St. Ives is this. There are notices everywhere which state 'NO BEATNIKS or UNDESIRABLES SERVED' in Pubs, Shops and Cafes. They don't state the reason. Is it because one does not conform in dress or appearance?

Myself and eight others had taken over a disused railway hut and lived in it; what wrong were we doing?

We were evicted in the early hours of the morning by the railway police with dogs and crowbars and sledgehammers. We were charged with trespassing on the railway and, after caution and refusing to quit, we were remanded in custody for eight days.

At court the other eight were bound over for two years, while I was given a suspended sentence of one month for a period of one year.

There is a group of vigilantes who are beating up people and throwing them in the sea; all this is known to the police, yet nothing is done. Why?

The Liberal MP for St. Ives, a Mr. Hand, says he is in full agreement with getting rid of the undesirables from the beaches of Cornwall.

When I asked and produced evidence

'The Libertarian Right'

S. E. PARKER'S ARTICLE in the Open Forum (23.8.69) *An Individualist View* is interesting. I remember my surprise on seeing some time ago a small pro-Vietcong demonstration on its way from Marble Arch to some destination in central London. Between two sections decorated with NLF flags there marched a group carrying red and black banners, the potential victims marching between their future executioners! Yes, I can see that the consequences of imagining anarchism as an outgrowth of socialism can be odd, and even deadly, sometimes. What I am less sure of is the idea that anarchists should ally themselves with the 'libertarian Right'.

In America perhaps this might be possible. I don't know enough about it. I have a vague idea of a 'libertarian Rightist' in America. He is a farmer and owns his land, which is situated in the backwoods somewhere. He wears tattered denim overalls, and a broad-brimmed straw hat, and is in the habit of sitting on the porch of his weather-beaten shack exchanging pithy utterances with his neighbours. Periodically he spits at a tin can some yards away, and never misses. When visited by tax collectors, census takers and other governmental busybodies, he takes down a long rifle from over his fireplace and pursues them yelling, 'Git off mah laind!' His name is Caleb or Zeke, or something suitably stark and Biblical.

His library consists of a tattered copy of Thoreau's *Walden*, and a few farmer's almanacs.

There is no one corresponding to this sort of person in Britain, because the days of our frontier are too far in the past. A 'libertarian Rightist' in this country is a sentimental Tory gentleman, who believes that everything was better before the Industrial Revolution, a sort of Chesterton figure. A nice person but as an ally...? Of course there are plenty of people who talk about 'free enterprise' and 'individual initiative', but what they really want is government by business men, instead of by civil servants. Anarchists are against being governed by anybody.

It may perhaps be true that anarchism is not really part of the Left, but it is decidedly not part of the Right. At the moment the Right in Britain is manifesting itself increasingly. It shows no signs of being 'libertarian' in any conceivable way. It is distinctly authoritarian and racist, and what one might call for want of a better word 'irrationalist'. I believe it constitutes quite a serious threat to all non-conformists, black and white, individualists and non-individualists. I see anarchism and anarcho-individualism as a protest against, and an alternative to, the increasing bigotry showing itself on both Left and Right, and coming more and more to be accepted as the normal thing.

A.W.U.

PRESS FUND

2 weeks ending August 22, 1969

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TOTAL: £9 10s. 2d.

Gift of Books—Liverpool: G.B.; Fal-mouth: R.W.; London: J.H. & M.W.K. *Denotes Regular Contributor.

THAT MAN AGAIN

THE EALING No. 3 BRANCH of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers has asked the Home Secretary to order a probe into the activities of a detective agency and its use of private armies against squatters and strikers.

Frank Phillips, of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, told the meeting, 'The guards outside Turriff's Ivy Bridge site at Hounslow were reminiscent of concentration camps. Their actions were deliberately calculated to provoke strikers.'

The detective agency concerned is Southern Provincial Investigations—part of the Barrie Quartermain empire.

LARRY.

that the eviction was illegal, with the Forcible Entry Act of 1381, I was told I was wrong, so it seems Cornwall has got its Independence after all.

SCOTS JIM.

Death in Sylvan Setting

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letter to the press reflected this. But not all such letters were published and, in the interest of integration, it was thought that it was something folk 'dinna care to talk about'!

Occasionally, however, Navy men having a drink tend to fight with the local folk and appear before the Burgh Court. Newspapers—whatever their attitude—must fill space. These items appear and suggest that all in the garden is not growing neatly—there are awkward weeds here and there!

TRAFFIC

The coming of the Base has meant such an increase in the volume of traffic that the old 19th century roads have become totally inadequate: accidents have increased at a rate that is causing concern. The roads are churned up because of the amount of bulldozers that are needed in connection with a road-widening programme that has been launched.

The Town Council has been forced to build more car parks and yellow lines appear everywhere restricting parking. The lovely grass verges—that were a feature of this town—are slowly but surely being removed, despite an appeal by several non-political Councillors that they should be retained. Day after day come Navy men being transferred to the Base from different parts of the country, travelling in vehicles loaded with their kit and equipment. Day after day the traffic builds up and more and more, traffic lights are being installed to cut down the number of accidents. Four years ago walking across the road was a simple exercise.

TENSION

This makes the quodian life for old folks more of a burden. Basically friendly folk, gossiping and rumour-

mongering has become a pastime. Occasionally the local press have investigated stories of murder and fatal accidents only to find that the rumour is without foundation. The tension is building up.

There are no political organisations—not even a Labour Party—which could channel bad feeling into some sort of action. The Scottish National Party—the petit bourgeois variety—last year shook everyone by announcing that they would contest seats for the Council. But their two candidates did not do so well although the Parliamentary candidate did voice his objections to the Base which, he claimed, would be removed once his party got into power. It is difficult to assess the validity of this statement. One effect of it would be that the housing situation in the area would be solved—overnight!

But readers will have heard promises made before by politicians anxious to have a career in Parliament. The Communist Party and the Labour Party have made such statements seem clap-trap to ordinary people who, in Scotland, are correct in being 'ca-canny'.

There was a time when the CND personnel appeared at the Faslane Base and kicked up a row. This does not happen now. When they last appeared it was to walk AWAY from the Base to start a tour of some sort. Perhaps this was symbolic!

So what is to be done? It is difficult to put forward any panaceas. But anarchists and socialists could try to work together—who needs the Communist Party?—and make an attempt to improve the quality of life. People could be made to waken up their ideas. There is a lot of feeling that things are not what they should be. But people are, naturally, shy, even afraid, viz. getting information and the names and addresses from folk in Dunbartonshire is a very difficult job. But some sort of fight must be put up. If we are all going to die, it is well to go down defiant to the last. That is the opinion of this correspondent.

BY A CORRESPONDENT.

There IS a Difference

Q: What's the difference between your behind and a letter-box?

A: I don't know.

In that case I won't let you post these letters.

—Fourth Form humour.

IN AN ARTICLE in FREEDOM (by L. Otter) it is argued that there is no difference between Stalinism and Fascism. If the writer could not tell, say, how to distinguish between a Maoist and a Falangist, one would hardly let him 'post any letters' in Spain. But, of course, the questions are purely rhetorical. How is it 'merely Liberalism' to equate the two, he asks, though in practice he must know the difference.

Liberalism at its best (not political Liberalism) is concerned with the degree of freedom possible within a State. Hence it is 'merely Liberalism' to equate Stalinism and Fascism solely on the grounds that both prevent any form of melioration within the State. It would be 'merely anarchist sectarianism' to equate Fascism and Democracy since both are concerned with ways of government. Neither proposition would be untrue. They are merely unhelpful as definitions.

On the whole, one could say the difference between the two in power is the fact that Fascism preserves economic class distinctions and Stalinism does not. Ultimately it is true that distinctions based on power will become indistinguishable from those based on hereditary wealth and economic control. But while Stalinism may become the same as State Capitalism (by which one understands Beeching within the British State, for instance), it is not so now. The 'State Capitalism position' is not an anarchist analysis but the alibi of the Marxist beyond Trotsky for the degeneration of State Commu-

nism. He wishes to disguise, and understandably so, the fact that State Communism itself went wrong, and therefore called it first 'Stalinism', then 'State Capitalism'—anything but Marxism.

As regards State Communism and Fascism out of power, their tactics are again entirely different, though the 'merely liberal' standpoint is to see both them—and many others—all as equally unconstitutional. Liberalism aiming at the reform of society cannot admit of irreconcilable differences within its structure and therefore denies a class struggle. The State Communist would enter into the struggle, and try to become the most influential party amongst the workers. Having done so, it would seize power. Fascism would take a direct confrontation against the workers, as in Spain, Italy or Austria; where this would be impracticable, it would terrorise a small section and then establish itself as a force to be feared while it picked off its enemies one by one.

It might be argued that State Communism is for that reason more to be suspected. While this is partly true, it is understandable why a different approach to the two is called for.

From a purely liberal standpoint, one might just as logically stop a State Communist from organising a strike as stop a Fascist from trying to evict a black family. Both have the same ultimate object, power. But this would not be a revolutionary anarchist attitude and one can only explain in terms of class struggle.

Of course freedom of speech should be absolute, otherwise it is not freedom. But how can one get it into the heads of the semantically obstinate that a B-Special shouting 'Open fire, lads' is not just exercising his freedom of speech?

A. MELTZER.

UMBERTO HITS THE JACKPOT

THERE IS JOY in the hearts of the humble and the meek when the Management is caught by the short and curlies and never more so than in the matter of Umberto Vigilante of Peterborough via Italy.

Umberto, the shop steward at the Metzeler Tyre Co. was, as all men must, having a quiet and unofficial drag while working when he was seen and sacked. Umberto apologised but to no avail for the sack stayed and after 24 of his fellow workers had walked out in his support the union fought the case.

The men finally agreed to return to work on condition that Umberto was suspended on full pay and here the matter now rests for the management of the

Metzeler Tyre Co. will not take cigarette-happy Umberto back and they now find that they have agreed to pay him £14 basic wage from now till eternity.

However Umberto is unhappy for he is a friendly social fellow who wishes for nothing more than to return to the overtime and the comradeship of the Metzeler Tyre Co. workshop while Willie Wardle, the manager of the Metzeler Tyre Co., is plainly sick of the whole subject of Umberto and his £14 a week.

Of my innocence I can only suggest that Willie and Umberto get together at the Metzeler Tyre Co. and discuss the matter over a quiet cigarette.

LUMPENPROLETARIAT

The Psychology of Fascism

THE SECOND WORLD WAR was fought, according to the propagandists on 'our' side, to rid the world of Fascism and Nazism.* Yet today, thirty years after that war began and almost twenty-five after it ended, the word Fascism is still very much on the lips of many people. Right-wing politicians like Enoch Powell have been called 'fascist bastards' by their opponents, and certain political groups such as the National Front can be accurately termed Nazi or Fascist.

Why is this so? And why, in 1969, is Fascism still with us? The simple answer is that Fascism is an economic doctrine advocated by sections of the ruling class, at certain periods, as a solution to the ever-increasing crises of capitalism; another is that it is a political movement of madmen and lunatics or evil-minded men, or that it is a mystic doctrine (i.e. the Nordic or Teutonic school of Nazism) rooted in the human psyche or soul—and, therefore, cannot be eliminated by war or military subjection of a nation which has 'gone fascist'.

All these are, in themselves, only partial explanations. Of course, Fascism cannot be eliminated by force or war. Of course, many Fascists and Nazis are literally mad. Of course, Fascism is a psychological problem. It is also an economic doctrine. However, all these factors are inter-related and inter-woven. Fascism is a psycho-socio-economic phenomenon, a cancerous growth within post-laissez-faire industrial capitalism. It is reactionary and backward-looking. Fascism in one guise or another will continue whilst the present 'order' of society prevails.

Because Fascist arguments are still encountered—even if the labels Fascist or Nazi are not used by those advocating such ideas—it will be necessary to analyse them, together with an analysis of the personality-type of the typical Fascist or Nazi that one encounters in such present-day organisations as the National Front.

Nationalism

Not all nationalists are Fascists; but all Fascists are nationalists. 'This is the Golden Rule of Fascism: all problems must be approached with the aim of putting the interests of BRITAIN FIRST,' says the pre-war BUF publication *Fascism For The Million*. 'All sectional interests,' continues the Golden Rule, 'must be subordinated to the national interest; no one section must use its power for its own selfish interest.' And this, of course, meant working-class interests. 'Under Fascism, strikes and lockouts will not occur.' Because 'the economic causes of strikes and lockouts, therefore, would not exist under Fascism'.

In *Tomorrow We Live*, Mosley writes: 'We love our country. . . . We ask patriots to join us in building a country worthy of a patriot's love. . . . And in a speech at the Earl's Court Exhibition Hall on July 16, 1939, he said: 'I ask this audience tonight whether or not we are going to give everything we have within us, not only material resources, but our moral and spiritual being, our very life and our very soul, in holy dedication to England. . . . In a statement from prison in 1942, Mosley wrote: 'The loyalty of our members (the BUF) is the natural result both of our creed and of our policy since the conflict began.' The Italian Fascists and the German Nazis were also extreme nationalists. Indeed, Mussolini admitted: 'We have created a myth. This is a faith, a noble enthusiasm. It does not have to be a reality. It is an impulse and a hope. Our myth is the nation, the great nation.'

Coming much nearer to our own times, we read much the same arguments and myths in John Tyndall's *British Nationalism*, written in 1967. This booklet is of particular interest as it is something of a National Front bible. Tyndall is, of course, editor of *Spearhead* and a prominent member of the National Front. Tyndall calls his nationalism a 'policy and faith', as did Mussolini before him.

'We nationalists,' he writes, 'have neither lost faith in Britain nor in the British people. We believe that there is no fundamental weakness in our nation that cannot be cured by the emergence of new political leadership. It is our intention eventually to provide that leadership and to provide the policy which Britain can climb back to her former heights and regain her confidence and self-respect. This is the meaning of the nationalist movement. . . . Britain must become once again strong. . . . Above all, we need unity as a people, transcending the petty interests of faction and class. . . . On all National Front marches or demonstrations a banner with the slogan, 'BRITAIN FIRST', is carried as was the same slogan on pre-war BUF marches.

Most reformists, from Tories to so-called Communists, are to some extent nationalists and patriots. They identify themselves with the nation-state, the 'country', and the prevailing socio-economic system. But, except for a few High Tories on the extreme right, they do not, like the Fascists, create a myth or article of faith about nationalism. Anarchists

*I use the words Fascism and Nazism interchangeably. The word Fascism is of Italian origin, while Nazism or National Socialism is associated with Hitler and Germany. Sir Oswald Mosley, when leader of the British Union of Fascists, used both words to mean the same thing. Psychologically, they are synonymous.

is invariably preceded by a blood mixture.' And as an example, Chamberlain cites as particularly gifted the Germanic tribes of Franks and Anglo-Saxons; a mixture of Germanic and Slavic 'blood'. With such a mixture of inbreeding, a new race is born, a race of noble blood, of similar type, of similar stock, as the latter-day Nazi John Tyndall puts it. Chamberlain designates the highest type to be the 'Aryan'. And, of course, the Germans—particularly the Prussians—belong to that type. So do the English. 'Our only mixture,' writes Tyndall in his *British Nationalism*, 'is of stocks of North Western Europe closely akin to each other in culture and spirit and blended together as harmonious twigs of a family tree.'

Such arguments as those of Chamberlain appealed to Hitler and the other Nazis of Germany. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler says: 'A state which in the epoch of race poisoning dedicates itself to the cherishing of its best racial elements, must some day be master of the world.'

Because Fascists and Nazis accept such theories and myths of 'blood', of superior 'Aryan', Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon types and so-called races, they therefore consider non-'Aryans' and particularly non-

international finance and financiers.

In *Tomorrow We Live*, Mosley argues that the power of international finance is absolute over all the 'old parties'. Finance is the master of the parties, and finance forbids the building of a national system. The traditional business of finance, he says, depends on the maintenance of internationalism.

In his chapter entitled 'The Necessity of Power Over Finance', Mosley asserts that 'The financiers have long compelled the people to work for them. We now propose that the people shall compel the financiers to work for them. Further, that process will be greatly assisted by the preliminary deportation of alien financiers, who have abused alike the hospitality of Britain and the credit power which the British have created.'

And in the BUF booklet, *Fascism For The Million*, one finds a similar chapter, 'The Power of Finance'. Says the Fascist writer: 'Financiers have acquired so much power that they have become the greatest power in the land, greater than Parliament, or any other institution.'

Again, Tyndall in his *British Nationalism* returns to the favourite Fascist theme of 'international finance'. Today, writes Tyndall, 'International Finance rules our lives' (capitals are his). In a particularly purple passage, he says: 'In recent years in particular the forces of International Finance have become noticeably involved in political developments which are clearly subversive to the interests of the great Western nations—the uprooting of Belgian power in the Congo and the world sanctions campaign against Rhodesia being prominent examples. Many people are coming to believe that International Finance has a vested interest in the creeping internationalism of the world, and that behind all the slogans about "peace" and "brotherhood" lurk sinister designs which are likely to place total world control in the hands of a few ruthless financial manipulators.' Britain, he concludes, must be freed from the clutches of the international financial forces. A recent National Front leaflet accuses the 'Party Politicians' (the NF loves using capital letters for almost everything) of causing one financial crisis after another through kow-towing to international financiers.

Of course, no libertarian, anarchist, or even marxist, denies the power of finance capital within international capitalism. A comparatively small group—numbered in hundreds rather than thousands—have concentrated in their hands control over the greater part of the economic system of the Western world. The basic difference, however, between libertarians on the one hand and Fascists on the other is that we see finance capital as an aspect, an inevitable development, of capitalism which will go, like government and the state, with the demise of the present system. Unlike Fascists, libertarians do not look upon international finance or international financiers as a kind of subversive conspiracy, hiding under the beds of all true patriots and nationalists.

Despite Fascist and Nazi propaganda against international financiers and finance capital over the years, financiers, or other capitalists for that matter—unless they be Jews or, perhaps, in this day and age, 'Blacks'—have little to fear from the Fascists. Hitler, as early as February, 1920, demanded the 'destruction of finance capital'; but, as Konrad Heiden in his *Der Fuehrer* pointed out, only because he 'regarded all finance capital as Jewish capital'. Moreover, the German Nazis, once in power, strengthened the power of the so-called 'Aryan' financiers. And Mosley, for all his talk about financiers and capitalists, stressed that 'Capitalism and private enterprise would have nothing to fear from a Fascist victory in England'.

Fascist Economy

The economic doctrines of Fascism are neither original nor unique. Keynes probably understood them better than the Fascists did. Fascist economic policy has always been, in one form or another, 'controlled' or 'regulated' capitalism; a kind of 'private enterprise within a framework of national guidance', as the National Front puts it.

Before the war, Fascists generally called such a set-up the Corporate State. 'By the Corporate State, Fascists mean an ordered system, working on the principles of co-operation and under the guidance of experts,' says *Fascism For The Million*. Such a system will be the next stage in the evolution of industrial organisation. All production will be organised and controlled. Nothing will be left to chance, claims the BUF writer. Everything will be centralised in a National

Council of Industry. Each of the great industries of the country will be formed into Corporations.

Under Fascism, claims Mosley in his *Tomorrow We Live*, the class war will give way to co-operation between masters and men. 'The unions and employers' organisations will no longer be opposing armies of class war. They will be twin pillars which support the structure of the economic Corporations.'

Despite all this 'control' and 'regulation' and 'national guidance', the 'little man', the shopkeeper and the farmer, many of whom supported Fascism and Nazism here and abroad, are not forgotten. Continues Mosley: 'British Union is determined that the small man shall not be crushed out, because his energy and individuality is a factor of progress and stability within the State. We want to see as many owner-occupier farmers, as many individual industrialists, as many small shopkeepers as possible. We are not against capital thus widely diffused, but we are against great monopolies of capital in the hands of gigantic combines.' There is room for the small trader in the new State, but not for the chain stores, 'largely created by alien finance'. These will be eliminated under Fascism, claims Mosley.

Mosley never got a chance to put his theories into practice. But Hitler did.

Under the Nazi régime German industry was highly organised 'in a hierarchical system of industrial associations' (*Modern Capitalism*: Andrew Shonfield). The gigantic combines were not, of course, eliminated—though the much smaller Jewish businesses were. There were, altogether, thirty-nine industrial associations. 'In the 1930s under the Nazis,' writes Shonfield, 'the hierarchy of power was greatly reinforced. The whole structure was strengthened so that the lines of authority were unequivocal, and responsibility was concentrated in a small group right at the top. The system was modelled—originally by Krupp, shortly after Hitler had taken power—on an industrial army.' The associations (corporations) were placed under the command of captains of industry; 'and further down the scale were managing directors of companies who became "enterprise leaders"—junior officers subordinate to the generals at the centre of German industry'. The favourite Nazi word for their method of organizing industry was *Wirtschaftslenkung*, which meant 'guided private enterprise'—still being advocated by the National Front in Britain almost forty years after. Progress, indeed!

Fascist economic theories, such as they are, have always appealed to authoritarians of the extreme right, particularly those sections who, economically and socially, have 'had their day' (the small farmers, shopkeepers, the lumpenproletariat—and, quite often, sections of the aristocracy), during times of acute crisis. They are, of course, reactionary and backward-looking.

Strong Government

Fascists and Nazis stand for the abolition of all political parties (and, of course, Anarchist Federations!)—except their own.

The old BUF stood for a system of 'occupational franchise'. Under such a system, every adult would vote, not according to his place of residence, but according to occupation. That would mean: farmers would vote for farmers, agricultural labourers would vote for agricultural labourers, doctors for doctors and, presumably, bailiffs for bailiffs and undertakers for undertakers. Each group would then set up—under central control, of course—its own Corporation.

All this would mean the abolition of the present Parliamentary system. Says the booklet *Fascism For The Million*: 'With elections conducted under sane, unemotional conditions, with the experts of the Corporation in control, the necessity for the double-barrelled method that has prevailed, is removed.' The House of Lords would be abolished. 'In its place will be a group of experts and leaders of knowledge who will advise the Government on problems of the day. This chamber will be nominated by the National Council of Industry.'

The National Front is less specific in its public statements on the kind of government that it thinks Britain should have—except that it should be a strong government. Comments Tyndall in his booklet: 'Government, once elected, must feel able to plan and build on foundations that are fairly permanent, and if necessary to endure unpopularity for a time without its power being impaired. It must be given time to achieve results and for those results to be seen and

Continued on page 4



and a few libertarian Marxists are, of course, opposed to nationalism. They are concerned with individuals and/or the working-class irrespective of nationality. They emphasise that the vast majority of the people of any country (including Britain) have little or no stake in the country; that they are, in fact, largely propertyless anyway.

Race

Besides accepting the myth of nation, Fascists also believe in the myth of 'blood'. This they seem to have acquired from Houston Stewart Chamberlain who was born in Portsmouth in 1855. To Chamberlain, race and blood are all-important. And how is this to be achieved? Race is made by man. 'A noble race does not fall from heaven; it becomes noble little by little, like fruit trees, and this process of development can begin anew at any moment,' argues Chamberlain.

Chamberlain ridicules the legendary 'pure race'. Inbreeding, the safeguarding of the blood against outside influences, is a necessary stage in the process of race-breeding, he says. But it is a later stage. 'The genesis of extraordinary races

Europeans as inferior, as non-creative. 'Race-mixing' or 'race-pollution' is condemned as 'treason' by such groups as the National Front. 'We therefore oppose racial integration and stand for racial separateness. . . . says Tyndall. 'Break the poisonous influence of the renegades, the Race Mixers,' screams a National Front leaflet.

Many non-Fascists also hold erroneous views on race, race-mixing and the alleged superiority of one racial group over another. But Fascists and particularly Nazis of the Nordic or Teutonic 'school' are obsessed by a superior non-existent 'Aryan' race of 'noble blood', believing as they do that blood and blood groups are in some way linked with racial or ethnic groups. Like nationalism, 'race' and 'blood' are deep-seated aberrations of the Fascist personality and ideology.

Conspiracy of Financiers

Fascists believe that they, and us, are victims of conspiracies. The most insidious of these being the conspiracy of

THE CRANE BAG, by Robert Graves. Cassell, London, 42/-.
BLACK AND WHITE, by Brigid Brophy. Jonathan Cape, 21/-.
BEARDSLEY, by Stanley Weintraub. W. H. Allen, 35/-.
BLAKE AND TRADITION, by Kathleen Raine. Routledge, 2 Vols., £9 10s.

A SURFEIT OF ERUDITION

WITH PENCIL at the ready and a library of references to quote in and out of context, the grey hand of scholarship is for ever waiting to dissect the poet's song, the ancient lore or the happy daub. The innocent poet who wove his poetry in an idle hour becomes the speaking instrument of a knowledge beyond his seven years of State school education and the beer-happy potato basher howling the local blues finds that he is the lineal descendant of the priests of the Old Religion.

I love the scholar and that *Reader's Digest* intellectualism only as long as they play with a past beyond our hurt. Let them annotate fantasy, give substance to primeval dreams of ancient kingdoms, and I will follow page by page, rejecting everything they have to say yet happy in their sterile scholarship. But when they apply their macabre skill to the cultures of our time and pontificate on the works of creative artists, not as critics but as schoolmasters or as source surgeons, forever looking over their shoulders into the shadowed past, they cry the end of art and ideology. And the platform speaker or the pot-room poet mouthing his dreams of the future will wilt before the rheumy eye of learning and that dry voice explaining away his unknown antecedents as it dismisses with a wave of a reference book the new-born hope for the future.

Miss Raine, and I address her as such for there was a time when she heatedly and publicly *New Statesman*-wise rightly

objected to strangers addressing her as Kathleen, gives us what is, in the end, no more than another learned commentary on the writings of Blake. Her two volumes are based on the A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts that Miss Raine gave in 1962 and for their price, if one can afford it, they are worth it if only for the magnificent illustrations. Yet I would hold that Miss Raine, like so many other brilliant scholars, attributes a learning to the poet or the artist that he never claimed to have or indeed possessed. Blake's prophetic writings were in themselves but the rambling base for his marvellous watercolours and to seek the influences of Swedenborg, Boehme or Plotinus in that Ossianic table-tapping is but a pleasant common-room game that becomes so unimportant should any passing child murmur *Tyger, Tyger burning bright*.

Like Miss Raine, Robert Graves is a minor poet of note yet, as with Miss Raine, it is his writings that win our attention. *The Crane Bag* is a collection of essays that incorporate all Robert Graves' learning on a number of diverse subjects. When Graves is writing on the lost Atlantis I am his man for we are in the world of the Ancients of Thera and of Cnossos that was old when the youthful Plato was scrambling onto the public stage.

It is when Graves turns to Blake and almost line by line dissects the little man's *Tyger, Tyger* that one becomes a little angry for Graves' question and answer approach is unworthy of this poem for, to quote but one example of Graves'

method, 'The stanza refers to God's creation of the Tyger, but what part do His feet play? Is Blake thinking of a potter, etc.?'

This is pure schoolgirl Eng. Lit. 'A' Level that only succeeds in muddying the poetry of a magnificent creative artist. A year or more ago Graves was entrusted by Omar Ali-Shah with the translation into English of the 'Jan Fishan Khan' manuscript of Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat* and apart from the pedantic furore it occasioned regarding the authenticity of the manuscript, Graves' translation of the *Rubaiyat* into English verse is now best forgotten as a work of art and to Robert Graves' sorrow we shall still quote Edward Fitzgerald's translation across the bar room counter. One is grateful, as to all scholars, for throwing light on obscure references and the true meanings of particular words or phrases but when Graves and Omar Ali-Shah take Fitzgerald's lines *And lo! the Hunter of the East has caught | The Sultan's Turret in a Noose of light* and attempt to dismiss it because there were only flat roofs in Nishapur, then one must dismiss priggish learning for poetic inspiration.

It was also unfortunate for Weintraub, as with Omar Khayyam, that Brigid Brophy chose to use his biography of *Aubrey Beardsley* as a part basis for her well-received essay on Beardsley, *Black and White*. Weintraub has produced a competent well-documented account of Beardsley's short life and has given us a creditable portrait of an immature personality whose small genius, if one may use that much-prostituted title, burned

for a few short years. Beardsley was no archetypal figure as with Wilde or Shelley and his personality never rose up to the level of his art and I would hold that had Beardsley lived his reputation as an artist would have diminished for, as in all minor artists, one finally exhausts one's single inspiration and then is forced by public pressure to repeat and then to parody one's best work. For all that Beardsley, as a gifted youth, gave himself and us much pleasure through his talent as an artist.

Brigid Brophy has taken Beardsley's drawings almost one by one and with an ink-stained finger and a copy of Freud has found erotic overtones and undertones in almost every line. Beardsley's brilliance lay in his isolation of black and white masses and his magnificent mastery of intricate details for his figures are stylised and mannered but Brigid attributes too too much learning to this dead youth and his obsession with the vagina and the penis are common to all young people. Brigid Brophy ploughs on

with Freud as her blind guide and finds castrations and pubic hairs in every pair of scissors and every repeated curl. Incest and homosexuality in one so young, Brigid! One simple quote must surely sum up Brigid's book when she writes that 'Beardsley, so deeply prey to himself, has incarnated in his drawing the aboriginal moment of infantile horror, the moment when the image of the mother is metamorphosed into the image of a castrator by virtue of the child's discovery that she lacks a penis' and they are at this very moment in time flogging the *J'ai baise ta bouche lokanaan* poster in Carnaby Street and the dead Beardsley and the living lads and lasses will never know.

I have little use for Freud for I accept him as an overrated cataloguer of the obvious, but in view of Brigid's reliance on that humourless windbag let me toss in my quotation from the lore and the store of Dr. David Stafford-Clark, MD, FRCP, DPM, 'The envy of the penis remained for Freud an inseparable condition of unconscious female sexuality. To this he ascribed what he regarded as woman's relatively undeveloped sense of justice, itself related to the predominance of envy in her mental life.' Rest easy, Aubrey, we may still win.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

THE ANATOMY OF THE CUSTARD PIE

THE CRAZY MIRROR, Hollywood Comedy and the American Image, by Raymond Durnat. Faber, 45/-.

MR. DURGNAT BEGINS his history of comic films with an analysis of the nature of humour, which is interesting in itself, quite apart from the main subject of the book. Then we are conducted through a long and detailed account of film humour from the earliest days to the present. As one might expect, the changes in society are reflected in the film humour. When the cinema first appeared society was still relatively 'traditional'.

'What's bizarre about modern life is that nothing's bizarre enough to arouse strong feelings or to disturb routine. In

overcome. . . The authoritarian character wins his strength to act through his leaning on superior power. This power is never assailable or changeable. For him, lack of power is always an unmistakable sign of guilt and inferiority, and if the authority in which he believes shows signs of weakness, his love and respect change into contempt and hatred' (*Fear of Freedom*). Such attitudes have manifested themselves in recent years where long-standing followers of Sir Oswald Mosley have deserted their 'leader' for the more 'virile' types of the National Front.

As I said at the beginning of this article, Fascism in one guise or another will continue to manifest itself whilst the present system of society continues. Moreover, some Fascist tendencies prob-

ably exist in most people. The more authoritarian one's personality-structure is, the more likely one is prepared to accept Fascist arguments. Whether a Fascist movement remains a minority movement will, of course, depend on the political and economic state of capitalist society and the strength of the libertarian challenge to capitalist society—and its Fascist, authoritarian, defenders. That is why it is all-important for us to understand the psychology of Fascism.

Mr. Durnat believes that the film comedy, and presumably also society, is now entering a 'post-Christian' phase. 'Why should we bother to conceal our whims, obsessions, irresponsibilities, spats, woes and humiliations? Why not display them as bravely as peacocks, and tolerate or relish them in others? Then we can become as good-natured and obliging as we are colourful ourselves', is the attitude. It is non-moralistic, and not unattractive. The author himself does not take sides, but limits himself to describing what he believes to be the way things are developing.

The author is at times scathing about film critics, middle-class intellectuals obsessed with neurotic fears of homosexuality, death, violence, etc., who tend to read the worst possible interpretations into situations that are really quite innocent. Perhaps having to sit through innumerable films and write about them for a living tends to sour some people, and make them over-critical. One thing appears to be fairly evident, people are becoming less ready to accept mental or physical handicaps as funny in themselves. So we do progress.

A.W.U.

The Psychology of Fascism

Continued from page 3
appreciated. It must in particular be fortified in those fields of decision which do not seem to bring immediate advantage to the voter, but which are none the less essential to the nation's future. These needs first of all require a security of office for a much longer period than the present five years. . . . During its period of office government should be given all necessary power of decision—regardless of its majority in the House of Commons. At the same time the entire role of opposition should be changed so as to make it a council of helpful criticism on government policy rather than an element of perpetual obstruction to getting things done. As a final requisite to securing united co-operation in the work of government we will most probably have to accept in time laws which give government powers to deal arbitrarily with industrial disputes. . . . Ministries could do . . . with far more experts and far less amateurs, with the former having much more decisive powers. . . . (*British Nationalism*.)

A National Front government, if ever elected to power in the first place, would obviously intend to stay in power for decades if possible, however unpopular it may become. But, at least, we've been warned in advance by 'fuehrer' Tyndall.

Leadership

Libertarians generally abhor political leaders. Not so Fascists and Nazis. At the very heart of Fascism is the activist and irrational belief in what Karl Mannheim (*Ideology And Utopia*) calls the 'decisive deed', not by and in the interests of the population as a whole, but under the direction and initiative of a 'leading élite'. The essence of Fascist politics, he says, is to recognise and to grapple with the demands of the hour. Detailed programmes are not all that important; but unconditional subordination to a leader is. Fascism and Nazism, continues Mannheim, has a purely intuitional, activist, approach. Thought is significant here only in so far as it exposes the illusory character of the fruitless theories of history and unmask them as self-deceptions. For this activist intuitionism, thought only clears the way for pure deed free from illusions. The superior person, the leader, knows that all political and historical ideas are myths.

History to the Fascists dissolves itself into a number of what Mannheim terms 'transitory situations' in which two factors are decisive: 'On the one hand, the élan of the great leader and of the vanguard or élites, and on the other the mastery of the only type of knowledge which it is believed possible to obtain concerning the psychology of the masses and the technique of their manipulation. Politics is then possible as a science only in a limited sense—in so far, namely, as it clears the way for action'. This craving for power over the masses, as Eric Fromm observes, is what drives the members of the élite, the Fascist and Nazi

leaders, to action. This is the sadistic trait in the Fascist personality-structure.

' . . . in the building of our Movement,' writes Mosley in *Tomorrow We Live*, 'and in the building of a Government, we believe in the leadership principle. . . . Authority can never be divided because divided authority means divided responsibility, and that leads to futility and cowardice of the committee system. Failure to comprehend this principle is failure alike to understand the principles of National Socialism, or the essence of any creed of dynamic action and achievement since the world began.' And in *Fascism For The Million*: ' . . . the Fascist philosophy of Government is that of Leadership, or Dictatorship as our opponents would prefer to say. If they mean by "Dictatorship", getting on with the job of governing, then we are prepared to accept this description of Dictatorship'. Tyndall also emphasises the 'need' for leadership, as do all National Front 'activists'. And, of course, there will be no prizes for guessing who intend to be the leaders. . . .

The libertarian argument against the so-called leadership principle is that it assumes an informed, dominant, group or individual at the top, and an uninformed, submissive, mass underneath. And by putting your faith in leaders, as one anarchist speaker used to say, you will most surely 'get done'! Which is what the aspiring 'leaders' of groups like the BUF in the past, and the National Front today, intend.

Personality-Structure

The personality-structure of the typical Fascist activist and 'leader' now begins to emerge. By studying the policies of Fascist and Nazi groups and parties, we are able to analyse not only the Fascist movement, but the psychology of those people who, year in and year out, and decade after decade, keep such a movement going.

Fascists are extreme nationalists; they believe in the myth of 'blood' and 'race', asserting that blond, blue-eyed 'Aryans' are superior to all other 'races'. They see society, particularly the nation, threatened by conspirators—Communist, Anarchist, Pornographer, and, most important, International Finance, usually Jewish. They oppose any form of participating democracy in industrial affairs, let alone such concepts as workers' control or common ownership of the means of production. And, above all, Fascists advocate strong government based on the 'fuehrer' principle. Moreover, an important aspect of Fascist psychology is their 'need' of scapegoats—always a small and generally defenceless minority, such as the Jews before the war and 'coloured' immigrants today. Fascists usually steer clear of majorities or active minorities who are able to give as good—or better—than they get from them.

the National Front today.

The Fascist, sado-masochistic, personality-type loves his unfreedom. He is 'anti-life'. That is why he raves against the so-called permissive society, and is always demanding 'national regeneration'. But he does not lack activity. Many Fascists are very active in propagating their ideas. But such activity has nothing in common with libertarian activity. For the authoritarian character activity, remarks Fromm, 'is rooted in a basic feeling of powerlessness which it tends to



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A CHELSEA supporter was fined £100 for shaking his fist at somebody. A 14-year-old boy was sent to a detention centre because he took a flag to a football match.

Are these completely new things to take place at a match? Is that why they've gained such attention from the newspapers and television?

They aren't new, of course, nor are they the slightest bit different from what's been going on for years. So why the change in attitude towards them on the part of the police and club management?

Why have some people suddenly begun to see the natural roughness of working men and boys as a threat? Those arguments with the supporters of the other team, a lot of shouting and fist-shaking, and

THE NAKED APE, by Desmond Morris, Corgi Books, 5/-.

A 'BEST SELLER' invariably illustrates the intellectual shallowness of contemporary society. The latest example is *The Naked Ape* by Desmond Morris, published in three editions in less than two years. Serialised by the *Sunday Mirror*, quoted by *Observer* Supplements, plugged by the *Humanist*, its face even put the author on TV Special 'Man on the Moon'!

Its tremendous success is a tragic commentary on our times. It is a work of mis-information and ignorance to an almost incredible degree. In writing about it I am forced to quote extensively or the reader would accuse me of exaggeration and distortion.

The Naked Ape purports to be a scientific study of man and his origins. The general theme is stated in the first paragraph: 'man has the biggest brain of all the primates . . . and also the biggest penis'.

We are told how we have been misled by the anthropologists 'who rushed off to all kinds of unlikely corners of the world and returned with startling facts about the bizarre mating customs . . . weird ritual procedures . . . and used this material as though it was of central importance.' The results so obtained applied only to societies that had 'failed'. The only sound approach is to study 'successful members of successful major cultures': put bluntly the USA today!

Modern man has been determined by his sexiness. The most important single factor in his history is his nakedness! Of the 4,237 species of mammals, he alone became 'naked'. But this was only the culmination of a whole process of gearing his physiology to large-scale copulation. In his chapter 'Sex', hailed

ANARCHISTS ON THE BALL

Now that the football season is upon us we are glad to see that a leaflet has been issued by Notting Hill Comrades exposing

THE REAL TROUBLEMAKERS

then it dies down after you've made it quite plain that you're not standing for any slander and nonsense.

Do this sort of thing now, just swear even, and you risk getting arrested. Why has it changed from what you always remember it was like? Who made the decision? Football crowds have always been rough and managed to enjoy themselves. It's part of the game. Things only turn really unpleasant when a large number of blue uniforms appear on the scene. So how has the present situation come about?

The team you support has a board of directors, they want to see the team winning, of course, but

that's mainly because their interest in the game is financial and a winning team makes more bloody money. It's the directors who pay the police, any number they choose, to come on a Saturday. It's reasonable to expect that they have some say in the way the police behave in their employment—the man who pays the piper calls the tune.

Something else the directors of every club want to do is build stands, with restaurants and bars, over the old terraces. More money again. You've seen the people in the stands throwing cushions at some matches, but you never see anybody who has paid for a seat being arrested. It's the men and

A Work of Mis-Information and Ignorance

by Brigid Brophy in *The Times* as 'his best', Morris tells all.

The enlarged female breasts are usually thought of primarily as maternal rather than sexual developments, but there seems to be little evidence for this . . . they are an example of sexual signalling made possible and encouraged by the evolution of the naked skin'.

Similarly, 'the ear lobes appear to have been exclusively evolved to this end . . . under the influence of sexual arousal they become engorged with blood . . . there can be little doubt that their evolution has been exclusively concerned with the production of yet another erogenous zone'!

Likewise the nose and lips! Having developed our enormous breasts, ears, nose, lips, and, of course, penis, and stripped ourselves naked that our charms might be visible, our ancestors found that stable society depended on a stable 'family', i.e. monogamy. 'Male and female hunting ape must fall in love and remain faithful to one another'!

So we changed our mating position because 'face to face sex is personalized sex'. And nature played its part, for alone among the apes the female is born with a hymen. The reason? 'By making the first copulation attempt difficult and even painful, the hymen ensures that it will not be indulged in lightly . . . and ensures a deep emotional involvement before taking the final step'.

Nothing so banal as contradiction can deter Morris' ingenuity. The naked ape was now *too* sexy for the monogamous system, so clothes were introduced to hide his hard-won nakedness. And to get you really confused, males and females were called upon to *reduce* their sexiness 'by shaving off their beards and/or moustaches. Females depilate their armpits'.

So we arrive at modern man. Today we are members of what is essentially a stable society, the woman tending the camp, her man is the hunter ('today we go to "work", a predominantly masculine pursuit, rather than

boys on the terraces who get labelled hooligans. And that's because they aren't prepared to pay another ten shillings or so for a seat and the instant 'respectability' that goes with it.

It's good to know this anyway, and to get things straight in your own mind about what's happening, but it's not worth fighting it on your own. The penalties are heavy—some fans have been imprisoned for offences which would pass unnoticed anywhere else except at a football match. But if you do get arrested, or anybody you know does, try and send somebody along to see us and we'll see what we can do to help. The people who are giving out these leaflets will be standing in the same places after the game is over.

NOTTING HILL SPSPH
18 Powis Square,
London, W.11
(Leaflets available)

The Price of Freedom

READERS MUST have noticed that the Press Fund's financial statement has been omitted in recent issues. The reason for this is that we are trying to re-assess our financial position in the light of many price increases. These include paper, ink, typesetting and the recent 10% increase in blockmaking charges. It seems to us that we may have to raise substantially the price of FREEDOM because of the present rate of inflation.

We would not like to raise the price without adding further pages and/or issues and we are considering these alternatives and would welcome your suggestions and views.—Editors.

Religion gives our culture its final polish. 'We simply have to believe in something. Only a common belief will cement us together and keep us under control. . . . Elimination of the "pomp and circumstance" will leave a terrible cultural gap . . . today we worship our books, newspapers, magazines, radios and television sets'.

The Times Educational Supplement reviewed *The Naked Ape* as 'brilliantly effective, cogently argued, very readable! Robert Ardrey reviewed it as a 'Spectacular book by a master scientist'!

BOB POTTER.

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Anarchist Federation of Britain

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN 1969 CONFERENCE
September 26, 27 & 28 - LONDON

Friday & Saturday in Conway Hall
Agenda to be sent to groups. Any not listed
submit to LFA in good time for study by the
necessary.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press, LEVENDOR, HIGH MOOR, Contact: C. Broad, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11 (228 4096).
LEWISHAM. Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, S.E.13. (852 8879).
PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.
FINCH'S ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings, Contact P.P., 271 Portobello Road, W.11.
BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT. Steve Leman, 28 New Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2. Tel.: ET 35377. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway.
S.W. LONDON ANARCHISTS. Meeting alternate Wednesdays. Correspondence c/o Freedom Press.
NOTTING HILL S.P.S.H., 18 Powis Square, W.11.

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. Ten minutes from Leytonstone Underground.
Active groups in: LEYTONSTONE, STEPNEY, NEWHAM, LIFORD, DAGENHAM, WOODFORD and LIMEHOUSE.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary, Peter Le Mewell, 22 Hallowell Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 16. Meetings every Sunday, 8 p.m., in the smoke room of St. Martin pub, corner of St. Martin's Lane and Jamaica Row.
BLACKBURN. 'Global Tapestry', c/o BB Books, 11 Clematis Street, Blackburn, BB2 6JP.
BOURNEMOUTH AREA. Local anarchists can be contacted through Nigel Holt, Rossmore, Harvey Road, Canford, Wimborne, Dorset (Wimborne 2991).
CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall. Meetings on the second Friday of each month at 42 Penzance Street, Boscawen, Camborne, 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.

CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. Meetings every 2nd Friday of each month. Laurens and Colin Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, CR4 8QH (653 7546) or contact Keith McCain, 1 Langmead Street, West Norwood, S.E.27. Phone 670 7297.
EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact Melynn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.
FARNBOROUGH. 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey. Tel.: Farnborough 43811.
HERTS. Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage.
LIVERPOOL ANARCHISTS & SITUATIONISTS. Contact Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool.
LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.
MUTUAL AID GROUP. c/o Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.
NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Peter Ridley, 4 Rockcliffe Gardens, Whitley Bay, Northumberland. Phone 25759.
NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.
ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenway, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.
READING. 26 Bulmerhe Road. Tel.: Reading 65645. Meetings every Thursday.
REDDITCH ANARCHISTS AND LIBERTARIANS. Contact Dave Lloyd, 37 Feckenham Road, Redditch, Staffs. Redditch, Worcs.
WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackeray Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.
WOKINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. c/o Larry Law, 57 Kiln Ride, Wokingham.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Peter Newell (see N.E. Essex Group).
Group Addresses—
BASILDON & WICKFORD. Steve Grant, 'Piccola Casa', London Road, Wickford, Essex.
NORTH EAST ESSEX. Peter Newell, 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex. Regular meetings.
BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.
EPPING. John Barriek, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.
HARLOW. Ian Dallas, 18 Brookline Field, Harlow and Annette Gunning, 37 Longbanks,

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

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Secretary: Phil, 8 Stonecroft Road, Leyland, PR5 3L.
BLACKPOOL. Contact Christine and Graham, Top flat, 4 Ruskin Avenue, South Shore, Blackpool.
BOLTON. Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.
CHORLEY. Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley.
LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE. Contact Les Smith, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Meetings Monday at 8 p.m., Phil Woodhead's, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Regular literature sales.
MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. 'The Secretary', Felix Phillips, 6 Draycott Street, Manchester, 10. Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.
MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS. Contact Roly Pollock, 6 Jermyn Street, Liverpool 8. Meetings Tuesdays, 8 p.m.
PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Rob Wilkinson, 73 Trafford Street, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.
STOCKPORT. Dave Crowther, 1 Castle Street, Edgeley, Stockport.

SURREY FEDERATION

EPSOM. G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom. Tel. Epsom 23806.
KINGSTON. Michael Squirrel, 4 Woodgate Ave., Hook, Chasington.
GUILDFORD. Peter Cartwright, 33 Denzil Road, Guildford.
MERTON. Elliot Burns, 13 Amity Grove, London, S.W.19. Tel. 01-946 1444.

SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Eddie Poole, 5 Tilbury, Findon Road, Whitehawk, Brighton.
BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton.
CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gossops Green, Crawley, Sussex.
SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP (see details under Student Groups).

YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Secretary: Contact Leeds Group.
HARRGATE. Contact David Howes, 16 Park Parade, Harrgate.
HULL. Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.
KEIGHLEY. Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley.
LEEDS. Direct Action Society, Contact Martin Watkins, 6 Eberston Terrace, Leeds, 6.
SHEFFIELD. Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10.
YORK. Keith Nathall, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

WELSH FEDERATION

ABERYSWYTH ANARCHISTS. Contact Steve Mills, 4 St. Michael's Place, Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire, Wales. Aug-Sept. correspondence only.
CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Spintock, Cardiff.
SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. Meetings at the above address every Sunday at 7 p.m.
LLANELLI. Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwynneudy Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Bobby Lynn, Secretary, 12 Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.
ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS & SYNDICALISTS. Contact Ian & Peggy Sutherland, 8 Eslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. Regular 'Freedom' Sale, leafletting, etc. Visiting comrades welcome.
GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E.
EDINBURGH. Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11.
HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.
FIFE. Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar.
MONTROSE. Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden, Montrose, Angus.
ROSS-SHIRE. Contact David Rodgers, Broomfield, Evanton, Ross-shire, Scotland.

NORTHERN IRELAND

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

SOUTHERN IRELAND

ALLIANCE OF LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUPS IN IRELAND. c/o Freedom Press.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000. Phone No. 69-8095. Open discussion and literature sale in the Domain—Sunday, 2 p.m. Call at 59 Eveleigh Street, Redfern, NSW 2015 for personal discourse, tea and overnight accommodation.
BELGIUM. Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Liège.
TORONTO LIBERTARIAN-ANARCHIST GROUP. 217 Torvork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Libertarian'.

PROPOSED GROUPS

MONTRÉAL, QUÉBEC. Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Sigler, Tel. 489-6432.
VANCOUVER I.W.W. and Libertarian group. Box 512, Postal St. 'A', Vancouver 1, B.C., Canada. Read 'The Rebel'—please send donation for postage.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. All those interested in forming a group contact Terry Phillips, 40 Grosvenor Way, Kettering, Northants.
NOTTINGHAM and area. Contact Dave Smalley, top flat, 43 Burns Street, Nottingham, or through folk club at the Central Tavern, Monday nights.

Rank & File Control

AFTER AN eight-week struggle, the blastfurnacemen at Port Talbot have secured their just demands. The Court of Inquiry was forced by the overwhelming evidence to concede to the justice of the steelmen's demand. Whilst it is true it, blamed all and sundry, such conclusions are not unexpected from a 'Court of Inquiry'.

The interesting points about the Court were related in last week's FREEDOM by Ian Bone. How Jim Barry was going to crucify the management 'if', and Danny McGarvey's surprise at rank and file control. Some trade union leaders are under the impression that they are God's Gift to the rank and file whereas in actual fact 'who needs enemies when there are trade union leaders fumbling around'.

The eight-week struggle at Port Talbot is factual evidence of the

ability of the rank and file. There was no evidence of a leadership or dominating clique running the show; elected delegates merely reported to the rank and file who made all the decisions. No wonder McGarvey was worried. Who wants leaders when the job can be done better without?

It would appear that this is only round one of the blastfurnacemen's struggle. The string attached to the wage increase was that the National Union of Blastfurnacemen agrees to a 'committed and effective start' on productivity negotiations. Which in Joe Soap language means the sack for some and those remaining a slightly higher wage for doing the sacked men's work.

The conditions blastfurnacemen work under are really 'cosy'. In the first place it's shift work which means family and social life disrupted, and in the second place the heat and fumes from the furnaces makes it as close to 'Hell' as makes no difference. If one accepts the fact

that although conditions could be improved they must always be very unpleasant, then one must go on to say that the less time spent under such conditions the better. Therefore, instead of redundancies, shorter hours and a shorter week without loss of pay.

Our economists will no doubt shake their heads at such a suggestion but it is the only long-term solution, men must govern machines, not vice-versa. The technical know-how is available but it is not in the interests of the present system to exploit the position.

According to the latest news the blastfurnacemen are to meet the management to sign the new pay agreement and to discuss productivity. All ten members of the strike committee are on the negotiating body with Barry and the full-time official of the NUB for South Wales. As was stated earlier in this article, round two begins for the blastfurnacemen.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Freedom For Workers' Control

AUGUST 30 1969 Vol 30 No 27

BRANCHING THE MEMBER

EVERY INDUSTRIAL DISPUTE is an isolated battle with the workers on the defensive. Be it official or unofficial, the minute that any man downs tools he finds that the whole might of the press, middle-class public opinion and the satraps of the employers and the government of the day is ranged against him. It is in the main a mean and silent battle as for every major dispute that wins the pages of the national press there are a hundred unreported industrial battles fought out around some fly-by-night factory by men and women spurred on by hatred and acrimony of the entrenched employer. We as anarchists may wave a learned finger over the coffee cups as we discuss the abstractions of the Free society but on the factory floor we are forced by sheer social and economic necessity to obey that double morality that almost all of us practice in our daily living.

After every dispute or strike action the employers have insisted that there shall be no victimisation and this clause is there to protect the blackleg who has chosen to make his peace with the employer. Let us honour the man who refuses to accept the dictates of a government, the employer and the union but the scab who chooses to throw his pathetic lot in with the employer for a price is worthless. When men and women take strike action they risk everything and the scab filtering through the police lines for the weekly pay packet is a pariah rightly hated by the striking worker, despised by the employer and held in contempt by the protecting police.

BAN ON OVERTIME

On July 14 two special meetings were held within this garage and the workers voted to endorse the decision of the Joint Delegate Conference that there should be a ban on overtime to halt London Transport's withholding of the small pay claim and the vicious productivity demands that the LT was already putting into operation.

The ban on voluntary overtime was a good and effective weapon to use against the LT at this time of staff shortage and if it had been continued we should have won our fight, but that is but another canteen tale of lost battles. At that meeting three men were prominent in rejecting the ban on voluntary overtime and demanding instead a *work to rule* but the JDC had already called for fleet action and on the 19th the ban on overtime went into force.

It was then that Driver AAAAA made himself heard when it became known that he was circulating a petition calling for an ending to the ban on overtime and that he was known to have taken that signed petition to the garage manager as proof that there was a considerable number of workers within 000 Garage willing to blackleg. 000 Garage is a passive garage but this was the third occasion when a local industrial dispute at this garage had been threatened by unofficial action and the union committee was finally and reluctantly forced to take action against Driver AAAAA.

A DEPRESSING MEETING

Driver AAAAA received his written notification that he was to be charged under Rule 20 Sec. 2 and Rule 11 Sec. 19 in that he failed to abide by the union rules and that he spread rumours and false statements, etc. It was a depressing meeting for everyone involved and within 000 Garage it raised for the first time for twenty years the matter of tearing up a man's union card

and denying him the right to earn his living within his home area.

Like the death penalty it is an easy answer to a vicious problem and like the death penalty it is a luxury that we, the workers, should be strong enough to reject. Industrial warfare is a punitive business. The punishments for the beaten workers are harsh and it is for this reason that we should never take away a man's livelihood no matter how contemptible he may be, for if we lose we can do nothing and if we win we can demand that he surrenders every penny of his blackleg pay and pays for his quisling activities.

It was a fundamental question for us at 000 Garage and we had to face up to it as Driver AAAAA brooded in his chair. Tall and heavy-built, with a simple-minded humour that had now deserted him, he was a worried man as he understandably stumbled into bluster as he cried his innocence through ignorance, stating that the garage manager had answered him that if he got 20 names on his blackleg petition he would consider it, and when he had the 20 names he was told that the price was now 50 per cent of the garage names, and all that Driver AAAAA got for his betrayal was 74 names and this hot seat in the union committee room and the sick worry of a job in danger.

JACKAL ASSOCIATES

And the meeting stumbled on for now the local union was unsure of its own position, as legal threats were voiced by Driver AAAAA's jackal associates. And jackals they are, for the instigator of Driver AAAAA's blackleg petition was Conductor BBB, for whom the entire garage came out on part-time strike when he was the victim of an assault, and Drivers CCC and DDD who love money more than principle, for these were the men who demanded that we should *work to rule* to harass the LT rather than *ban overtime* and now they sat with Driver AAAAA murmuring advice to him and stating that he could take legal action.

Driver AAAAA is a foolish man who did a nasty and a stupid act and for that he was now on drumhead courts martial while his jackal advisers whispered their useless advice. We rambled on and on into the night until we found the inevitable compromise that Driver AAAAA should be severely reprimanded. We voted on it and the resolution was duly carried and with a relieved gesture Driver AAAAA accepted the reprimand.

We made our individual ways out of the union building with Patch slipping past the *no dogs* sign as each man examined his own conscience.

What we had won was the knowledge that next time we were involved in an industrial dispute any future blackleg would now hesitate for it ceased to be a passive garage when Driver AAAAA was hauled before his local union branch. And what we lost was the sense that we had not only an employer who could take our job away from us for Driver AAAAA saw the sack facing him and his fellow-workers holding it.

If we as anarchists have a task within the industrial jungle war it is to protect the fool as well as the saint, and in our ever-enclosing society to deprive a man of the right to work by tearing up his union card is a luxury we cannot afford for our own conscience's sake.

Think on, Driver AAAAA, and the jackals that urged him on.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Contact Column

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

FREEDOM MEETING HALL. This Sunday, August 30, at 7 p.m. a visiting French anarchist would like to meet comrades to inform them of the present situation of the anarchist movement in France.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 7th at 7.30 Report on Northern Ireland

Anarchist Theatre Group. Meeting, Friday, September 5 at 7.30 p.m. at Freedom Meeting Hall. Concrete (?) ideas, props, friends wanted.

JSR-CNT—39 rue de la Tour d'Auvergne. Articles wanted for Combat Syndicaliste on strikes, industrial struggles, anarchist activity in factories and of social concern to workers. Address to Michel Le Marec, c/o above.

Thorpe Towers: if in the area overnight please phone Maldon 3619 or call at 9 Granger Avenue.

Ken: please make contact—152—bread?—Bill.

University Anarchist Group invites speakers for lectures, public meetings, etc. We can pay your expenses. Please write: 2 Bedford Street North, Liverpool, 7.

Going on Holiday? Send a postcard to Alan Barlow, 069707, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Road, London, W.12.

Leaflet: 'Remember Czechoslovakia — Anarchists Protest Against Russian Occupation', 3/9 per 100. Bernard Miles, c/o Freedom Press, 84B Whitechapel High Street, E.1.

London Schools Anarchist Group. T. Swash, 49 Popham Road, London, N.1. Regular Friday meetings.

S.A.G. token squat. Assemble at Islington Green open air art sale (nr. tube Angel), Angel, N.1, at 10 a.m., Saturday, August 30. Followed by demo.

Manchester Schools Anarchist Group. Sylvia Lerner, 15 Chandos Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester 21. Dave Saksena would appreciate letters, tobacco, literature, etc., at Cheadle Royal Hospital, Cheadle.

BURNTOLLET!

The Story of the Long March. Details of the ambush planning, the role of N. Ireland's B Specials and the complicity of the RUC authorities. 10/- (plus postage) from Freedom Bookshop.

GLC Rent Struggle. United Tenants Action Committee, 119 Poplar High Street, E.14.

Oppose Germ Warfare. The Chemical Biological Warfare Action Group are campaigning against the manufacture and use of chemical warfare agents. Contact: 77 High Street, Penge, S.E.20. Tel. SYD 0940.

Birmingham discussions. Every Tuesday 8 p.m. at the Arts Lab, Summer Lane Peace News. Six weeks trial offer for 5/-, 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

'DON'T LEAVE ANYTHING LYING AROUND THE CASUALS START THE NEXT WEEK'

WHEN YOU HAVE BEEN working for yourself, and you then have a bad patch in which you have to sell your labour, it is convenient to take up part-time or casual work. You may never have picked peas or strawberries or potatoes or cut flowers of various kinds; but you will learn on the job. You are accepted as a casual worker and treated as such. The regular workers treat you with suspicion and mistrust. You are possibly a student or a gypsy; an actress or a housewife; a poet or a painter; a builder's labourer or a teacher; a vagrant or a very respectable school-leaver. You are probably shocked to find the paternalism; the orders; the bullshit and petty overseeing by chargehand or foreman distrustful of self-discipline and work-enjoyment. (After all how could anyone enjoy fruit-picking and get on with the job unsupervised?) And only earning 2s. 8d. per hour as the school-leavers of fifteen do! Doing just as much or just as little as the person recently out of mental hospital.

Naturally you want to earn more, so if you can you go onto bonus work—piece work—so that instead of 2s. 8d. an hour, or 5s. 8d. an hour if 'adult', you average perhaps 8s. or 8s. 6d. an hour after sweating your guts out doing virtually two days' work for a mere rise of roughly one pound for the day. So you find you then are not on just another farm but on an experimental research station of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. You are in just another army-like establishment where everyone uses landrovers and minivans between fields and offices—for here the offices house not only the usually large number of filing-clerks and secretarial hands, but also research scientists, horticulturists and various civil servants.

You work from 7.30 a.m. till noon with a break officially of ten minutes for 'crauts' at 9 o'clock. Crauts being breakfast. Then from 1 o'clock until 5.15 p.m. Picking strawberries screws up the knee muscles from squatting on your haunches for long stretches. Picking potatoes unwinds your back muscles from bending over too much for too long in order to make the bonus. And just when it looks as though you will last out the first few days you realize, officially, you're expected to work from 1 p.m. until 5.15 non-stop! In practice it means you take more unofficial breaks—and determinedly hide away; go for walks; go for drinks of water; or just sit down where you are on go-slow stoppages.

Solidarity exists between you and the other casuals but it leads to little; but

permanent jobs for those prepared to put up with the conditions and the commands of the foreman or manager. If it gets too hot you come to a stop. If it rains heavily you shelter in the bushes or under trees. If you get tired you rest. At least you are free from factory time-discipline and at most you have a pleasant outdoor job with short-term prospects and no future. Two casuals play their transistors whilst picking the strawberries, grading them into four types: large, medium, small, and bad. Potato-pickers are given their own stretch of ground between two canes so that they do not encroach on others' bonus territory; but it's encouraging to see that no notice is taken of the canes. Each person picks until he meets the other person; so that fast and slow finish together and then move on the next row—and so helping each other—working overall as a team despite the competitive incentive.

But the 'casual' as seen by the very permanent staff—labourers and kitchen/office staff—is a threat and a curse. He is a thief and a lazy, much-unemployed person. He is a wanderer and a gypsy. He becomes everything they would like to be if not already committed to a secure pattern of life. A secure and dull grind for weekly wages which allow little or nothing to be saved even. For example: £10 12s. after tax and insurance deductions! Now permanent farm labourers have tied cottages still, and on this special establishment pay just 6s. per week! If they should leave they will automatically lose the cottage; so this acts as a mighty powerful brake on complaints or disagreements with the farmer or ministry employer! And there are something like 75,000 labourers still in tied cottages! They are good workers as far as the farmer is concerned because if not good workers they will be on the roads with wife and furniture—with the children in a home, for good measure—and their good health.

Next time I'm looking for casual work I'll take up something like junk/second-hand gear-selling on a stall; secondhand books and furniture. Or perhaps selling the libertarian papers like *International Times* and *Peace News*, et cetera. For you get a third commission street selling; it is enjoyable just watching the young women in summer undress; and it is a useful job! And why not put up the price of FREEDOM to a shilling and give casual sellers as well as regulars the sixpence? For subscriptions would bring in a full shilling!

DENNIS GOULD.