

Freedom

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BY THE SHEER ACCIDENT of deliberate intention I picked up a book the other day bemoaning the problem of population, how it was necessary to do something about it since the problem would lead to mass unemployment. Later I picked up a second, a Pelican, which developed the same case, how it would lead to unemployment and a lowered standard of living. These two books were written in 1938 and 1947 respectively. Now in 1971 the Government is considering setting up a permanent office to advise it on population trends. This is from the report of the Select Committee on Science and Technology. But the important fact about the writers in 1938 and 1947 is that they

TOO MANY PEOPLE?

were concerned with an estimated decline in the population. Surely nothing has happened to radically alter the forecast, even the doom-laden prophecies of Enoch cannot account for it. In fact it flies in the face of the preachers that we are living in a sex-mad, birth-controlled abortionist society. As every anarchist schoolboy knows, there was a parson called Malthus in 1798 who forecast utter

doom by reason of the fact that growth of population was expanding more quickly than the resources of the country. He was rebutted by William Godwin, the English anarchist writer, in arguments too wordy to go into here. Nevertheless history proved Malthus wrong. Developments in agriculture and agricultural technology increased production of foodstuffs sufficiently to maintain the huge population growth of the Industrial Revolution. This was followed by the opening up of virgin lands and import of foodstuffs from many lands. Subsequent developments in the prevention of unwanted pregnancies made the second part of Malthus's thesis null and void.

Dangers of unemployment arising from over-population and under-population. Other obvious problems from over-population are lack of houses, lack of food, lack of social services and amenities. In fact, these problems are perpetually with us as long as there is a monetary value rather than the criterion of human need placed upon them. Indeed, population increase or population decrease, it pays to limit production of houses, food and social services. If production cannot be limited, built-in obsolescence of consumer-goods and adulteration of foodstuffs is the general practice, making increased consumption necessary.

sible that, freed of the profit motive (and were man merely a consumer), man's physical needs could easily be met.

The problem of overcrowding in England is largely confined to a few cities and South-East England. Large areas of Scotland and Wales are comparatively uninhabited. The huddling of masses of people in large cities is a product of the errors of the Industrial Revolution and the succeeding bureaucratic mania for centralization.

To counterbalance the fluctuations of population requires a more flexible system of society with a balance between industry and agriculture, and the re-institution of the smaller community with its reliance on the family unit and small farm rather than on factory farming on exploitative lines.

JACK ROBINSON.

Rochdale Pakistanis Strike in Support of Local Worker

WHEN, on May 9, the Arrow Mill management at Rochdale, sacked four Pakistani 'doffers' and one English labourer, they caused a strike lasting for nearly 24 hours and involving some 60 multi-shift workers.

It was perhaps the first time that immigrant mill workers have successfully struck in Rochdale, and must certainly have been the first occasion in this locality, where a majority of coloured workers have come out in support of a victimised white worker.

It all started when a supervisor gave four doffers one week's notice for not grafting hard enough, even though they were on piecework at the time. The doffers then stopped work altogether and were supported by the spinners and labourers who started a sit-in strike.

As it was Sunday morning a couple of managers were roused from their beds and summoned to the mill. These then ordered the strikers to return to work or leave the premises. After the workers refused to do either of these things, the police were brought in, and the general manager issued an ultimatum for all the strikers to return to work or be sacked.

Several workers then returned to their jobs leaving the four doffers and a labourer to continue the sit-in strike. The managers and the police at this point decided to eject the strikers, who resisted passively. In spite of this, one worker, the labourer Brian Bamford, was charged with breach of the peace and

assault on a police officer.

WORKERS WALK OUT

By Sunday afternoon a mass meeting of Pakistani workers on multi-shift had decided to back the sacked men by striking until the management was forced to reinstate them. And those workers who had returned to work during the morning sit-in, came out on strike at about 6 o'clock in the afternoon.

At 7 o'clock that night the night shift refused to work until the management agreed to take the men back, and the stoppage was complete.

On Monday morning most of the workers went to the union office to meet the local branch official. He urged the men to return to work, but this was rejected and a meeting was fixed up with the management for later on in the day.

MANAGEMENT CLIMB DOWN

About midday, the management, faced with a total stoppage in one department and the risk of the strike spreading to involve other workers, agreed to reinstate the four doffers. This was clearly a climb-down by a frightened management, and the unity which the strike has generated among Pakistani workers in the Rochdale area can only be a good thing for immigrant workers there. For without these immigrant workers, who are willing to work on nights, much of the textile industry would be unable to run as it does at present. M.H.

Appeasing Newham's Nazis

MR. JEREMY WESTALL is to have his salary suspended by the Community Relations Commission. He is a community relations officer in Newham, East London. The reason is that he blamed Right-wing fanatics and National Front and National Democratic Party supporters for the arson in immigrant homes. To do so apparently is not 'conducive to good community relations'. Evidently the truth should be suppressed and immigrants should put up with having their homes set on fire. Everyone should keep quiet. It is hoped that in this way trouble will be avoided. Politicians love to denounce those who are not ready to support their wars as 'appeasers', and refer to the Hitler period. Well here is an example of appeasement all right! Let us not do anything to upset the Nazis of Newham at all costs. People said nice things about Hitler and in the end countless millions died. Is this going to happen again?

Mr. Westall works for the Newham International Community. The Community Relations Commission gives a grant to the community to cover his salary. In suspending this grant the CRC hypocritically denies that it was trying to force the community to dismiss Mr. Westall, though exactly what

else the CRC was trying to do is difficult to see. 'We stated in our letter that we are unhappy about the situation in Newham, and this is the reason why we shall stop the grant to cover Newham's community relations officer's salary for the time being.'

They must be unhappy, these sweet gentlemen, but not half as unhappy as the people who had fire thrown into their houses! There is no need to fight a war. At the present stage all that is needed is that people shall speak out. The evil has not yet grown to the proportions it reached in Germany. Probably at present most of the population, though by no means free from prejudice, have not yet reached the stage when they consider it legitimate to try to burn their neighbours in their beds. However, if silence is preserved when attacks of this kind take place, in time everyone will come to take them for granted, as they take for granted other traditional brutalities. By then the movements of the Right will have become so strong it will be far more dangerous to oppose them than it is now.

We must all give our support to courageous individuals like Mr. Westall, who are prepared to tell what is really happening, regardless of consequences to themselves. A.W.U.

Curiously enough both the 1947 and 1971 forecasts indicate the

Getting a State Licence

IT HAS BEEN written in the columns of a number of issues of FREEDOM that the Government's Industrial Relations Bill will become law. We have witnessed the feeble efforts of the TUC to make the Government change its mind. They have mounted an expensive advertising campaign in the national papers, paid for from the weekly dues of Trade unionists, held national rallies and meetings in their members' own time and gathered signatures against the Bill, but at no time have they called for, or organised, direct action against the Government's intention. The TUC, as always, was not prepared to challenge the Government and the apparatus of the State.

None of this held any surprise for anarchists. We did not turn to the TUC or to our individual trade union leaders for a lead. We never demanded that they fight and defeat the Bill, neither did we expect that they would. Unlike many of the political parties and groupings on the 'left', we demanded nothing from the trade union leaders and expected nothing in return. While the International Socialists, the Communist Party and the Socialist Labour League have screamed demands at the TUC from the headlines of their papers, anarchists have pointed out the futility of all this.

NOT ANTI-UNION

Workers have once again been led up the garden path of calling upon leaderships to do something for them when it is plain from their everyday experience on the shop-floor that you do not place too much reliance on trade union officials, but act for yourselves. The same lesson applies to the Industrial Relations Bill.

This Bill will become law, but it is not anti-trade union. The first of these two statements was considered heresy only a short while ago, while the second is still misunderstood by 'left-wing' militants. It is drawn up to attack and break the organisation which has been painstakingly built up by shop stewards. The Government hopes to effectively prevent workers from gaining higher wages and control over their job conditions by making any action they take outside the law. In other words the Government wants workers to lose all their dignity and merely accept what is handed to them by the employer and their trade union.

It was equally obvious that the campaign of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, calling on the trade union bureaucracy to fight the Bill, was also doomed to failure. Their campaign has been built around the support of 'left-wingers', like Scanlon and Jones, and the rallying of workers behind leaders, instead of trying to organise independent action by the rank and file. They, like all leaderships, or those who aspire to that position, fear any growing movement which they cannot channel and control.

ONLY 'STRONGLY ADVISED'

When the 'left' was defeated at the Croydon Congress of the TUC, both Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones accepted the defeat and said their unions would not call any more one-day strikes against the Bill. The TUC vote 'strongly advised' unions not to register, which of course gives all unions the opportunity to find 'special circumstances' whereby it becomes vital that they apply for their 'State licence'.

Failure to register means that any industrial action called by such a union will be liable to prosecution for inducing or attempting to induce members to take action. Fines on non-registered unions or on any other organisation who call and promote industrial action have no upper limit. On the other hand, registered unions get tax advantages on their investments. If trade unions refused to comply on registration, the Bill would not be worth the paper that it is written on, but the 'special circumstances' are already being discovered. The National Union of Bank Employees and the National and Local Government Officers' Association have already said that they will register, while Lord Cooper, of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, has said that he will recommend registration of his union.

Lord Cooper's decision goes against that of the TUC of which he is Chairman. He says the Bill removes the legal protection afforded to trade unions while in furtherance of a trade dispute. The only way to regain this protection is to register. Of course what worries him is the prospect of fines and higher taxes. He also sees the possibility of co-operating with the employers and gaining membership through the agency shops and the anti-poaching Bridlington Agreement.* Employers, if anything, welcome unions like Lord

Cooper's to keep workers in line and discipline any who challenge management-union agreements.

WELCOME REGISTRATION

Lord Cooper and many other trade union leaders really welcome registration and the protection it gives them from their rank and file. Unlike in the past, they will have legal sanctions to assist them in crushing any militancy by their members. Registration is the path to partnership between union leaders and management who both agree on the need for a disciplined working class. One by one, union executives will apply for their licence from the State. They, like the Government, know that the Bill will strengthen their authority. Registered unions could gain members through the agency shops, but these would mostly be only dues-paying ticket holders.

The periods in our history when strikes have been illegal have not meant the prevention of industrial action. In fact, during World War II, when the Order 1305 made strikes illegal, they increased in number each year. The Betteshanger Colliery strike in Kent in 1942 showed the futility of prosecuting thousands of workers determined to remain on strike. Now, as then, solidarity between workers is the only effective weapon to beat the sanctions of the Bill. Such resistance must be controlled by the workers themselves. Reliance on trade union leaders would be fatal. Any illusions that union executives would fight the law could mean defeat for the workers and the organisations that they have built up and maintained.

P.T.

*Having gained an agency shop giving the GMWU sole negotiating rights, the anti-poaching Bridlington Agreement would prevent other unions from recruiting members. Such was the situation at Pilkingtons. Many firms would welcome trade unionism on these terms.

FREEDOM SELLING
Petticoat Lane, London
Meet Freedom Press, 11 a.m.
Whit Sunday, May 30.

'be alert for anarchistic outriders in our movement'

R. Briginshaw, General Secretary, Natsopa, writing in the Union Journal, February 1971.

WHAT'S AN OUTRIDER?

WE DON'T KNOW what an 'outrider' is. Mr. Briginshaw uses the word 'anarchistic' as they use it in the gutter press—to signify chaos and disorder. His phrase 'anarchistic outriders' is meant to conjure up a picture of drunken cowboys galloping down Fleet Street loosing off six-guns in all directions!

Well, WE are anarchists and we all work in print. We don't possess either horses, guns or bombs.

Anarchists are AGAINST authority—the rule of one man over another—whether it is by a trade union official or a government. We are FOR organisation by free and equal human beings. We don't want to be made unemployed, taxed half silly, or sent off to fight a war on somebody else's say-so. That is what WE call 'chaos and disorder'.

Applying these ideas to trade union affairs we stand for the following:—

WE BELIEVE that members should control their own unions instead of, as at present, being bossed about by paid officials and threatened with expulsion (the sack) if we don't comply with 'orders'.

WE BELIEVE that paid officials are not necessary at all. If each Chapel ran its own affairs there would be no need for the present centralised, bureaucratic and very expensive trade union structure.

WE BELIEVE that the unity of printing trade unionists is best achieved through a FEDERATION of autonomous chapels.

WE BELIEVE that centralisation means an uncontrolled 'leadership' which makes all the decisions—usually against the interests of the members. (What about the loss of the cost-of-living bonus—the 'productivity' deals which cost hundreds of jobs—the



HAVE YOU SEEN THIS MAN?

If so, take him to the Union and report him for unconstitutional activity!

splitting of SOGAT. When were the members consulted about any of these things?)

WE BELIEVE that all trade unionists have the right to meet freely and talk on any subject without being threatened with the Rule Book.

Mr. Briginshaw has called us disrupters and implied that we favour blowing people up! The only kind of destruction we are interested in is ending the dictatorial structure of trade unions so that the members, who pay the contributions, may have control of their own affairs. If you think that's not a bad idea why not come to our meeting on—

THURSDAY, JUNE 3 in the

'COGERS', Salisbury Court, E.C.4
(in The Dive Bar)

GEORGE HUGHES, a member of NGA, will chair the meeting, and JOHN LAWRENCE, a member of SOGAT, will open the discussion.

Latin American Unions and U.S. Big Business

ORGANISING into Trade Unions in many countries of the world is not, to say the least, an easy task. Employers do not exactly welcome it, particularly in Latin America. And yet there are hundreds of people throughout the area engaged in the task of 'assisting' workers to train as Trade Union 'leaders' and organisers. Why? And who are these 'friends of the workers' of Latin America?

Throughout Latin America, there are so-called Trade Union schools. These schools are, generally, run or set up by the infamous 'American Institute For Free Labor Development', which is not actually based in Latin America at all, but in Washington in the good old USA. The Institute has branches scattered about Latin America.

The AIFLD was formed in 1962, mainly through the efforts of George Meany's AFL-CIO. And during the last eight years, it is said to have trained as many as 70,000 Trade Unionists. For some Latin American Trade Unionists, three-month courses in the USA itself have been arranged; some going to the University of Loyola in New Orleans. Such students have their return fares paid, receive a monthly bursary and a lump sum, often representing as much as nine months' salary, at the end of their course.

WHOSE MONEY

Who, then, are the people backing the AIFLD? Who provides the money?

The Institute has millions of dollars in its coffers. It is financed partly by the AFL-CIO, the US Government through the 'Alliance For Progress' programme and American Big Business itself.

Between its formation in 1962 and the end of 1965 alone, sixty American corporations donated 500,000 dollars to the

Institute to assist it in furthering 'a modern conception of democratic Unions and to contribute to developing and stabilising Latin America'. And who were these firms who wanted to encourage 'democratic' Trade Unions among Latin American workers?

They include: Anaconda Copper, International Telephone & Telegraph Corporation, Standard Oil, the United Corporation, Pan Am and Grace & Company. Indeed, the fifty to sixty American corporations who assist in the financing of the AIFLD control over two-thirds of all US capital investments in Latin America—about 20,000,000 dollars all told. Peter Grace of Grace & Co.—who owns large tracts of land in Peru—is on the board of management of the American Institute For Free Labor Development.

Now, why are these giant American corporations, with their vast capital investments, interested in 'democratic' Trade Unions? But, more important, what do they expect 'democratic' Unions and Trade Unionists to do? What does the Institute instruct them to do?

BIG BUSINESS AIMS

According to Mr. Romualdo, director of the Institute within Latin America, the main aim of the Institute is to foster 'the conception of co-operation among different economic elements of society'. Its object is a 'rapprochement between workers and employers'. Its aim is 'social peace'. And why? Henry Woodbridge, President of the Temper Corporation, answers: 'Without free Unions there can be no free enterprise'; and Thomas Mann, former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, bluntly declares: 'A skilful guidance of Latin American Unions is an inestimable commodity. It is as necessary as investments in this region.' AIFLD handbooks, more-

over, underline the class collaborationist sentiments of its Big Business backers. *Bases of the Economy* recommends active Trade Unionists to inculcate respect for their employers in the minds of the workers of Latin America; it instructs them not to oppose lay-offs, and to maintain 'peace' in plants and enterprises in the interests of the 'common cause' (I believe you have a 'common cause' anti-Union outfit in England).

However, US activity among Latin American workers is not limited to the AIFLD.

ROLE OF CIA

More sinister, more widespread, better financed and more insidious is the Central Intelligence Agency, which of course works in co-operation with AIFLD, top officials of the AFL-CIO such as former American Communist Party secretary, and now head of the International Department of the AFL-CIO, Jay Lovestone, and lastly, ORIT, the regional organisation of the International Confederation of Free (!) Trade Unions.

According to the Argentinian Confederation of Labour journal, *CGT*, the AIFLD and its branches in Latin America are used by the CIA for espionage purposes. The CIA is said to have a network of secret agents who conduct various subversive activities within the Unions with the aim of sabotaging efforts to build militant workers' organisations, and of preventing the workers from becoming class-conscious. These agents maintain close contact with their respective American embassies. Moreover, propaganda material distributed in the name of ORIT among local Trade Unions often come directly from US embassies. Indeed, recently the Bolivian Government which now (this week, at least) has a left-wing nationalist military leadership, ordered the closure of the ORIT Secretariat in La Paz; and the representative of ORIT in the country was expelled for carrying on CIA activity. He was accused of being in the pay of the CIA.

The Americans are working overtime to stop the workers of Latin America from organising into effective Trade Unions. They will not be successful. It is quite likely that the workers and peasants will go even further—and overthrow the whole rotten system. I hope so.

JOSE.

A RELIGIOUS VIEW OF ANARCHISM

tralis State, the consolidation of Workers' Power, which would eventually 'with-away'!

DISILLUSIONED

I have now been disillusioned with all this; but more positively I have been recaptured by God. The Hound of Heaven caught up with me, and I am quite convinced that there is an absolute focus of spiritual values, there is a cosmic reality and an eternal purpose which man can glimpse and his heart respond to. Because I believe in God and trust that the purpose is real, valid and good, I believe also in the equality of all human kind and respect the right of all creatures to life and freedom. My enmity towards all which enslaves or exploits is if anything more intense and certainly less selective. Never again can ends justify the means. Ends and means must cohere, for as Martin Luther King says, 'Means represent the ideal in making and the end in process. If a free, just society is our aim, freedom and justice shall dictate our methods of working for it. No person should be physically coerced to achieve it. The real revolution is total and begins with ourselves. We have first to live our principles so far as we possibly can. To my mind nothing is more pathetic than the wealthy socialist financier, unless it is the violent peacemaker. Man must commit himself to live as Jesus taught and lived with an insight one can only describe as divine; yet an insight which may be shared by all who seek it at its source. In summary the way is this: to live and let live, treating others as we would like them to treat us, loving one another, forgiving one another, not judging, not punishing, not seeking restitution of loss, theft or damages, but centring always upon the greater needs of others rather than on our own desires. And to do all this, not at some future time when a different order of society prevails, but to do it now.' For he knew, as anarchists know, that society does not improve simply as a result of talk alone, and even less as a result of the political transfer of power from one group to another, or one class to another. It changes when

we, the people, individuals, decide to live differently, and to do it now. The more closely we adhere to this ideal, the less shall we depend on the institutions of the State. We shall need no laws, prisons, judges or police, for never shall we be willing to see a person deprived of his liberty or self-respect, still less of his life, on account of his offenses against either our persons or property.

HOW TO BE FREE

As men take back the responsibility for running their own lives, the pillars of authority will crumble. I believe that this is happening even now as a result of the massive awakening of the desire for personal involvement and participation on the part of people, especially young people, all over the world. Every small victory in this battle is a direct blow against authoritarianism, a weakening of the centralised power structure and a forward step in the march towards true freedom and equality which is the only genuine democracy and the true destiny of mankind. Only when that age dawns will the necessary conditions exist for the full flowering of the human spirit. Man's soul needs freedom as his lungs need air. It is though a quality hard to identify. Material freedom has been enjoyed by a privileged few throughout history, usually at the expense of others. Spiritual freedom has been realised frequently by those under physical bondage. A man cannot be truly free if he is ignorant, and however wealthy he may be he cannot be thought of as free if he is a victim of his own irrational prejudices. And there is a sense in which none of us is truly free until all men are, both spiritually and physically, such is the inter-related nature of life. I would go further and say that men are not free so long as they depend on the barbaric enslavement of other creatures for their food or pleasure.

Let me hasten to add that freedom does not guarantee automatic perfection. Free man is not to be equated with super-man, whom I do not believe in. Man probably always will have weaknesses and make mistakes, but anarchism,

and only anarchism, can ensure that individual faults remain individual, to be accepted and forgiven by the community, and not transmuted through the distorting lens of power politics into the horrific forms of nuclear war and bacterial plague.

FREEDOM VALUED

Now I must take issue with those trends at the present time which devalue freedom by interpreting it as meaning licence for unrestricted pleasure seeking and personal gratification without reference to the needs of others and especially the wider needs of the community. To me this appears but an attempt to use anarchism as a philosophical basis, almost a justification, for a personal attitude which is basically selfish and self-centred; an attitude which, far from being revolutionary, is only too prevalent under the existing materialistic authoritarian pattern of life. Indeed, such an outlook is most aptly seen as a fruit of authoritarianism rather than any positive part of anarchism. How can intelligent people really see things that way? We are all part of society whether we like the fact or not. We are inter-dependent. There are many millions of people in the world and we must live together somehow. What each of us does affects our neighbour and like ripples from a stone thrown into a pool, our influence extends out into the wider world. It is foolish then to talk of freedom outside of the context of social responsibility, or love of our neighbour. The fact is, if we are to dispense with externally imposed codes of behaviour, it must be because we have begun to outgrow the need for them, because we are conscious of that inner guidance which I call God, and others may call conscience, and because we are upholders of a way of love which makes all laws irrelevant. Freedom to me is thus inseparable from love. Indeed, I think it is the regimentation of authoritarianism, in religious as well as in secular affairs, which destroys man's innate capacity to respond positively to the goodness in his own soul, and rots his faculties of spiritual

I WILL CALL MYSELF a 'religious' anarchist at the risk of evoking the usual misconceptions associated with that term. I certainly am not an individualist in the sense that some other comrades have recently used the word; rather I believe that the idea of community is as important as the idea of freedom in the practical implications of anarchism.

My journey towards anarchism was complex, gradual, in the end climactic, yet overall it was a logical progression. As a young Christian pacifist with vaguely socialistic ideas and a natural sympathy for the underdog, I was thrust suddenly into the harsh reality of a colonialist set-up. The resulting revelation of capitalism in its crudest, most blatant and aggressive form, kindled my smouldering indignation, in a way which I may never have experienced in my native English environment where the workings of the system are so concealed and overlaid by the blanket of culture and tradition, and its exploitive effects both masked and cushioned by the material rewards of generations of working class struggle.

Against such anger, my pacifist conscience laboured and died. Marx I felt was surely right, that 'force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new', force meaning violence, of course. For who could imagine the holders of wealth and power relinquishing it voluntarily, persuaded so to do by Christian principles? How might justice be restored to all God's children, if not by force of arms? And so, an atheist Marxist I became, accepting the necessity for violence, however regretfully, and hence the irrelevance, indeed the total inconsistency, of belief in a God of love and a prophet Jesus who accepted suffering willingly in preference to imposing it on his opponents.

Putting above all things the priority of establishing 'socialist justice', morality and ethics are soon re-orientated away from an abstract God or 'good', which one is persuaded is but the subjective result of social conditioning. Any inconvenient idea can be labelled 'bourgeois' and thus dispensed with. Everything must be re-valued on its usefulness to the cause, the supreme end justifying any means. And so I accepted the necessity for violent revolution, wars of national liberation, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and not least the cen-

awareness.

In conclusion, anarchists would do well to remember that there are two lies. In exposing the one we should not allow ourselves to be deceived by the other. In the words of W. H. Auden,

'All I have is a voice
To undo the folded lie,
The romantic lie in the brain
Of the sensual man-in-the-street
And the lie of Authority
Whose buildings grope the sky:
There is no such thing as the State
And no one exists alone;
Hunger allows no choice
To the citizen or the police;
We must love one another or die.'

NEVILLE FOWLER.

Down with Fascism!

OF COURSE the word 'fascist' has long been a term of abuse on the political left. Often used indiscriminately, it nevertheless denotes a feeling that the person abused has something in common with the members of the fascist parties which sprang up in the twenties and thirties.

The prototype of these was the Partito Fascisto Italiano, of which Mussolini was the leader. The PFI combined elements of socialism with nationalism and racism. Mussolini carried out a nationalisation programme in some respects similar to that of the British Labour Party in 1945. He also formed agricultural co-operatives and a state-sponsored marketing system of agricultural products, which was at some points similar to that of the Soviet Union. One of the main features of fascism however was the appeal to national and racial pride, and a consequent totali-

tarianism. Extravagant glorification of the fatherland and its military backbone was designed to secure the loyalty of the citizen and his subjugation to the interests of the state.

'I have seen these soldiers . . . these sons of Italy . . . and I tell you that they are not soldiers but saints and martyrs.'—Mussolini on the Italian campaigns in Libya and Eritrea in the late thirties.

Any opposition to the ruling party, and its personification, the leader, was ruthlessly suppressed. The insistence on pride of race reached lunatic and sinister proportions with the 'aryanisation' of Germany carried out by Hitler's National Socialist Party, culminating in the attempt to exterminate the Jews.

When it is used in this sense, the word 'fascist' presumably only applies in this country today to the heir of Oswald Mosley's British Union of

Fascists, which apparently now masquerades under the name, Union Movement.

There is, however, another sense of the word which might be considered linguistically respectable. The PFI did not invent the name fascist. They took their emblem and consequently their name from the fasces, that is, the axe surrounded by a bundle of rods which the Roman lictors carried in procession as a symbol of authority. The fasces did not originate with the Romans. The axe, particularly the two-headed axe, was

a symbol of power throughout ancient times. It has been found used as a symbol in early Cretan remains and the fasces itself has been found in Etruscan remains. Thus the axe, representative of power, and the bundle of rods for corporal punishment, has been a symbol of authority for thousands of years. It is still in use today as the emblem of a Swiss canton.

It seems reasonable therefore to apply the age-old symbol of authority to those who are active upholders of the principle of authority. Certainly anarchists will be opposed to fascism, whatever its colour, and will echo those brave men who chalked on the walls in Mussolini's Italy:

ABBASSO I FASCISTI.

GEOFFREY BARFOOT.

'Freedom' & 'Anarchy'

Starting with *Anarchy 4*, *Anarchy* will be editorially and financially autonomous. All subscriptions, including joint ones, and back number orders, will still be handled by Freedom Press at 84B Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1. All editorial matter, bundle orders and street sales for *Anarchy* will be handled by the Anarchy Group at 95 West Green Road, London, N.15, as from May Day. (Phone number to be notified.)

The hospital changes with society but always is some decades behind, and some hospitals have no relationship with any society past or present. It is tragic to see the noble efforts made to 'rehabilitate' those selected into the mores of the 50's, by veterans from the two wars. The most important stumbling block to progress is the doctor, however. The hospital functions in a very hierarchical way regardless of its formal reality because the staff are arranged by function and so by qualification and so partly by social class and general attitude. The psychiatrist trains for six years or more, only 10% of that time being concerned with psychiatry, but in any hospital his legal and social position is invulnerable. There will be no change till the doctors

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are made publicly accountable for their actions and till they are given their proper status of laboratory technician. Then, some of the good people who leave this therapeutic slaughter of the innocents might be persuaded to stay.

R.S.

ANARCHY 2
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'To be governed is to be watched over, inspected, spied upon, directed, legislated at, regulated, docketed, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, weighed, censored, ordered about, by men who have neither the right nor the knowledge nor the virtue. To be governed means to be, at each operation, at each transaction, at each movement, noted, registered, controlled, taxed, stamped, measured, valued, assessed, patented, licensed, authorised, endorsed, admonished, hampered, reformed, rebuked, arrested. It is to be, on the pretext of the general interest, taxed, drilled, held to ransom, exploited, monopolised, extorted, squeezed, hoaxed, robbed; then, at the least resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, abused, annoyed, followed, bullied, beaten, disarmed, garrotted, imprisoned, machine-gunned, judged, condemned, deported, flayed, sold, betrayed, and finally mocked, ridiculed, insulted, dishonoured. Such is government, such is justice, such is morality.'

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.

Violence on the Wards

THE THIRD mental hospital trial this year is well under way at Whittingham in England. It is of direct interest only to those of an older generation of training and to those therapeutic heavies still remaining—like the nurses at Claybury I met one night who had done nights for 14 years obviously to escape control and resolve problems of change.

It hasn't solved any problems and least of all has anything not already known come to light. The selection of a few scapegoats is always unfair when it is the system itself on trial by implication. This sort of violence continues everywhere, but it is definitely no longer the main problem.

In fact the main interest of the trial for me is the way the MoH is trying to act as the school inspectors of the hospital system, trying to jerk doctors out of their insensate straitjackets. Violence was the method of the 20's and 30's and it is the slowness to change to modern methods which the ministry dislikes. But this is a side issue in more ways than one.

We assert that physical violence will remain a problem so long as the mental hospital exists. So long as it has staff. Its functions by means of violence just as the army or the police. It has no other means. The trial is about an out-of-date violence now no longer tolerable, but one effect of the trials is that the mental hospital as a system is not deemed a failure because it comes up with the results of the police cell and in the 50's (see Dr. Pippard's article) results reminiscent of the Auschwitz experimental hospital.

The trials of the future must take the violence of today as their subject. Patients are controlled by drugs in the same way as previously by force. Consequently although institutional modifications have taken place, the 'better class' and 'more intelligent' staff recruited in a deliberate attempt to change the image are only icing on the same old cake. The manner of violence is now the shock and the needle, but as ever its true place is in the heads of the staff who cannot help but associate mental illness with violence.

POLICE HARASSMENT IN ILFORD

AS I RETURNED to my parked car in the centre of Ilford two plain-clothes policemen arrested me for allegedly using a 1p piece instead of a 2p coin in the meter. These meters were only installed a few months ago, and owing to this fault in their mechanism the borough of Redbridge is widely believed to have lost a lot of money. Yesterday a meter-maid told me that CID officers were watching the meters and taking the numbers of cars whose parking meters had the wrong coins showing through their little windows. Therefore I was arrested under the Theft Act 1968 for seeking a pecuniary gain by deceit. In recent months there have been many successful prosecutions in this way.

I was not returning to my car but walking past it when the man standing on the pavement asked me if it was mine. He said the meter was sealed and produced a key which opened it. The 1p coin was held in the machine and he released it without its passing into the money container. Then his mate approached and I went to the police station. I objected to going but they said they would take my car anyway. As we drove away the meter showed two hours to run, although now emptied of money, it had been fixed by the detective with his fingers.

The whole procedure, beginning with my arrest, was quite startling. At the police station I was searched and asked to give my fingerprints. This is only a short step from the profile photo, the growing dossier and the police assuming they have a perfect right to look into all your life. Therefore I refused. Now labelled 'unco-operative' (a word not unknown to social workers also) I was told to wait (but not what for) in a 'detention cell', which was just a cell without any furniture or fittings other than two chairs. Its normal use is obvious.

Nothing happened for a while, so I pressed the wall buzzer and asked if I could use the phone. I was told the office was full of people and I would have to wait. I tried to look out into the corridor, but a slight gap left in the

Parking Meter Leads to Cells

cell window shutter was now closed. Suddenly an inhuman-looking policeman looked in to see if I was pacing the floor or daubing shit on the walls like monkeys are supposed to do, and then I could see nothing. He made me feel what a zoo feels like inside. But I strained to listen and I could hear raised voices. There was a discussion going on, and the police were saying about me that I was obviously an unco-operative and insulting individual and was not going to be reasonable. I heard something about 'put him in a cell'. I used the buzzer. A few minutes later a large and jolly man, straight from *Loot*, came in and told me I could not use the phone and would stay there till next day for the court. He was the chief inspector.

Now I began to take the whole affair more seriously. I was under arrest and they were manoeuvring me into a hopeless position. My finger returned to the buzzer. It produced four burly men who offered to carry me to a cell unless I walked. I accepted their offer and they dragged me along the interconnecting corridor. I thought the way they did this was rather unsporting. I89 held my hand close to his chest and was bending it down in a way which was painful, and he waited for me to admit it too! 'I only wanted to see if you could walk, Sir.'

While in this cell arrangements were obviously being made by the chief inspector because he returned and told me we were going to court at once, and I would behave, wouldn't I? He had searched my car, and from the contents (there was an old copy of *Anarchy*) had judged my views were rather obstructive. My guilt was taken for granted. He had found a library book due back in 1969 and would make further investigations. They were going over the car also, to find how many offences I made against the Traffic Acts.

Now he took charge of me, with the two CID men who I found did not come from Ilford. Sandwiched thus in the back of the car we went to court. They were not having any more of these policemen giving me sympathy—one had been telling me I would soon be out on bail when the inspector had first come in. 'Oh no he won't,' he said. It is obvious this is something he is responsible for, and also to his superiors. A campaign of prosecution of 'meter-fiddlers' in London is under way, and has assumed added importance when the local authority, which had been expecting a lot of extra loot, finds it cannot even pay its expenses. All the meters seem to be faulty in this way, and a large number of people use the 1p coin.

We went to Barking court. While waiting there was intermittent talk among themselves, deceptively relaxed, about gardening, carpentry, hobbies and shop talk. In intervals, the inspector, like a ship in full steam, asked me 'for the benefit of these two officers here' questions about what I would plead, a solicitor, etc.

In court he submitted reasons for taking my fingerprints compulsorily. And this is normally granted. I opposed his reasons and a dialogue developed, with the inspector determined to have the last word. It was necessary under sections so and so and so. The inspector said he had experience of this kind of thing, and though I was employed and had an apparently fixed address 'even if someone has lived there for two or three years you never can tell. He might have a criminal record. I mean—he might be several persons underneath!'

The recent census aroused the susceptibilities of the middle class. I have no illusions that this persuaded the magistrates to dismiss the application as well as the arguments and the sneers of the

inspector. But it would have been automatically granted if I had not objected. The clerk of the court also checked and found the inspector was wrong in what he said about the Acts.

I then returned to another cell, trying to arrange bail. I was harassed by police and at one point told I would go to Brixton if I didn't get bail in two minutes (at 4.30). The police have a list of people unacceptable as standers of surety. I objected to their asking the country of origin of my friend.

I am innocent of this charge, absolutely so. The determination shown by the chief inspector to make something stick at all costs reflects the importance the Yard regards these prosecutions as having. When fingerprinting was refused I heard the inspector get on the phone to his inspector and angrily tell him what happened. The sequence of events was arranged as a matter of policy to produce a willingness to submit. One detective kept saying there was a sequence of formalities (I think he called them) to go through, but the more reasonable behaviour of the police not directly involved at the police station shows a real blitz is on, and never mind the law. My behaviour in the cell, and the stuff in the car (which led the inspector to say joyfully as I fumbled when I felt like letting them take prints just to see some fresh air, 'you haven't read your literature'), made them feel I was someone to nail as quickly as possible in case I got myself beaten up or go on a hunger strike.

How am I to prove myself innocent? Remember all this is about an alleged theft of 1p. As a social worker I am again reminded of my own implication in the running of a society by violence. Magistrates make orders but they never know those cells beneath them, and like social workers eager to take someone to a mental hospital they are separated from the reality by an unbridgeable gulf they dare not cross. They do not know what they do, what part they play and what personal sacrifices are made to hide from themselves they act for those with the strongest voice.

R.S.

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Another 'Exer' gets to the Top

I don't know just how many trade union leaders eventually end up on the board of this or that company or nationalised industry—but it must run into hundreds. Of course, the minor positions in management are lousy with ex-trade union officials. I have been in the trade union movement for a good many years, so quite a lot of them are known to me personally—and a right lot of slags they are.

DESPITE ALL the upheavals of the last four months, this year's conference at Bournemouth went much the same way as all UPW conferences—large 'card' votes of confidence in the executive on most issues, with one or two unexpected defeats on others. There were, however, none of the usual boring Friday afternoon political debates—in a half-empty hall, but mainly for the benefit of the *Morning Star* reporter—always well-rehearsed and staged by the Communists.

At a special eve-of-conference session on Sunday, the EC recommended that the usual agenda be limited to just one hour, followed by discussion on the Postal dispute, the Court of Inquiry and the union's expenses. This was opposed



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The latest to make the absolute big time is Mr. Len Neal who is being widely tipped as the man who will succeed George Woodcock (ex-Secretary of the TUC) as Chairman of the Government's Commission on Industrial Relations. Neal used to be a Smithfield market porter. He rose high in the hierarchy of the T&GWU and then switched to management, after which he got the job of Chief Labour Relations Officer for British Rail.

He is well-versed in trade union affairs and is about to sell that knowledge to the Government for a salary of £15,000 a year.

A Job To Be Done

Although the trade union movement has created titles, and plenty of cash rewards for the Judases it has nurtured in its ranks, it has failed lamentably to do anything about the glaring inequalities which exist within the working class itself. The last report of the Prices and Incomes Board revealed that the differences between the highly-paid and the low-paid workers are as great today as they were 100 years ago.

As a matter of fact, two members of the same Union can have as much as £40 a week difference in wages. We are all brothers—but some are better-paid brothers than others!

That Royal Wage Claim

The Queen is, by all accounts, the richest woman in the world, deriving a vast private income from the loot of previous monarchs. In addition, she gets a huge state pension—about half a million quid a year—so that she can maintain in luxury herself and the whole tribe of Royal layabouts. She now wants this pension increased.

It reminds me of a conversation I heard just after the war between some French and British socialists in which the English were pompously attacking the French for not appreciating how the Labour Government was introducing socialism via the welfare state and nationalisation.

'Socialism!' cried one exasperated Frenchman. 'How can you talk about Socialism in England! You've still got a King!'

J.L.

by the 3,000-strong OTO Branch, which urged conference to reject the 9% pay offer and to begin selective strikes. Their proposals were defeated on a show of hands. It was agreed that when Tom Jackson and his negotiating team meet Miss Fothergill, Post Office director of personnel, on the following Friday (that is last Friday) they table a further 5%, back-dated to April 1. Detailed plans have not been revealed by the executive as to what they intend doing if the 5% additional claim is not conceded; but they are likely to take the form of selective strikes and walk-outs—i.e. guerrilla war, as advocated by this writer at the beginning of the seven-week dispute!

On Monday, Tom Jackson reported that 4,000 members (or, more likely, former members) have been written to, asking them to account for their actions during the strike. A further 6,000 letters will go out shortly. Most of the recipients are Telephonists, many of whom being former members of the scab National Guild of Telephonists. Most of them will, no doubt, become 'nons'—which means very little at the moment, but could mean quite a lot if, at a future date, the Post Office becomes a Closed Shop or Union Shop. During the debate, Tom Jackson argued that the strike could have continued if they had received more financial support from other unions. Nobody said so, but it would have

made a lot of difference if the UPW had received more than mere sympathy from the POEU.

MALCONTENTS 'CRUSHED'

The crunch came on Tuesday, with an amendment censuring the entire executive for calling off the strike on March 8. The majority of delegates did not want to split the union. But, as I predicted in this paper three weeks ago, there was some criticism from what the *Guardian* called 'a small band of malcontents'. Mick Edwards of Birmingham complained that the UPW did not 'play it dirty enough'. Despite EC protests, the conference overwhelmingly passed a resolution that in any future strikes, UPW members would not man emergency services at PO counters or answer 999 calls. But another motion, condemning other unions for not supporting the Postal workers, was defeated after EC member, 'Stalinist' Willie Failles, said: 'Don't attack the people we will be fighting alongside in future struggles against the present neo-Fascist government.'

CENSURE MOTION LOST

Jock Cowan, the 'Healyite' secretary of Paddington No. 1 Branch, came, as I expected, to the rostrum to attack the executive for calling off the strike. He criticised them for revealing the parlous financial state of the union, thereby weakening its bargaining position at a

crucial moment. 'The executive thought the union ought to end the strike because it had no money, but when we came out we had no money.' As far as his Branch was concerned, they would have continued the strike without money. 'I would have eaten grass,' he said. And I can just visualise Jock sitting in the middle of Paddington Green chewing the stuff! The censure motion was lost 11,410 to 173,830 on a card vote. A victory for the bureaucrats of the EC, the Communists—and, of course, the Post Office.

The *Morning Star* reported that delegates had 'crushed a resolution aimed at censuring the executive's strike tactics'. It obviously pleased the *Morning Star*, like the *Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph*, to be able to report that Trotskyist and other 'malcontents' had been 'crushed'.

But delegates voted against Mr Jackson and their executive by demanding that their 9% rise should be back-dated only to March 8, and not January 1, to stop the scabs from benefiting from the strike. And that was about it. Obviously, there will be more struggles to come—the final, and most important, being not just for increased wages and better working conditions, but for the abolition of the wages system itself. That should always be on the agenda.

RANK-AND-FILE TRADE UNIONIST.

Rank and File —undefended

ANY PLAYWRIGHT WHO tries to show the conflict between rank and file workers and their trade union leaders is to be praised. This is what Jim Allen did in his play, *The Rank and File*, shown on BBC television last Thursday.

Superbly acted and produced, the play was based on the real-life events of the seven-week strike of Pilkington glass workers in May and June of last year. So closely did it stick to the facts of the strike that it seemed at times to be almost a documentary.

Everything of any significance which happened in St. Helens was truthfully portrayed in the play—the frustration with the officials of Lord Cooper's GMWU, the setting up of a 'Rank and File Committee' to conduct the strike after the union had washed their hands of it, the return to work engineered by Victor Feather on the promise of no victimisation, and the victimisation of the leading strikers which followed just the same. All this was accurately shown—yet the most significant fact of the whole strike was completely omitted. No mention at all was made of the setting up by the rank and file of a new, breakaway union—the Glass and General Workers' Union.

A False Picture

This omission was not only artistically dishonest—it painted the hopes and aspirations of the rank and file in an entirely false light. Here was a large group of workers, to whom experience had taught the futility of trying to get any help from Lord Cooper's rotten union, taking the brave and logical step of forming their own union—yet Jim Allen doesn't mention this fact in a play which, as he said himself when interviewed in *Late Night Line-up*, was the true story of the Pilkington strike.

Instead of showing how the conflict between the rank and file and the union led inexorably to the creation of a new union, the author added a sort of post-script of his own which was right out of keeping with what the play had so truthfully portrayed. He ended by giving to one of the strike leaders a speech which said, in part, 'I go along with Trotsky—this rank and file activity will get us nowhere—what is needed is a new revolutionary party to lead the workers on to victory.'

Now that may well be the point of view of Jim Allen (I held similar views myself a good many years ago and worked hard to propagate them) but it certainly was not the point of view of the rank and file at Pilkingtons. Its

introduction into the play was false and spoiled it completely.

New Unions Inevitable

The Pilkington strike was the most important industrial struggle of 1970 precisely because it involved the formation of a new union. It posed a direct threat to the union bureaucrats. The problem of new unions is something every worker has to face sooner or later for the idea arises spontaneously among the rank and file in almost every serious strike. A discussion of this problem is long overdue.

Several times in the past, when a head-on collision has taken place between groups of workers and the trade union hierarchy, new unions have been formed. One thinks of the Passenger Workers' Union, the Stevedores, the Railway Signalmen and others.

In every case what the workers wanted was not so much a NEW union as a BETTER union—and 'better' has to mean a union which the members themselves controlled.

It didn't always work out like that, and some of the new unions became as bureaucratic as those they were meant to replace, but all these attempts were ultimately crushed by the trade union leaders who stopped at nothing to prevent the creation of a rallying point for dissatisfied workers.

In St. Helens the new union got off to a flying start with about 4,000 members. Sympathetic enquiries were received from all over South Lancashire—especially from members of Lord Cooper's terrible outfit but, as in the past, the effort was defeated by a combination of terror from the employers and pressure from the official unions. Yet such attempts to create organisations in which workers can live and breathe and decide their own affairs will be made again and again, until one day they will be successful.

Who is 'Immature'?

None of this real life drama was put into Jim Allen's play for the simple reason that the author didn't agree with the setting up of a new union! He actually stated on television that he thought it showed the 'immaturity' of Pilkington workers. Did it indeed! Then why were my Lords Pilkington and Cooper so anxious to crush the new union?

Confronted on television with Hugh Scanlon and George Woodcock, Jim Allen did a good job of exposing these unctuous bureaucrats for the no-good

characters that they are—especially the slimy Scanlon who actually criticised the play because, he said, it didn't attack the employers! You try to get at the employer and find you can't because your trade union leader is in the way. When you tell him to shove off out of it, he replies that you are attacking the union instead of the boss. I've seen it done hundreds of times—especially by 'left-wing' trade union leaders—it's part of their stock in trade. Didn't Scanlon know that the Pilkington strike was caused by the refusal of the employers to pay more than about £13 a week for hard, hot, and monotonous work?

But Jim Allen's accusation that Scanlon and his friends on the TUC had done nothing to help the victimised Pilkington workers couldn't be driven home for he, like them, doesn't approve of breakaway unions. 'The Bridlington Agreement', they cried, 'prevents us from supporting new unions.' From there on, all that Allen could do was to maintain that the TUC ought to have acted differently. He seemed to want a 'good' TUC staffed with 'good' men—Trotskyists presumably—which would take 'good' decisions. But a TUC nevertheless, still giving orders and issuing instructions.

It is the argument of all the political parties and groups. They are afraid to encourage a straightforward *mutiny in the ranks*, to rely on the independent activity of the workers themselves. What they want is a sort of controlled militancy ('mature' is the word they use) which will result in new men, their men, being elected to high positions in the trade unions and able then to swing these mass organisations behind their own particular brand of political party.

A Truly Heroic Struggle

If Jim Allen had been content to trust his insight as a dramatist—to stand aside and let the play tell its own story—it would have made a powerful impact on workers who saw it. What the play said was that these men were truly heroic. Assailed and betrayed on all sides, they stood together and, in the end, went down together. They were MEN—and that kind of spirit is not destroyed by one defeat.

Even so, despite its defects, the play has had considerable impact according to the BBC. One scene near the end of the play showed a worker who had been with Pilkingtons for 43 years being confronted by a smooth young personnel officer and told that he could be taken back—but as a 'new starter' with all his pension rights forfeited. 'You would go on strike, wouldn't you,' said this eager young executive. 'Yes, sir,' answered the old man, 'I had to come out with the lads.'

This little scene (the incident is perfectly true) said everything that needs to be said about capitalism and the desperate nature of the struggle waged against it by rank and file workers. It is worlds removed from the life of the well-paid trade union official who never knows what it is to soil his hands or go short of money. The play should have ended there.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

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What did they expect from a Union which acted as official strike-breakers? Militancy?

Another 'Exer' gets to the Top

I don't know just how many trade union leaders eventually end up on the board of this or that company or nationalised industry—but it must run into hundreds. Of course, the minor positions in management are lousy with ex-trade union officials. I have been in the trade union movement for a good many years, so quite a lot of them are known to me personally—and a right lot of stags they are.

DESPITE ALL the upheavals of the last four months, this year's conference at Bournemouth went much the same way as all UPW conferences—large 'card' votes of confidence in the executive on most issues, with one or two unexpected defeats on others. There were, however, none of the usual boring Friday afternoon political debates—in a half-empty hall, but mainly for the benefit of the *Morning Star* reporter—always well-rehearsed and staged by the Communists.

At a special eve-of-conference session on Sunday, the EC recommended that the usual agenda be limited to just one hour, followed by discussion on the Postal dispute, the Court of Inquiry and the union's expenses. This was opposed

by the 3,000-strong OTO Branch, which urged conference to reject the 9% pay offer and to begin selective strikes. Their proposals were defeated on a show of hands. It was agreed that when Tom Jackson and his negotiating team meet Miss Fothergill, Post Office director of personnel, on the following Friday (that is last Friday) they table a further 5%, back-dated to April 1. Detailed plans have not been revealed by the executive as to what they intend doing if the 5% additional claim is not conceded; but they are likely to take the form of selective strikes and walk-outs—i.e. guerrilla war, as advocated by this writer at the beginning of the seven-week dispute!

On Monday, Tom Jackson reported that 4,000 members (or, more likely, former members) have been written to, asking them to account for their actions during the strike. A further 6,000 letters will go out shortly. Most of the recipients are Telephonists, many of whom being former members of the scab National Guild of Telephonists. Most of them will, no doubt, become 'nons'—which means very little at the moment, but could mean quite a lot if, at a future date, the Post Office becomes a Closed Shop or Union Shop. During the debate, Tom Jackson argued that the strike could have continued if they had received more financial support from other unions. Nobody said so, but it would have

made a lot of difference if the UPW had received more than mere sympathy from the POEU.

MALCONTENTS 'CRUSHED'

The crunch came on Tuesday, with an amendment censuring the entire executive for calling off the strike on March 8. The majority of delegates did not want to split the union. But, as I predicted in this paper three weeks ago, there was some criticism from what the *Guardian* called 'a small band of malcontents'. Mick Edwards of Birmingham complained that the UPW did not 'play it dirty enough'. Despite EC protests, the conference overwhelmingly passed a resolution that in any future strikes, UPW members would not man emergency services at PO counters or answer 999 calls. But another motion, condemning other unions for not supporting the Postal workers, was defeated after EC member, 'Stalinist' Willie Faires, said: 'Don't attack the people we will be fighting alongside in future struggles against the present neo-Fascist government'.

CENSURE MOTION LOST

Jock Cowan, the 'Healyite' secretary of Paddington No. 1 Branch, came, as I expected, to the rostrum to attack the executive for calling off the strike. He criticised them for revealing the parlous financial state of the union, thereby weakening its bargaining position at a

crucial moment. 'The executive thought the union ought to end the strike because it had no money, but when we came out we had no money.' As far as his Branch was concerned, they would have continued the strike without money. 'I would have eaten grass,' he said. And I can just visualise Jock sitting in the middle of Paddington Green chewing the stuff! The censure motion was lost 11,410 to 173,830 on a card vote. A victory for the bureaucrats of the EC, the Communists—and, of course, the Post Office.

The *Morning Star* reported that delegates had 'crushed' a resolution aimed at censuring the executive's strike tactics. It obviously pleased the *Morning Star*, like the *Guardian* and the *Daily Telegraph*, to be able to report that Trotskyist and other 'malcontents' had been 'crushed'.

But delegates voted against Mr Jackson and their executive by demanding that their 9% rise should be back-dated only to March 8, and not January 1, to stop the scabs from benefiting from the strike. And that was about it. Obviously, there will be more struggles to come—the final, and most important, being not just for increased wages and better working conditions, but for the abolition of the wages system itself. That should always be on the agenda.

RANK-AND-FILE TRADE UNIONIST.



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

Character Analysis Wilhelm Reich (paperback)	1.40
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The Law of Love and the Law of Violence Leo Tolstoy	1.25
The Hornsey Affair (Penguin)	0.30
State School R. F. Mackenzie	0.25
Labour in Ireland James Connelly	1.05
Rebel in Paradise Drinnon	1.70
The Bust Book	0.25
The Russian Anarchists Paul Avrich	3.00
Kronstadt 1921 Paul Avrich	4.00
Revolutionist in London James W. Hulse	2.40
Enquiry concerning Political Justice (abridged & ed.) K. Codell Cortes (paperback)	1.60
History Workshops (Ruskin College) Pamphlets:	
No. 2 St. Giles's Fair 1830-1914	0.75
No. 3 The Class Struggle in 19th Century Oxfordshire	0.75
No. 4 The Journeyman Coopers of East London	0.75

The latest to make the absolute big time is Mr. Len Neal who is being widely tipped as the man who will succeed George Woodcock (ex-Secretary of the TUC) as Chairman of the Government's Commission on Industrial Relations. Neal used to be a Smithfield market porter. He rose high in the hierarchy of the T&GWU and then switched to management, after which he got the job of Chief Labour Relations Officer for British Rail.

He is well-versed in trade union affairs and is about to sell that knowledge to the Government for a salary of £15,000 a year.

A Job To Be Done

Although the trade union movement has created titles, and plenty of cash rewards for the Judases it has nurtured in its ranks, it has failed lamentably to do anything about the glaring inequalities which exist within the working class itself. The last report of the Prices and Incomes Board revealed that the differences between the highly-paid and the low-paid workers are as great today as they were 100 years ago.

As a matter of fact, two members of the same Union can have as much as £40 a week difference in wages. We are all brothers—but some are better-paid brothers than others!

That Royal Wage Claim

The Queen is, by all accounts, the richest woman in the world, deriving a vast private income from the loot of previous monarchs. In addition, she gets a huge state pension—about half a million quid a year—so that she can maintain in luxury herself and the whole tribe of Royal layabouts. She now wants this pension increased.

It reminds me of a conversation I heard just after the war between some French and British socialists in which the English were pompously attacking the French for not appreciating how the Labour Government was introducing socialism via the welfare state and nationalisation.

'Socialism!' cried one exasperated Frenchman. 'How can you talk about Socialism in England! You've still got a King!'

J.L.

Rank and File —undefended

ANY PLAYWRIGHT WHO tries to show the conflict between rank and file workers and their trade union leaders is to be praised. This is what Jim Allen did in his play, *The Rank and File*, shown on BBC television last Thursday.

Superbly acted and produced, the play was based on the real-life events of the seven-week strike of Pilkington glass workers in May and June of last year. So closely did it stick to the facts of the strike that it seemed at times to be almost a documentary.

Everything of any significance which happened in St. Helens was truthfully portrayed in the play—the frustration with the officials of Lord Cooper's GMWU, the setting up of a 'Rank and File Committee' to conduct the strike after the union had washed their hands of it, the return to work engineered by Victor Feather on the promise of no victimisation, and the victimisation of the leading strikers which followed just the same. All this was accurately shown—yet the most significant fact of the whole strike was completely omitted. No mention at all was made of the setting up by the rank and file of a new, breakaway union—the Glass and General Workers' Union.

A False Picture

This omission was not only artistically dishonest—it painted the hopes and aspirations of the rank and file in an entirely false light. Here was a large group of workers, to whom experience had taught the futility of trying to get any help from Lord Cooper's rotten union, taking the brave and logical step of forming their own union—yet Jim Allen doesn't mention this fact in a play which, as he said himself when interviewed in *Late Night Line-up*, was the true story of the Pilkington strike.

Instead of showing how the conflict between the rank and file and the union led inexorably to the creation of a new union, the author added a sort of post-script of his own which was right out of keeping with what the play had so truthfully portrayed. He ended by giving to one of the strike leaders a speech which said, in part, 'I go along with Trotsky—this rank and file activity will get us nowhere—what is needed is a new revolutionary party to lead the workers on to victory'.

Now that may well be the point of view of Jim Allen (I held similar views myself a good many years ago and worked hard to propagate them) but it certainly was not the point of view of the rank and file at Pilkingtons. Its

introduction into the play was false and spoiled it completely.

New Unions Inevitable

The Pilkington strike was the most important industrial struggle of 1970 precisely because it involved the formation of a new union. It posed a direct threat to the union bureaucrats. The problem of new unions is something every worker has to face sooner or later for the idea arises spontaneously among the rank and file in almost every serious strike. A discussion of this problem is long overdue.

Several times in the past, when a head-on collision has taken place between groups of workers and the trade union hierarchy, new unions have been formed. One thinks of the Passenger Workers' Union, the Stevedores, the Railway Signalmen and others.

In every case what the workers wanted was not so much a NEW union as a BETTER union—and 'better' has to mean a union which the members themselves controlled.

It didn't always work out like that, and some of the new unions became as bureaucratic as those they were meant to replace, but all these attempts were ultimately crushed by the trade union leaders who stopped at nothing to prevent the creation of a rallying point for dissatisfied workers.

In St. Helens the new union got off to a flying start with about 4,000 members. Sympathetic enquiries were received from all over South Lancashire—especially from members of Lord Cooper's terrible outfit but, as in the past, the effort was defeated by a combination of terror from the employers and pressure from the official unions. Yet such attempts to create organisations in which workers can live and breathe and decide their own affairs will be made again and again, until one day they will be successful.

Who is 'Immature'?

None of this real life drama was put into Jim Allen's play for the simple reason that the author didn't agree with the setting up of a new union! He actually stated on television that he thought it showed the 'immaturity' of Pilkington workers. Did it indeed! Then why were my Lords Pilkington and Cooper so anxious to crush the new union?

Confronted on television with Hugh Scanlon and George Woodcock, Jim Allen did a good job of exposing these unctuous bureaucrats for the no-good

characters that they are—especially the slimy Scanlon who actually criticised the play because, he said, it didn't attack the employers! You try to get at the employer and find you can't because your trade union leader is in the way. When you tell him to shove off out of it, he replies that you are attacking the union instead of the boss. I've seen it done hundreds of times—especially by 'left-wing' trade union leaders—it's part of their stock in trade. Didn't Scanlon know that the Pilkington strike was caused by the refusal of the employers to pay more than about £13 a week for hard, hot, and monotonous work?

But Jim Allen's accusation that Scanlon and his friends on the TUC had done nothing to help the victimised Pilkington workers couldn't be driven home for he, like them, doesn't approve of breakaway unions. 'The Bridlington Agreement', they cried, 'prevents us from supporting new unions.' From there on, all that Allen could do was to maintain that the TUC ought to have acted differently. He seemed to want a 'good' TUC staffed with 'good' men—Trotskyists presumably—which would take 'good' decisions. But a TUC nevertheless, still giving orders and issuing instructions.

It is the argument of all the political parties and groups. They are afraid to encourage a straightforward *mutiny in the ranks*, to rely on the independent activity of the workers themselves. What they want is a sort of controlled militancy ('mature' is the word they use) which will result in new men, their men, being elected to high positions in the trade unions and able then to swing these mass organisations behind their own particular brand of political party.

A Truly Heroic Struggle

If Jim Allen had been content to trust his insight as a dramatist—to stand aside and let the play tell its own story—it would have made a powerful impact on workers who saw it. What the play said was that these men were truly heroic. Assailed and betrayed on all sides, they stood together and, in the end, went down together. They were MEN—and that kind of spirit is not destroyed by one defeat.

Even so, despite its defects, the play has had considerable impact according to the BBC. One scene near the end of the play showed a worker who had been with Pilkingtons for 43 years being confronted by a smooth young personnel officer and told that he could be taken back—but as a 'new starter' with all his pension rights forfeited. 'You would go on strike, wouldn't you,' said this eager young executive. 'Yes, sir,' answered the old man, 'I had to come out with the lads.'

This little scene (the incident is perfectly true) said everything that needs to be said about capitalism and the desperate nature of the struggle waged against it by rank and file workers. It is worlds removed from the life of the well-paid trade union official who never knows what it is to soil his hands or go short of money. The play should have ended there.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

Meetings at Freedom

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. As this column will not be appearing for the next two weeks (I shall be in Ireland) those intending coming to the meetings should retain the list of meetings, scheduled hereunder, for reference:

- June 2: Philip Sansom—'Make Anarchism Relevant'.
- June 9: Mark Kramrisch—'Human Nature, Individualism and the Anarchist Revolution'.
- June 16: Miguel Garcia—'The CNT in the Spanish Resistance'.
- June 23: Bill Dwyer—'Island (Dublin)—an experiment in co-operative living'.
- June 30: Peter Nevillo—'How liberal is liberal studies in further education'.
- July 7: Martin Wright—'American Blues 1920-1945' (with music).

ARNARCHY 3

AT LAST the entire edition is out and ready for distribution. Some thousands of additional copies have been printed and energetic work is needed to get them around bookstalls and markets, etc. I shall be selling them all day Saturdays in Portobello Road and if you care to assist please phone me at work 248 4690 or 248 3771. Alternatively drop a note to Graham Moss—particularly if you are willing to do some work in your own area. One of the main reasons anarchism is not more widely understood in Britain is that most anarchists here are incredibly lazy and selfish. Please prove me wrong!

A Winning Union

The largest, most dynamic employers' association in the United Kingdom is the Confederation of British Industry. As a pressure group it has produced some stunning results. Recently they included in their bulletin to members (confidential but I nicked one) the following representations they had made to the Government and what action was taken. These results are shown hereunder in italics.

1. The Budget should aim at an increase in consumption expenditure of about £300 million accompanied by tax remissions of £800 million. *Consumption expenditure increased by £250 to £350 million, tax remissions £680 million.*
2. Abolition of short-term gains tax. These gains to be taxed at the long term rate rather than as income. *Granted in full.*
3. Estate duty to be reduced by 25% and the exemption limit raised from £10,000 to £20,000. *Exemption limit raised from £10,000 to £12,500.*

THIS WORLD

4. The maximum rate of income tax/surtax should be reduced to 75%. *Earned income relief increased from 11% to 15% of income without limit above £4,005 a year—effective reduction, 75.4%.*
5. Corporation tax should be reduced to 40%. *Exactly what was done.*
6. Selective employment tax should be reduced. *Reduced by 50% from July 5, 1971.*

Benevolent Dictatorship

8,000 employees of Marks and Spencer converged recently on the Empire Pool, Wembley, for a whooley paid for by the firm. Mr. Michael Sieff, deputy chairman of the company observed: 'All the staff who have come here will feel much more closely identified with the company. The more they feel a part of the family, the more likely they are to be inclined to work harder.' Translated: The firm which seems to be interested in its employees and proves it with certain benefits the better the profits for the firm. The company has set aside £3.5 millions each year for employees' welfare schemes and their policy shows, relative to the system of exploitation, a sound understanding of business success at least insofar as having a happy and docile staff goes. One employee, a Mrs. Doris Paule, had worked for the firm for 19 years and, after a suitable eulogy, concluded: 'I should certainly never think of working for anybody else.'

In Germany the firm of Krupp had famously great staff relations, being a miniature welfare state. This reputation was established long before Hitler came to power. Shortly after the latter event the leaders of the firm decided to give Hitler unqualified support. A documentary—shown on TV only a couple of years ago here and overseas—depicts scenes of cheering workers, whose unions were being ruthlessly suppressed at the time, cheering the Fuehrer as he was being conducted around the works by Baron Krupp himself.

Cornish fascism

Cornwall has probably the best climate in England and has the added advantage of relative remoteness, peace and beautiful scenery combined with easy access to the sea. Little wonder that people who value these characteristics

go and visit there. It seems that a large proportion of the visitors are hippies. Local residents and tradesmen feel that this element hurts the tourist trade—a valuable source of income in Cornwall—and have taken a number of measures to cope with the menace. Many businesses display notices reading: 'The management reserves the right to refuse service to beatniks (sic) and other undesirables.' St. Ives Borough Council has introduced a nightly patrol of beaches complete with Alsatian dogs.

The hippies' crime is that they look unconventional and engage in practices frowned on by the rest of the community (chief 'crime' is that instead of spending their money in the state-taxed drug hostels they prefer to roll a joint of marijuana or hashish while quietly enjoying one another's company or the beauties of nature). And they are not married to their girlfriends. Other holiday resorts have been plagued with skinhead and other types of violence but this does not apply in Cornwall.

Viewed in perspective we can observe a clash of values, quite apart from the fact that the hippy tourists have far less money to spend than other varieties. The people of Cornwall, in common with the great majority of people in England, are nurtured in a civilisation one of whose basic tenets is that man (and woman) is naturally evil and needs to be kept under strict restraint. The Christian doctrine of 'original sin' is one of the main sources of this belief. Hippies take a quite contrary view of human nature believing that with good will and a guilt-free upbringing mankind has great potential for kindness and love. In a vast city like London the contrasts are poorly defined. For the people of Cornwall it is too much. Particularly as the hippy appeal to youth in terms of having a good time, quite apart from the idealism that is at least subconsciously always there, is irresistible. More generally, we may observe that this fundamental view of life entails a revolutionary change more basic than all the theories of Marxists, Maoists and other so-called socialists multiplied a million-fold.

The Interior Decorators

A thought-provoking talk, under the above heading, was delivered by John O'Connor in Freedom Press at our last weekly meeting. The first point the speaker made was to contrast the 'grey politics' of Marxists, and some anarchists, with the Play Politics of the so-called Underground. In the competition for youthful adherents it is clear that the latter are lightyears ahead. This is largely because the Underground offers something which young people can more

readily associate with. As one interjector pointed out: 'There is more freedom at a pop festival than at a Marxist meeting.'

After this elementary analysis the important proposition advanced by the speaker was that the Underground, in effect, does not pose a threat to the Establishment which can absorb new trends while changing nothing. And, of course, much of the technology used by the Underground has been provided by the capitalist society now developed.

There is, undeniably, much of value in O'Connor's analysis. But, also, there is a streak of pessimism if not downright cynicism which, healthy when used as a safeguard, is crippling of positive action. Unfortunately, the best aspects of Underground philosophy and social experimentation have been poorly developed. The commune and co-operative movement, for example, has a long way to go. Anarchists, who may find much in common with the new movement, have also suffered from a wide discrepancy in thought and achievement. Do we give up? Largely a matter of personal disposition.

HEAD LIBERATION FRONT

An inaugural meeting of the above will be held shortly. At this stage those prepared to work in the movement and who accept one or more of the following aims and/or principles—

- 1—The development of communes and co-operatives.
 - 2—Enlightenment of public opinion on the subject of psychedelic drugs.
 - 3—Peaceful protest emphasizing the fun and innocence of smoking pot and hash.
 - 4—Aid of those of us in trouble with the Law, e.g. when busted. Including further support for those organizations (such as Release, Street Aid, etc.) already in the field.
 - 5—A direct assertion that we smoke, enjoy smoking and assert our right to choose our type of relaxation. We don't want to stop others from indulging in drugs such as alcohol and nicotine—but we don't want them to restrict our rights to choose drugs.
 - 6—The furtherance of research into the social use of LSD and allied psychedelics. Development of knowledge into LSD as a truth revealer relating to the individual personality.
 - 7—The building of a society established on principles of Peace and Love, particularly contrasted to the violence, inequality and authoritarianism of modern society.
- should send a stamped and addressed envelope to me c/o Freedom.

An invitation to the inaugural meeting notifying details will be posted within a week of receipt of your reply. This meeting will probably be held in a private home and is NOT a public meeting. It is for quiet discussion with the purpose of achieving results.

BILL DWYER.

An exhaustive study seems to show that workers can be classified into seven different levels of creativity (or self-regulation), ranging from the completely autistic ('bugger you Jack') to the completely altruistic, and that to get the best out of each, he must be slotted into his correct level in the industrial complex. A worker from a low level, slotted into a job with too much freedom, becomes cynical and slapsdash, while a worker who is slotted too low gets discouraged and bored. Development depends on judging exactly how much freedom each one needs and can take.

COLIN WILSON.

BOT to IMPORT POT?

JUST A SHORT NOTE to inform you that the Hellenic Group at its meeting on May 20 decided by nine votes to one, with one abstention, to apply to the Board of Trade for licence to import cannabis.

Consequently we have drafted the following letter to the Board of Trade:

Dear Sir,

We have met to constitute a religious group called The Hellenic Church of Great Britain. Our religious beliefs necessitate a ritual involving the use of cannabis (for strictly religious purposes, of course). We hereby apply for licence from your department to import 1 lb. (one pound) of cannabis sativa per calendar month to be used as a sacrament of our Church or to show a legal reason against such a course.

We then decided to call a special meeting of the Hellenic Group for June 17 at Peace News so that all of us may sign this letter and David Martin, of 12 Selwood House, Woodberry Down, London, N.4, was appointed the convenor.

PAUL PAWLOWSKI.

Years of Boredom

My old friend Sidney Parker drew my attention to the interesting letter from Arthur Uloth in FREEDOM on the subject of why anarchists often dislike my work—or just dislike me personally. I'd like to correct one of its statements: that my 'heroes' were Hitler and Jack the Ripper. I have written about both; but that hardly makes them my heroes. By the same argument, Stalin was one of Trotsky's heroes.

I 'joined' the London Anarchist Group in 1952, and left it in 1953 to speak on the platform of the North London SWF (as a result of the row over Herbert Read's knighthood, which caused violent dissent in the LAG). During my period in the LAG I spoke on their platform in Hyde Park on one single occasion, and was told by Philip Sansom that whatever I thought I was expounding, it wasn't anarchism or anything like it. I don't doubt he was right. I can't recall if Arthur Uloth was present on that odd occasion, but I am pretty sure he was present at the only other two occasions on which I addressed the anarchists—and these form the basis of his statement that I admire (or admired) Hitler and Jack the Ripper.

The Hitler lecture was given to a vast audience—I think there were six, or it may have been seven—at the Garibaldi Rooms in Theobalds Road. I read right through *Mein Kampf* and the Alan Bullock biography for the occasion, and simply gave a sketch of Hitler's rise and fall. As far as I can remember, my only deviation from the usual anarchist line was in pointing out that power didn't corrupt Hitler, because the corruption was already abundantly present as far back as 1910, in the form of his unbalanced anti-semitism.

No doubt it was the other lecture that gave Arthur Uloth his hazy impression about me. I have to admit that by this time, a few months after the Hyde Park fiasco, I had become very impatient with the simplistic political pre-occupations of the LAG. I had been attracted to anarchism because I had a romantic idea that anarchists were

revolutionary intellectuals who behaved like characters out of *La Boheme*, a sort of melting pot of ideas and philosophy. With a few rare exceptions I found that few of them had read anything except the standard political works (although I discovered one mad Stirnerite, Tony Gibson, with whom I felt an immediate affinity). I am not saying that this was the fault of the anarchists; it was my own romanticism. But it certainly seemed to me at the time that there was a 'party line' as rigid as Stalinism. So my lecture was designed specifically as an attempt to criticize the anarchists and make my own point of view clear to the LAG. It took place in a basement near Fitzroy Square.

What I wanted to say was that human nature is more complex and *strange* than the anarchists seemed to allow. I sketched a number of biographies—they included Caligula, Nero and Jack the Ripper—in an attempt to demonstrate this. At first the audience thought I only meant to demonstrate that power corrupts. I tried to show that human nature is capable of extremes of the saintly and demonic and make man far more than a political animal, and that the sheer violence of his demonic capabilities proves that they are the negative counterpart of mystical or transcendental drives that anarchism prefers to ignore. I suppose I was deliberately presenting my theme upside down. If I'd talked about saints and mystics and 'outsiders', I'd have been accused of being a crypto-Catholic, or something of the kind; so I tried to present my case in terms I felt would make an impact—the human capacity for chaos and destruction. Several of the women in the audience walked out, and Rita, Philip Sansom's girlfriend, told me afterwards that she thought I had used them to get some sinister compulsion—I suppose she meant sexual perversion—out of my system. It was hopeless.

In 1955, I put it all into *The Outsider*—which, in that sense, was an anti-anarchist work. I simply wanted to show that the most worthwhile human beings are often

Contact

Contact Column is for making contact. Use is free, but donations towards typewriting costs are welcome.

ORA No. 1: 'Towards a History and Critique of the anarchist movement in recent times' 5p + 2p postage. Obtainable from Keith Nathan Vanbrugh College, Heston, York.

Burrell House. Squatters need Plumbing and Electrical Materials. Contact Mike, Flat 16, Burrell House, The Highway, Stepney, E.14

Axis Bookshop, 6a Hunters Lane, off Yorkshire Street, Rochdale. Call if in town.

Manchester Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance have published a leaflet in Urdu calling for opposition against the Immigration Bill. 40p a 100 from MASA, c/o 33 Clyde Road, Manchester 20.

Anarchist Syndicalist Conference, June 12 & 13 in Manchester. Details from MASA, c/o 33 Clyde Road, Manchester 20.

Police Raided Paul's Place on April 30. Next Meeting Hellenic Group on Thursday, May 20, 8 p.m. Peace News Hall, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Will T. P. Mytchett contact Farnborough Group, 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey.

Baby bath—good condition, large, but no stand. Free to anyone who can collect from Freedom Press, Tuesdays.

N.E.L.P. (Barking). Anarchist Bookstall, Friday lunchtimes, 'C' floor.

AFBIB. If any group has not got the 'Bulletin' it is because we have not received a subscription or a request for it.

Proposed Group—Exeter Area. John and Jill Driver, 21 Dukes Orchard, Bradninch, Exeter, EX5 4RA.

Leeds Direct Action Pamphlets: 'The Japanese Anarchists', 1p; 'Who are the Brain Police', 1p (Breakdown of the Power Structure of yer Leeds University—stripping away of liberal bullshit, etc.). Coming soon: 'Listen Marxist', 5p. All these available from the Anarchist Bookshop, 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.

Preston Libertarians. Please contact Dr. Charles Shaw (for Mad research work), 12 Elmsley Street, Preston, PR1 7XD. Telephone: (0772) 52659.

Proposed Group—Dundee. Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Dundee.

Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group contact John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge.

Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications. 'The Revolutionary Catechism', Nechev, 5p + 2p post. 'Song to the Men of England', Shelley; 'Poster Poem' with Walter Crane's 'Workers' Maypole', 10p + 2p post. 'Poems', Jim Huggon, 5p + 2p post. Discount available on bulk orders. Jim Huggon, c/o Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Spanish lessons given in London. Rates on request. Write, in first instance, to Box 02/71, Freedom Press.

Meetings at Freedom: Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. For details see 'This World' column.

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

PRESS RELEASE

SOUTH EASTERN CONFERENCE
SATURDAY, JUNE 5
SUNDAY, JUNE 6

to be held in
BRIGHTON

TALK — SESSIONS — SOCIAL

Crash pads available. Please let us know AS SOON AS POSSIBLE how many people are coming and what you would like to talk about.

The idea is to get together as many Southeastern comrades as possible to make friends and contacts FOR FUTURE ACTION!

Please send your ideas and literature to
N. Heath,
Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road,
Brighton, Sussex