

Politics IS

The Art of the Possible

THIS WEEK will see the publication of Harold Wilson's memoirs. Last week saw the publication of Lord Butler's memoirs entitled *The Art of the Possible*. He is referring of course to 'politics'. It is untrue that Harold Wilson's memoirs will be called the 'Possibility of Artfulness', but it will be recalled that a saddened politician said one day, 'I've a shrewd suspicion I've been crawling up the wrong backside all these years.' Last week saw two exhibitions of arsehole crawling unparalleled in the history of speleology. Mr. Harold Wilson retreated from his stand on the Common Market and Mr. Richard Nixon (ex Red-baiter alongside McCarthy) decided to visit 'Red' China.

Politics are indeed the art of the possible. Mr. Wilson saw the possibility of dishing the Conservatives—and incidentally silencing his party rivals; and Mr. Nixon saw a way

of masking his lack of victory in Vietnam. There is no regard by either politician for principles of social justice or peace. It is just convenient and possible to put over the ideas and gain political advantage.

Harold Wilson was quite solid on the idea of the Common Market when he was in power. Has the Market changed, then, from being a capitalist-technologist super-power idea? Not a bit. All that has happened is that Harold is no longer in command—not even completely in command of the Labour Party.

Richard Nixon was a devoted member of the anti-China lobby both when in and out of office. Has Mao's China ceased to be a Communist police-state? Not a bit. All that has happened is that 'Tricky Dicky' has found a new trick—and the elections are looming up.

Lord Butler, too, has this astonishing

politician's capacity for survival. Unfortunately for him, or fortunately for us, he lacked the qualities—for finding the right backside at the right time?—to make a successful politician or even a failed statesman. However, he did participate in the culture's feast at Munich (he still defends appeasement as the only thing 'possible') and hovered around to bless Suez.

We cannot blame politicians for trying to survive and working out all the possibilities. We can only blame ourselves for falling for it. To seek for ideals in politics is like looking for a black cat (which isn't there) in a darkened room.

The only comfort we can extract from these manoeuvres is that they do know what we want and do look from time to time as if they were satisfying us. 'Hypocrisy is the tribute that vice pays to virtue,' said Aldous Huxley.

As long as we place power and confidence in the hands of these power-seekers, so long shall we be victims of their tortuous confidence tricks.

The Pentagon papers revealed that the Vietnam war was a carve-up. That it was bungled, too, is Nixon's cue to pull out—not to get involved

in messy deals with China, probably at the expense of Russia. That the Common Market is a political gamble of a decayed imperialism and a desperate capitalism is no reason for so-called 'Socialists' to swivel about on it. They should have been against it from the start.

JACK ROBINSON.

The Tolpuddle Martyrs

SIX MEN OF DORSET

EVERY YEAR, the National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers hold a demonstration, in the village of Tolpuddle, to honour the memory of 'the six men of Dorset' or the Tolpuddle Martyrs as they are generally called.

During the summer of 1833, agricultural labourers' wages in Tolpuddle had been reduced to seven shillings a week, and shortly after the farmers told their employees that they would have to lower them to six shillings. The workers were half-starved. 'The labouring men,' wrote George Loveless, their spokesman, in 1837, 'consulted together what had to be done, and they knew it was impossible to live honestly on such scanty means. I had seen at different times accounts of Trade Societies; I told them of this, and they willingly consented to form a Friendly Society among labourers, having sufficiently learnt that it would be vain to seek redress either of employers, magistrates or parsons. Shortly after, two delegates from a Trade Society paid us a visit, formed a Friendly Society among labourers, and gave us directions how to proceed.' This was about the end of October, 1833. The 'Trade Society' mentioned by Loveless, was Robert Owen's rather ambitious Grand National Consolidated Trades Union.

The Tolpuddle workers did not actually become part of the Grand National; they formed a Lodge of their own Society or union. John Lock, one of the labourers, recounts his initiation into the Society thus: 'We all went into Thomas Stan-

field's house into a room upstairs. . . I saw James Loveless and George Loveless go along the passage. One of the men asked if we were ready. We said, yes. One of them said, "Then bind your eyes", and we took out handkerchiefs and bound over our eyes. They then led us into another room on the same floor. Someone then read a paper, but I don't know what the meaning of it was. After that we were asked to kneel down, which we did. Then there was some more reading. . . It seemed to be out of some part of the Bible. Then we got up and took our bandages off our eyes. Someone read again, but I don't know what it was, and then we were told to kiss the book, which looked like a little Bible. . . They told us the rules, that we should pay 1s. then, and 1d. a week afterwards, to support the men when they were standing out from their work. They said we were all brothers; that when we were to stop for wages we should not tell our masters ourselves, but that our masters would have a note or letter sent to them.'

Nothing occurred from that time until February 21, 1834. But Lord Melbourne, the Home Secretary in the Whig Government, chose to make an example of the six labourers of Tolpuddle and their little 'Society'. Placards were posted up in the village by the local magistrates, stating that should any man join a union he would be punished by transportation for seven years. And on February 24, the constable of the parish approached George Loveless and said: 'I have a warrant for you, from the magistrates.'

Loveless and his five companions walked with the constable seven miles into Dorchester, where they were immediately arrested, and put into prison. All their clothes were removed, and their heads shorn. The attorney who was supposed to defend them, inquired if they would promise the magistrate that they would have no more to do with the union, that they would give him all the information they had about the union and state who else belonged to it. They said that they would rather undergo punishment than betray their companions.

The six were then sent to the 'high' jail. The chaplain visited them. George Loveless, commenting on his visit, remarked: '... after upbraiding and taunting us with being discontented and idle, and wishing to ruin our masters, he proceeded to tell us that we were better off than our masters, and that the government had made use of every possible means to make all comfortable.' They were hastily tried.

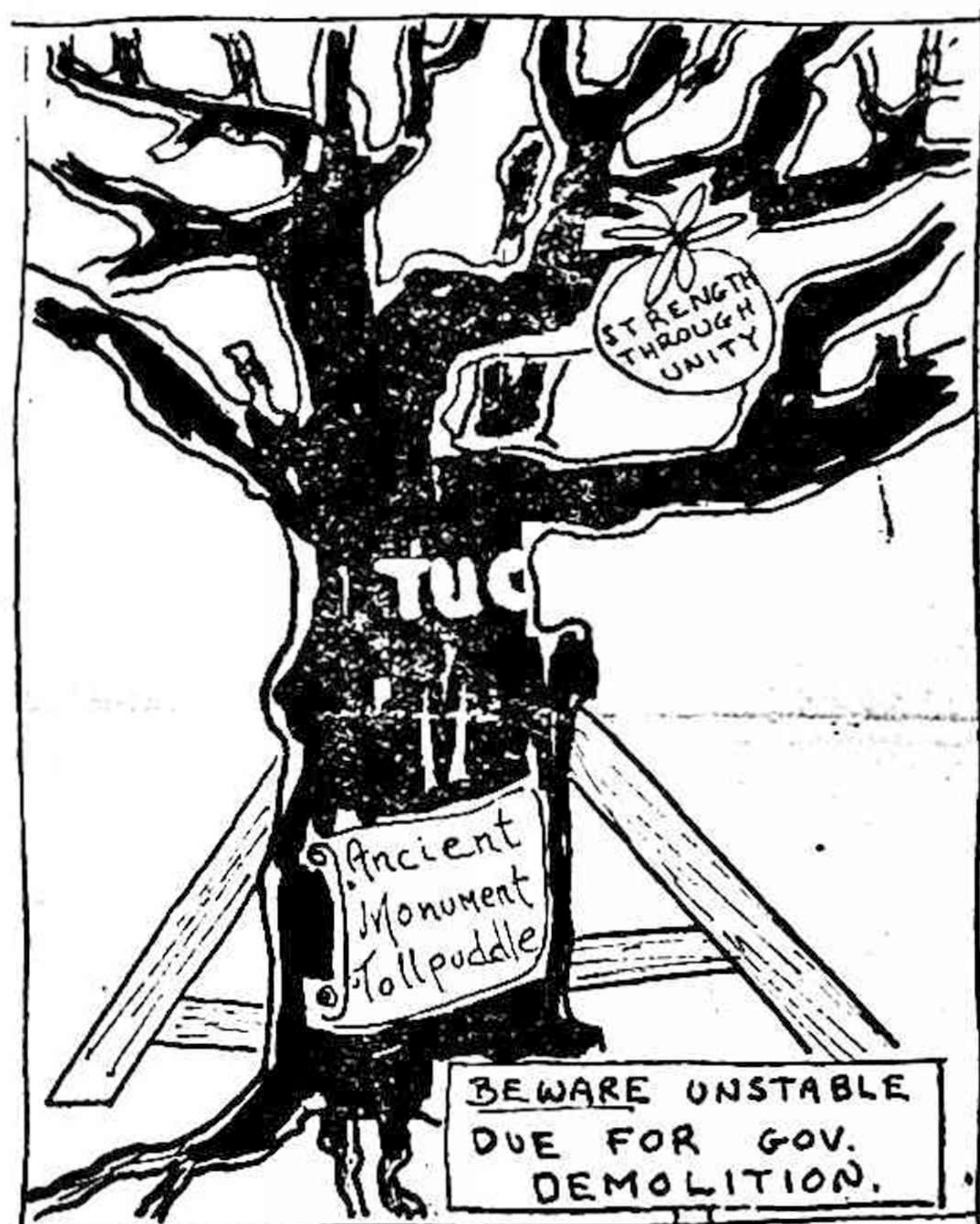
The cruel, ambitious, newly-appointed Judge, John Williams, ordered them on March 18, to be tried for mutiny and conspiracy under an Act passed in 1797 for the suppression of the Nore mutiny amongst mariners and seamen. But Loveless and his five companions had not gone on strike, or even planned or advocated a strike. In the words of George Loveless: 'The Grand Jury appeared to ransack heaven and earth to get a clue against us, but in vain. . . In the end, they were convicted of administering

berately refrained. Next year, after thinking the matter over I have decided not to grow 150 apple trees and for a change, I'll not grow 50 pear trees also. I calculate that by this I shall save a lot of work and in the interests of good agriculture and sound economics I should get about £26, shall I make a claim for 1968-1969, and 1969-1970, and 1970 to 1971, or is it not retrospective? Remember there are trees not growing today which would have been but for my sound husbandry and our economic wizardry.

By the way I am estimating the dimensions of the trees; I should look silly going round measuring them.

P.S. My neighbour has several trees which I believe grow uneconomic apples. Would I get a grant if I cut them down?

JACK SPRATT.



Menaced again! This cartoon was first published in 'Freedom' regarding Wilson's 'In Place of Strife'.

'unlawful oaths'.

Two days later, they were brought to the bar of the Court to receive sentence. The Judge told them that they were to be sentenced not for anything they had done, or intended to do, but as an example to others. He considered it his duty to sentence all of them to seven years' transportation to Botany Bay in Australia.

On April 21, the Grand Consolidated Trades Union organised a giant demonstration of between 50,000 and 100,000 workers in Copenhagen Fields, near Kings Cross in London. They then proceeded to Westminster to petition the King. Agitation on behalf of the Dorchester workers was not at first successful. Indeed, the Grand Consolidated began to break up owing to its inability to provide adequate support of sections of its membership who went on strike. Taking advantage of 'public' alarm about the spread of trade unionism, many employers attempted—with varying degrees of success—to eliminate it among their own employees. The London building trades employers, for example, were able to smash the Builders' Union. However, following the agitation for their release, and a change of Home Secretary—to Lord John Russell—who was more dependent on Radical support in the Commons, the Dorchester six were given free pardons in 1836. And after a while, they all made their way home from Australia.

This year, following Bert Hazel, president of the NUAAW, the main speaker will be that not very apposite martyr and champion of proletarian emancipa-

tion, the Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, MP. But in spite of Mr. Wilson's appearance at the demonstration, we should remember what those humble agricultural workers of Dorset hoped to achieve, and what the State did to them. We should also keep in mind what the previous (Labour) Government intended to do, what the present (Tory) Government is doing and what all governments, whatever their so-called labels or names, would like to do to active, militant, workers and trade unionists in modern Britain.

PETER NEWELL.

'IF I HAVE NO APPLES'

'In an effort to keep up the quality and price of home-grown apples and pears, the Government is to pay a grant to fruit growers if they get rid of old and uneconomic orchards.'

'The Government expects about 15,000 acres of orchards to be grubbed up, with grant payments of about £1,250,000. Growers will get up to 13p for trees of three to five inches in diameter. . . one condition is that the trees should not be replaced within five years.'

'British growers are anticipating large imports of cheap French apples and Italian pears if Britain joins the EEC. There

has been serious overproduction of apples and pears within the Six for several years.'—Guardian, 16.6.71.

To the Minister of Agriculture.
Dear Mr. Prior,

I see that you are giving money to people not growing apples. I didn't grow apples last year. I estimate I didn't grow about 100 trees, the year before that I didn't grow 75 trees and when I came to this area I didn't plant fifty trees although I always wanted to have an orchard but in the interests of good agriculture and sound economics I deli-

PAMPHLET SUPPLEMENT

Next week's paper will include a Pamphlet Supplement on the Paris Commune. We will be reprinting the speech made by Louise Michel at her trial together with a new translation by Nicolas Walter of Kropotkin's three essays which he wrote for 'Le Révolté' for the anniversaries of the Paris Commune in March 1880, March 1881 and March 1882. Nicolas Walter has also written an article on the Paris Commune and the Anarchist Movement.

Extra copies of the Pamphlet Supplement can be ordered to be sold on their own.

Editors.

ANARCHISM TODAY, edited by David E. Apter and James Joll (Macmillan, 75p).

THIS FIFTEEN-SHILLING paperback is unlikely to reach many working people, not only because of its price but because it probably won't be displayed in many places where they might see it. Since it makes no pretence of being aimed at a mass audience, this isn't a complaint, merely an illustration of the type of product it is. It's a Macmillan Student Edition, published under the heading 'Studies in Comparative Politics', in association with the quarterly journal *Government and Opposition*, where most of the essays in it first appeared.

The countries dealt with are Britain, America, France, Spain, Holland, Japan, Argentina, Uruguay and India; there are also general articles at the beginning and end by the two editors, and a bibliography by Nicolas Walter.

The theme is the influence of anarchist doctrines on the new left—a question which presents two problems of definition at the outset, 'anarchist' and 'new left', and which also draws an artificial distinction. 'Libertarian left', cutting across both, seems more realistic. Where the theme is dealt with there's much theorizing of the sort that one's called anti-intellectual for disliking, although surely passages like:

'True the anti-role is not rolelessness. It is a role, too, and one directly involved with other roles. Perhaps we need to distinguish between the "anti-role" which produces a fierce and continuous controversy over the terms of group action and sheer rolelessness. Moreover, there are "advantages" to "anti-roles" as distinct from "rolelessness". The anti-role sets itself against socially validated roles', etc.

are by anyone's standards an abuse of the state of consciousness. Where the theme is ignored, the book contains lively description, particularly of the modern cults, as well as useful historical information, pinpointing of causes and categorizing of different schools of thought. I think that David Stafford, in his article on the British scene, is right in mentioning the Twentieth Party Congress and the Hungarian revolution (among other things) as catalysts to the present-day libertarian trend. These dramatic failures of socialism must, more than anything else, have given people, to whom socialism had previously seemed the only sensible radicalism, confidence in their own suppressed libertarian impulses.

The picture that emerges from the book's wide but random spectrum (note no articles on Italy, Germany, Scandinavia or any communist countries) is the predominance of a modernist stream in the richer countries, as against more traditional types of anarchism elsewhere. The modernist stream isn't the only one in the richer countries, but the book stresses it. Its three main features are youth orientation, upper-classness, and indifference to economic problems; the three are connected.

David Apter echoes the popular sentimentalisation of youth when he writes:

'Each conflict in the context of youth is part theatre... in which public happenings are staged in order to demonstrate the falseness, the emptiness and the perfunctory quality of the symbols of society, law, school, family, and church, i.e. of the stable institutions of the middle-aged.'

I am middle-aged and, like most people of any age, don't consider those institutions to be my institutions. I had nothing to do with creating them and have no influence on their operation. Such humble members of the establishment as come into contact with me, such as bank-tellers and health visitors, consider me extremely disreputable; the

view that my birth certificate makes me a pillar of society is comforting, in the same way as it's comforting to fail a means test, but from the standpoint of my qualifications as a radical, it's a slander. There are a lot of middle-aged and old alcoholics, mental patients, pensioners, etc., who are also not pillars of society, and 'youth as a counter-culture' has little time for them either; the programme of the Kabouters (discussed, along with the Provos, by Rudolf de Jong) includes 'an alternative service for elderly people', which is commendable, but not the same thing as integration.

Also on the youth kick, Michael Lerner in his American article writes, 'Timothy Leary has accurately described the rock musicians as the true prophets of the counter-culture'.

He recognizes that 'The new anarchists are from the middle class rather than the aristocracy or the peasant or factory poor', while James Joll, much of whose reason has survived his academic career, writes similarly: 'In Europe, the revolution has so far been the work of students, and largely middle class ones at that'. In France, a workers' movement exists alongside that of the students. According to Richard Gombin,

'In most modern sectors of the economy... one sees in France a gradual change in the methods of social conflict. It is remarkable that though this change did not start in May 1968, neither did it cease after the end of the strikes in June 1968. It seems indeed that a movement, a trend, began in about 1966 and has spread for some years...'

Moreover, 'The initiative [in these strikes] is taken by the younger workers...'. My emphasis. This seems more significant than the romantic stories of students propagandizing and 'fraternizing' with workers.

In Japan, anarchism is almost completely a student affair. Some worker activism exists together with the student left, and has joined with it on the issue of peace; but Chushichi Tsuzuki's article shows that for the most part, the melodramatic, fashionable-idea-ridden, elitist students have been unable to come within a hundred miles of understanding the workers or taking an interest in economic problems.

David Stafford says that 'a significant change in the nature of anarchist support since the earlier years of the century when it was to be found amongst the mainly Jewish working-class population of London's East End', but the statistics on which he bases the statement are weak. Observation suggests, however, that whatever the actual number of workers in the anarchist movement, the upper-class outlook is prominent.

Like the youth outlook, it's an un-economic one, springing from the belief common to all reactionaries that the lower class has a soft life, perhaps even too soft; we live in an affluent society and only spiritual problems remain. Even the emotional stresses on workers, which are the result of material conditions, and are quite simple and biological in nature, are falsified by terms like alienation.

'A breakdown of issues dealt with in *Anarchy* since 1961 would show a deep concern with what have in 1970 become known as "quality of life" issues.' While in America, the hippies (who are mainly the people Lerner means by 'American counter-culture')

STUDENTS' ANARCHISM

... showed no ambition to battle for control of American capitalism and to make it serve the working class. They spoke in embarrassingly utopian terms of changing people's minds... Drug-induced or not their words were indistinguishable from those of anarchists as dissimilar as Tolstoy and Bakunin who thought that the revolution had to be in men's minds. [Bakunin didn't behave as if he thought this.] 'There will be a qualitative transformation, a new living, life-giving revelation...', Bakunin wrote, a vision that the songs of the counter-culture described precisely.

His article is full of this colour-supplement gush about the hippies. It's quaint the way he pussyfoots around the question of violence in some American cults:

'Most would judge the return to personal violence as a step backward from any standpoint. But in other ways personal violence—if boundaries of its sacred sphere and non-lethal ritualization of its enactment become better defined—may be a more satisfying and less dangerous persuasion than the nuclearism that has tried to replace it.'

Obviously he's afraid that if he came right out against it, he might later be shown to have overlooked something.

The Situationist approach takes anti-economics as far as they'll go:

'To be completely emancipated, the individual must... shake off the shackles which hinder him. One of these shackles is work. Of course, it is the alienated and alienating work of bureaucratic societies—but it is also every paid, structured and directed activity which is meant... the inscription which was written up on the

walls of Paris. "Never work" comes in a direct line from the surrealist slogans of the 1920s... The situationists proclaim... that only the orientation towards play is a guarantee against alienating work... An appeal to the primitive-irrational traces its roots a long way back into the past...'

When you ask such people how life's needs are to be procured, they say 'Oh, just relax and it'll all get done,' or words to that effect; showing that they subscribe to the superstition, held by all kinds of people in regard to all kinds of desiderata that, if you don't try to get it, your indifference will be rewarded with success. Unfortunately, it's not true. Later, Gombin says, 'In analysing situationist writing, one has the impression that one fine day the militants chanced upon the political dimension of contestation. On that day they decided that "the revolution must be reinvented" and adopted the programme of workers' councils...'. Their viewpoint is that of Wilde's sonnet to liberty:

'Not that I love thy children, whose dull eyes
See nothing save their own unlovely woe,
Whose minds know nothing, nothing care to know,
But that the roar of thy democracies,
Thy reigns of terror, thy great anarchies
Mirror my wildest passions like the sea

And give my rage a brother...'
Wilde ends on a sentimental note: '... And yet, and yet / These Christs that die upon the barricades, / God knows I lie am with them, in some things.' But nowadays the barricades themselves are manned by cynics. Where a superficially syndicalist approach exists, the real con-

cern of the students is with the language of revolution.

By contrast, the Latin countries and India contain radical groups which aim at improving everyone's material conditions. In India the active membership, as opposed to the concerns, of the Sarvodaya movement is upper class: 'Its leadership is largely in the hands of religious men...' but in the Latin countries there are proletarian lefts, with student participation merely an added element. It's true that only extreme poverty produces mass rebellion, but this isn't because workers in rich countries have no material problems: it's because their numbers are less, and the demonstrable improvement in conditions since earlier times makes them easier to convince that they ought to be satisfied. J. Romera Maura's article on Spain tries to explain why anarchy gained mass support there, and doesn't really succeed, but still it contains many sound observations and, like Eduardo Colombo's history of anarchism in Argentina and Uruguay, is informative.

There's no denying that the traditional stream, although virtuous, is uptight and naive, especially the Sarvodaya movement (whose similarities to and differences from classical anarchism are outlined by Geoffrey Ostergaard). A synthesis is needed between the callously bohemian and the dearly heroic.

One useful idea I found in the book is the 'philosophy of the daily struggle', which has been adopted, with different emphases, by many schools of thought in different places. At its worst, the idea of 'permanent protest', based on the belief that 'There can be no such thing as an anarchist society: or if there can it is such a remote goal that... it becomes a deception' can lead to inactivity and compromise; but at its best it can free people from the crippling habit of testing every contemplated action against a utopian ideal, and thus lead to things like the squatters' campaign, which changed people's lives by overriding, not just confronting, authority, and in which anarchists were 'possibly more active in relation to their resources than any other political group'. K.S.

Ain't Folks Daft?

I AM, MORE than most, of course: not only do I know about a civilised way of life, but it was within my grasp. So what did I do? Chose to work and exist in the city—and to grapple with all the modern problems of pace of living, increased leisure, energy—we all know them all. I had excuses naturally; I've developed some expensive tastes—machine-made cigarettes, records, books and motor-bikes; then, I haven't produced a litter of kids who could feed me when I can't produce the necessary supplies, and I'm averse to any more contact with the state—cash-wise or in other ways, than I can avoid.

At least I don't kid myself that this is the best—or only—way of life. My great-grandfathers had more idea how to live—isolated in the Cumbrian hills, keeping their own protein from birth, growing or making everything else they needed. And there are folks today who don't manage so badly. People who have, for instance, the sense to know that if you stick to one partner all your life—if it's the right one, and you have a decent sex life—you don't have to worry about the way you look, bother about the changes made by years—there'll be someone to desire you and to be friend and comrade when no one else wants you.

Most of the British population today live in large towns or cities; the number of lucky people who can accept life in the country or in small towns decreases every year. So, of course, does the space

available—country is absorbed into cities, motorways and airfields; small towns become large ones. So—people travel farther and farther to work; walking and cycling to work are replaced by buses, trains or cars. Instead of leaving home early, and making a leisurely progress to the job, workers leave home at the last minute, run to their transport, travel in the conditions we don't allow other living creatures, increase their whole tempo of living—rush back after work to find oblivion before canned entertainment, or to seek, in mechanical sardine tins, the illusion of seeing the country. Grass, trees, birds, flowers—people—through glass.

In economic history I was taught that the industrial revolution, and almost all modern 'progress' was made possible by developments in communication. Well, there are plenty of modern developments I like—the availability of books, the wider spread of better music than one can produce oneself, some of the developments in medicine and cleaner living where people are in communities. No doubt we need transport and communications for all these—but does the price have to be so high? I'm not Thoreau; I like to be within reach of the fellow-humans who're my kind; I do appreciate the better things industrialisation has produced. I enjoy manual work—if I'm not being paid to do it—but I want to use my brain as well. The world has too many people—and I'd hate to have been

my grandmother, dying before she was forty after bearing eleven kids.

Somewhere between the subsistence life of the cave-men and the hell of modern city life there's a good and rich life, with the best that nature and man's ingenuity has to offer. Some anarchists find it and take it; a world where no man is another's master, all work equally to obtain necessities and the worthwhile luxuries that make life really full and worth living. For the rest of us—who maybe lack courage, or who have been made cautious by years—the job of educating calls for every minute modern life saves.

PEGGY KING.

APOLOGIA

IT HAS BEEN pointed out by Albert Meltzer that our paragraph on *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (June 26) 'is totally inaccurate. It was never published in Germany, never edited by Rudolf Rocker and had no connection with the paper (*Workers' Friend*) published in London. Its origins were in the New York garment trades unions, in which many anarchists were active, but in its 80 years it has not been noticeably anarchist except for a vague "libertarian socialist" trade unionism'. We plead pure ignorance on the part of willing comrades who drafted the introduction in a hurry when they realized there was no explanatory note accompanying the article.

Albert Meltzer adds that: 'The book by Miguel Garcia Garcia on his prison experiences in Spain will be published by Rupert Hart-Davis in the Spring. The title will probably be *Count and See How Many*.'

'Floodgates of Anarchy' by Christie & Meltzer is being translated into Spanish by Prof. Prieto, and will be published in the Argentine by Editorial Proyección. It has now sold 1,500 copies in Britain. A French translation is planned.

'New pamphlets by Simian are *Unamuno's Last Lecture* (10p), together with essays on the conditions of political prisoners in Spain, and what can be done to help (profits to prisoners and ex-prisoners); and a reprint of *Modern Science and Anarchism* by Kropotkin (30p). *Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China* is nearly out of stock, and is reprinting (it has gone through two editions of 850 and 1,000). *Sur-realistism and Revolution* is also out, having gone through two different revised editions of 850 and 1,000, on top of the original American edition. *The Origins of the Revolutionary Movement in Spain* (same figures) is nearing the end of supplies.'

JIM SPRIGGS.

J.R.



Secretary:
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
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**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

AFBIB—To all Groups.

Next AFBIB Meeting and Production,
Sunday, August 1. Please send a delegate.
(Accommodation provided if necessary.)
Address all letters to:

95 West Green Road, London, N.15.
Material that cannot wait for the
bulletin to be sent to R. Atkins,
Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.
The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is
also available for urgent information.
Groups should send latest addresses
to Birmingham. New inquirers should
write direct to them or to the AFB
information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

(M, Ms, B)
Essex & E. Herts: P. Newell, 'Argos', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester, (QM, FL)
Surrey: O. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9L.
Manchester Anarchist and Syndicalist Group: S. Newton, 406 Lightbourne Road, Moston, Manchester 10.
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.
Wales: s/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
University and Student Groups: s/o P. L. Mare (Abbreviations: M—meeting; Ms—magazine; B—bulletin; Q—quarterly; FL—free leaflet)

IT IS A SOLEMN moment for any community when hippies decide to settle in its midst. A couple of years ago we had the London Street Commune descending on us at Freedom Press, so we speak from experience. The ferocity of the Spanish police in their attack on the hippies of Ibiza will come as no surprise to anarchists. What is surprising is that they were ever allowed into a Fascist, or more accurately a clerical-military country like Spain in the first place. No doubt the reason for this anomaly was that Spain depends so much on the tourist industry, and it is difficult to encourage tourists of a more respectable kind without admitting a certain number of hippies. These distinctions are often harder to draw in practice than in theory.

Accounts vary as to how unpopular the hippies really were, and whether it was the local people who resented them or the respectable tourists. According to some, the tourists were the principal complainers, and the Spanish police moved in to save the tourist industry. Amusingly enough, however (amusing, that is, to someone a long way away from the scene of hostilities), once the police got going, and started raiding bars and such-like places, they swept everyone into the net, short-haired respectables and hippies alike. It is quite a good idea in this modern world of increasing police brutality not to call in the police to protect you, but to learn to protect yourself, otherwise you may find yourself being beaten and arrested by your protectors!

Our experience of hippies seems to indicate that, though they are thievish and dirty, or some of them are anyway, they are not violent types. Whether because they take 'drugs', or simply because

The Battle of Ibiza

they often have little to eat, having no money, they are generally very passive people. If told to go, or even just asked politely, they will move on. They are certainly quite defenceless. But this seems if anything to stimulate brutality among the skinheads, both those in uniform and those without, who take a sadistic pleasure in knocking them about.

There was no practical purpose served by beating them with clubs and firing guns at them. This was purely to satisfy the frustrations of the police. There is no doubt that the sight of someone idle is always irritating to someone who works. To someone who is smart the sight of someone untidy is infuriating. Certainly it is true that a person who does not work must ultimately live off someone else who does, and this does upset the worker. There is envy in it, though no one who has seen a hippy 'commune' close to can really envy the hippy life-style, the discomfort and insecurity strike a chill to the heart, and one wonders how anyone can bear such an existence.

The hippies in the rejection of authority have something in common with anarchists, but they differ from us in other ways. Anarchists generally believe in a certain degree of non-compulsive responsibility. Anarchists, despite the accusations made against them, do believe in organisation, only they believe that organisation should be small-scale and decentralised and without a ruling clique. Most anarchists, or a good many of

them anyway, believe in the simple life, but the simple life is not the same as squalor, and the hippies usually tend to create squalor wherever they settle.

The hippies are rejecting the compulsive cleanliness and neatness of the bourgeois world, and in this they are a thousand times right. It is something sick and obsessional. But they have failed, or perhaps not even realised the need to create a viable alternative. To live from hand to mouth and then move on, leaving a mess behind, is no way to create an alternative society.

They are also parasitic on 'straight' society. They do not create anything. The gypsies, who live on the fringes of our cities, collect scrap-iron or make various small objects for sale or even tell fortunes. They provide a service to the community. The hippies provide nothing, except perhaps a spectacle. At the same time they condemn the society that they live off as wicked and immoral. It is, but they expect it to support them nonetheless.

The hippy movement has spread across the world, ranging from Nepal in the East to St. Ives, Cornwall, in the West, not to mention California where it all began. Everywhere the story is the same. At first they are accepted and then feeling hardens against them. Turkey and Nepal originally accepted them willingly enough. In these countries the mass of the population are as poor as hippies, and 'drugs'

*In fairness it should be said they cleaned up after them when they left Angel Alley. But this was not the case everywhere.

are acceptable, or were. But they have since been expelled. No doubt American influence, the CIA and all that, has had something to do with it, but their own behaviour has also contributed. They made a nuisance of themselves even in Nepal.

The Ibiza hippies are now moving off towards Amsterdam, where the Dutch seem to be remarkably tolerant. My own experience of Holland is that the people there, though traditionally tolerant in matters of religious belief, since their struggle against Spain in the sixteenth century, are pretty stiff and starchy, and in fact very bourgeois in every way. That Amsterdam should have become a hippy paradise is something I find absolutely incomprehensible. I hope that it remains that way, but judging by what has happened elsewhere I fear it will not.

Tragic indeed is what happened in Sweden. Not being part of the NATO alliance, the Swedes were ready enough to accept American servicemen fleeing the Vietnam war. Sweden is usually thought of as a permissive country, and sexually perhaps it is. However the Swedes fear 'drugs', and the young men who escaped to Sweden brought these with them. Soon the tolerance began to diminish. Surely this could have been foreseen, and a little responsibility exercised in this case, since it was a matter of life or death to the men involved. They had to find a country where they could live, or be sent to die in the jungle. It was worth giving up a drug, one would have thought, to secure a safe place for oneself and those who would come after one. But no. Now it is more difficult for a deserter to find refuge in Sweden, whereas before it was almost automatic.

The whole thing is depressing. Is the only alternative to bourgeois obsessionalism and police thuggery a sort of chaos?

A.W.U.

NOTES FROM THE WEST OF ENGLAND

THE HISTORY of the worker in the South-West has been one of great exploitation suffered in silence except for the rare occasion—the Tolpuddle martyrs.

During the general strike strikers from Plymouth played football with the police. In Plymouth, the main centre of employment has been and still is the Naval Dockyard—the workers here are mainly ex-RN personnel—conservative, 'services unthink', filled with fears of red agents and men in black cloaks.

The ex-servicemen also have a large pension which would, when coupled with high wages, lead to tax problems, so the urge to fight for higher wages is not very great—even so the dockyard rate for unskilled labour is £23 pw, about £6 higher than the semi-skilled rate and £3 higher than the skilled rate at Fine Tubes before the strike.

Wages in the South-West are lower than anywhere else in Britain—unskilled labourers take home £10-£11 per week, skilled labourers up to £20 pw, skilled women about £13.

Most workers are forced to work many hours of overtime to obtain a standard of living above the poverty line.

The low cost of living the West is supposed to enjoy is a myth, nothing else. Rents are lower than most places—but try to find a house/flat. Food is about the same price as in London—London supermarket prices are lower—produce grown in the West is transported to Covent Garden and then back again—clothes are the same price and in some cases higher—the same thing goes for everything else.

Last September the Plymouth Post* printed a front page story which shook many people—Plastic Carton Corporation, a US-owned firm, planned to build an 800-job factory at Liskeard, Cornwall. They were officially advised, 'Pay lower wages than you planned to—you'll still be paying above the average.'

The giver of this advice was the Department of Employment and Productivity. When questioned by a Post reporter, a representative of the D of E & P said that this was regular policy—any firm from outside the region could consult them.

The advice given is based on regional rates not trade rates and is in effect a way of averaging down wages in the West. Our man from the D of E & P went on to explain that the reason for all this was to keep all factories in line so that workers would not be tempted to leave their places of employment to seek higher wages elsewhere.

Incensed Trade Unionists demanded a top level probe. Mr. Robert Carr demanded a full report from his department—as yet nothing else has been heard of

*Plymouth Post, Nos. 10 and 11 (September and October, 1970).

this matter.

There are 14 American firms in the Plymouth district at the moment with the prospect of 10 or 11 more moving in—hence the name 'little America'.

For a long time Plymouth's Conservative Council has been boasting about the number of new factories being built in the area—jobs for all—most of these factories employ mainly women.

And then we found out why the Council had not spoken of their industry-attracting methods. A big advertising campaign was set up in the States. Plymouth's three main selling points were:—

- (i) the low level of wages;
- (ii) the lack of organisation amongst the workers (it was easy to set up non-union shops) — but Trade Union membership has gone up by 200,000 in the last year;
- (iii) the high level of unemployment —competition for jobs—case of replacing workers on strike.

And yet after all this the attitudes of the workers in the South-West seemed to remain apathetic (I don't consider the workers of the SW or Britain in general to be apathetic—rather more a feeling of contentment, after all they never had it so good, many have cars and all the electrical goodies, things were getting better—the media drummed it in—a situation fast changing).

Also one has the strong conservative nature of the Dockyard overhanging the area—all this coupled with the helplessness of the Trade Union movement.

But in 1970 things began to change—long and bitter strikes were fought at Centrax, Exeter, Holmans of Cambourne, Ottery switch-gear. Workers began to wake up—a wave of militant feeling began to sweep through the area—but it is all being smothered by the Trade Unions down here—it is up to us to inject new ideas into the factories—show an alternative to life in the area at the moment and the failings of the official TU movement.

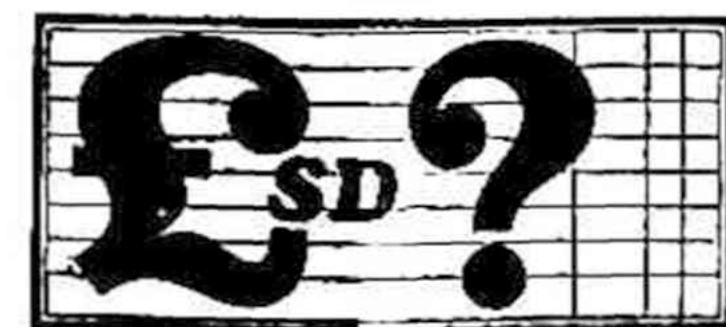
THE TOLPUDDLE GROUP

This group, named after the Tolpuddle martyrs, was formed towards the end of the Centrax strike. A group of workers from this factory arranged to meet workers from other factories to offer what help they could to the increasingly militant but inexperienced West Country workers, this was coupled with the second aim—to fight for a fair deal for West Country workers.

The group will not affiliate with any one political party but will welcome the help of anyone who is going to work for the betterment of workers' wages and conditions in the West.

They call for a strong rank and file movement in the factories that will not toe the line of the trade union leadership, or the slow, ponderous procedure of the union bureaucracy.

G.R.



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ANARCHISM TODAY

Dear Comrades,

David Pickett (July 10) unfortunately criticised my review of the book *About Anarchism* (June 12) without reading the longer review—to which I referred—of the special issue of the magazine *Government and Opposition* on which the book is based (October 31, 1970). In the original review I did indeed expose some of the inadequacies of the symposium—the basic misconception behind the editorial approach, the omission of Sweden (and also of Germany, Italy, and Switzerland), the omission of Spain since 1936 (not 1939), and the poor quality of some of the contributions (especially Apter, Lerner, Stafford, and Joll). Anyway, is it so certain that the Swedish Syndicalist Union has much to do with

anarchism, or that 'Joll, Woodcock, Apter et al' have anything at all to do with 'shrewd high Toryism'?

J.V.

Sit-in-Striker Fined £20

BRIAN BAMFORD, a millworker, who was arrested during a sit-in strike at Arrow Mill, Rochdale, was fined £20 plus £18 costs after an eight-hour hearing at Rochdale Borough Magistrates' Court on July 15. A fuller report will follow in two weeks' time.

An Arrow in his Eye

AS YOU MIGHT EXPECT, libertarians won't find much to their taste in Harold Wilson's new book, *The Labour Government 1964-1970: A Personal Record* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, and Michael Joseph, £4.80), except confirmation of everything they have always thought about parliamentary socialism. But those who remember the Brighton Church Demonstration five years ago will enjoy one characteristically paranoid paragraph in the description of the Labour Party Annual Conference in October 1966 (p. 288):

On the Sunday morning, as usual, I was due to read the lesson at the pre-conference service, on this occasion at the Dorset Road Methodist Church. Just before I left the hotel, I was tipped off by a friendly television employee that there would be trouble in church from anti-Vietnam demonstrators. Not for the first time television was involved in situations where demonstrators—in this case gael sentences

were in the event imposed—had sought its aid for publicity purposes. (We had not yet reached the position where telegraphic situations were planned in advance between a television authority and the demonstrators, or where television crews were to be seen invoking trouble in the course of some public ceremony. I was to learn more of these practices later.) As I reached the pulpit to read the second lesson, pandemonium broke loose. The minister vainly appealed for quiet. I decided to carry on with the lesson, though, despite the public address system, little could be heard by the congregation, whose attention was, in any case, distracted by the arrest by uniformed police of the men and women demonstrators. It was one of the most unpleasant experiences of my premiership.

Well, for one of the demonstrators on whom gael sentences were imposed, that last remark makes it all worth while!

N.W.



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Building Slums for the Eighties

BRITAIN, AT ALL TIMES, seems to have been suffering from a housing problem.

In the 1930's, George Orwell wrote in his *Road to Wigan Pier*, 'Back to back houses are two houses built in one, each side of the house being somebody's front door, so that if you walk down a row of what is apparently twelve houses you are in reality seeing not twelve houses but twenty-four. The front houses give onto the street and the back ones on the yard and there is only one way out of each house. The effect of this is obvious. The lavatories are in the yard at the back, so that if you live on the side facing the street, to get to the lavatory or the dust-bin you have to go out the front door and walk round the end of the block—a distance that may be as much as two hundred yards; if you live at the back, on the other hand, your outlook is on a row of lavatories.'

Although most of these old back-to-back houses have been pulled down, conditions similar to those described by George Orwell are still the lot of many families today. When governments have made promises they have usually failed to fulfil them and one of the most dismal of these was the promise by Labour's post-war Government to the returning armed forces of increased housing. During their period of government the number of houses built only rose from 55,500 in 1946 to 194,700 in 1951.

Obviously this came nowhere near what was needed to solve the housing problems of that period. George Woodcock wrote in 1944 that 'it appears that at the present day we need at least 4,000,000 new houses to relieve overcrowding, and to replace slum and obsolete housing and dwellings destroyed in the air-raids'.

MORE BUILT BEFORE THE WAR

During successive Tory administrations more houses were built. In 1954 the figure had reached 347,600, but even this compared unfavourably with pre-war figures, when over the years from 1934 to 1939 the average number of houses built was 358,000 a year.

When Labour returned to power in 1964, Harold Wilson promised to build

*Homes orhovels, Freedom Press.

500,000 houses a year by 1970. Their White Paper showed the magnitude of the task and how successive governments and administrations had failed to direct the necessary capital and resources towards fulfilling one of mankind's basic requirements. The White Paper states that 3m. families were living in slums, near slums or grossly overcrowded conditions. Four million new homes were needed, with another 180,000 a year to really solve the shortage. Out of the fifteen countries of Western Europe, Britain was spending the least of its Gross National Product on housing. To give Labour their due, the number of houses built each year increased until 1967 when the figure of 400,000 was achieved.

By then the economic climate was changing and following devaluation, Anthony Greenwood, the Minister of Housing, announced that the Government had decided 'to make reductions in the public authority house-building programme below the level previously planned'. The one thing that the two Wilson Governments can claim as a success is that they achieved a surplus balance of payments. Every other consideration, including housing, was subordinated to that end. To back up this turn-around in policy, ministries created figures to justify it and said that if Labour's 500,000 homes a year continued, there would be a surplus of housing. Obviously for all who profit from housing, such as building firms, landlords, finance companies and building societies, this situation would be abhorrent. Their profit margins and high interest rates on loans were based on the exploitation of the misery created by a shortage of homes. A surplus was a threat and would mean that at last people could pick and choose. This would then force down the artificially high cost of houses. Such a situation would never do in what is basically a landlord's country.

The housing problem today is getting worse. In London alone, 200,000 families are on waiting lists, apart from the many others who have not put themselves down because they know they haven't a chance. There are also 8,000 families registered as homeless. Local authorities are building less. Many of the Direct Labour schemes have been abandoned by Tory

administrations and the building that has taken place has gone to private industry. Hammersmith and Wandsworth were prime examples for doctrinaire reasons overruling both common sense and financial considerations for keeping and expanding the perfectly good Direct Labour schemes.

'FAIR RENTS'

Because of the deliberately created shortage of homes, rents rise just like the price of any other commodity that is in short supply. The Greater London Council claim that their rents should be related to 'fair rents' in the private sector, but when fixing the latter, rent tribunals in London have taken the scarcity value into consideration. The GLC are now increasing their rents to the level of the private sector, when, in fact, unlike this sector, their Housing Revenue Account is not required to make a profit.

The Tory propaganda that council tenants are a privileged class does not hold water on examination. The Family Expenditure Survey for 1967 showed that incomes were greater for the head of the household living in private rented accommodation than those of the council tenants. Contrary to the general view, council tenants do pay rates assessed by the Inland Revenue Rating Authority.

while it is also not generally recognised that some local authorities charge slum clearance costs and debt charges on buildings during erection to the Housing Revenue Account. Slum clearance costs should be met from the General Rates paid by all ratepayers.

Increased rents go towards meeting the higher interest charges on loans. Unlike those buying their own homes, council tenants get no tax relief for what is virtually the same interest burden, except that they are buying for the general community rather than for themselves.

The selling of council houses to tenants is another step away from the communal and social responsibility for housing. Under capitalism, homes are just another commodity on the market and with the ever-increasing demand for land, prices and costs are rising all the time. Homes are built primarily for profit in the private sector, while many of those being erected in the public sector today are to a poor standard of finish, with cheap materials and will become the slums of the eighties.

Instead of providing for social needs, with communal amenities, barrack-like dwellings are being erected which fall a long way short of the real requirements for a decent home and environment.

P.T.

COLLECTIVE GUILT

AN IMPORTANT CASE took place in Uxbridge Magistrates' Court last month when seventeen youngsters were charged with threatening behaviour. The circumstances were that they were unable to get into a school dance and were alleged to be making a noise and blocking the road. The police were unable to identify any of the youngsters individually. The prosecution maintained that it was not necessary to point to any one individual, the fact that they were in a crowd which was behaving criminally was sufficient. The defence submitted that there was no such thing in English law as guilt by association with a group and argued that there was no case to answer against any of the accused. The magistrate rejected the submissions but later acquitted everyone after all the evidence had been heard.

The prosecution opened the case by

stating that 'the prosecution is not required to prove an overt act but if a group of people undertakes a course of action and any individual by his action identifies himself with that action it is not necessary to point a finger at any one individual—the mere association is enough... if the behaviour of the group is criminal it is sufficient to render the individual liable.'

It is most disturbing that the prosecution felt able to advance this claim of collective guilt and it is equally serious that the magistrate did not reject the claim at the outset. It is quite likely that there will be further cases of this nature and the NCC will keep a careful watch to see that this dangerous doctrine is not pursued.

—The Bulletin of the National Council for Civil Liberties, July, 1971.

This Week in Ireland

FIRST THE TWO innocent unarmed civilians shot. The evidence that they were unarmed, whatever the Army say, is far too strong and convincing to be disbelieved. It was actually picked up on wirelenses that just before Seamus Cusack was shot the British Army radio said, 'Let's push them into the Bogside and have a death.' My informant is Frank McManus, MP, and I know him well enough to know he is incapable of inventing a thing like that. I have picked up our own garda walkie-talkie messages, once on the electric cooker! Seamus had stooped down to pick up a soldier's helmet which had fallen off. Another impeccable witness is the Rev. Tony Gillespie, a visiting priest, who saw it all from less than twenty yards and says the man was running away to get the helmet and was shot in the back. The greatest tragedy is that his life would have been saved if a tourniquet had been applied.

The stubborn refusal of the Army to permit an investigation by an impartial group into the shootings shows clear guilt, for if they were innocent what would they have to fear? The hatred and anger in all Ireland can be smelt. Perhaps the withdrawal of all opposition members from Stormont except the two Paisleyites and Mr. Simpson may act as a shock to Stormont, or to Westminster, but one feels hopeless.

I hold no brief for the retaliatory shooting of two young soldiers. Violence begets violence and it will go on.

The utter madness of bringing back the Royal Scots last night... They are reared in the same bigoted ghetto conditions as the extreme Protestants and are loathed. They celebrated their return by using CS gas, not at rioters, but thrown into the homes via the windows of three old people who are now in hospital, of whom one at least nearly died. Old people cannot take this poison. In the Bogside last winter the doctor said he had three times the normal amount of deaths of the old and he put it down to this illegal weapon... A reporter friend of mine saw a little boy of only eight beaten up by the batons

of soldiers. They are out to kill.

The Provos have acknowledged responsibility for killing the soldiers in retaliation, a tactic which never gets anyone anywhere.

Meanwhile in the twenty-six counties we have fires and explosions every night, starting with Silver-mines in Tipperary, then in Wicklow the burning of a holiday resort a German was building, and then the burning of the British Legion building which endangered the lives of the people in the two attached houses. At the moment everyone in Ireland hates and mistrusts almost everyone else, and we are all afraid. I get poison pen letters and this last week poison phone calls and as my number is ex-directory I'd give a lot to know whom the crackpots are.

How the United Kingdom papers and wireless and I suppose TV misrepresent all that happens over here to the tune of 'Wonderful England saving the brutal Irish from murdering each other! When will UK LEARN?

This afternoon we picket that Quisling from South Vietnam when our Foreign Affairs Minister takes him to a press conference, and this evening there is a big meeting to put the cons against the EEC, Ian Mikardo being the guest speaker... We are not a happy country at the moment.

The Provos and the Regular IRA have actually announced publicly that in effect what they are going to do is have a competition to see who can be the most violent. They seem absolutely intent on forcing the Governments to bring in intermittent to save face. It is all so absolutely idiotic and without subtlety, and will turn all the rest of the world against us both sides of the border. Personally I think Westminster will soon do a Pontius Pilate and in spite of the resulting civil war it might in the long run be the best way. We need the hard-headed Northerners and they need us, and together, sans even foreign investments, we might build the nation Pearce and Connolly dreamed of instead of being the UK's lick-spittles as we are at present.

H.

ULSTER

Dear Comrades,

There is some truth in the view that H's coverage of events in N. Ireland tends to be one-sided and over-simplified. But the criticisms voiced by M. Morris (26.6.71) go to the opposite extreme.

His plea for understanding of the British soldier in Belfast is ill-founded and emotively argued. Even if we accept the highly dubious description of the desire for revenge as a 'natural human reaction', we must oppose the military machine which fosters such feelings in their crudest form and unleashes them indiscriminately against whole groups of defenceless people.

By an extension of Morris's reasoning, IRA terrorism could be condoned as showing 'natural' resentment against the troops who have invaded and occupied their home areas, harassed their families and neighbours, killed several of their comrades and some innocent bystanders. The words 'thug' and 'murder' can be applied to the 'lads' of the

DIFFERENTIALS

Comrades,

I feel, in reply to G. Boardman's letter (FREEDOM, 12.6.71) about my article on pay claims in the electricity supply industry, that I should explain why I said that when a charge engineer gets less than his foreman it is a 'ridiculous differential'.

The charge engineer is, in general, more qualified and probably more experienced than the foreman. The foreman takes responsibility for part of the plant, whilst the charge engineer takes responsibility for all of it and for the safety of the men, the latter responsibility being a legal one. Thus by current standards he would be judged as deserving more pay, which is what I tried to indicate.

However, personally, I would agree with Mr. Boardman that all differentials are ridiculous, as ridiculous as the wage system itself. However if one engages in pay claims one accepts differentials.

Letters

British army and their actions as well as to the IRA.

There are definite criticisms which libertarians can and should make with regard to both branches of the IRA. But the only one Morris explicitly asserts is their unsporting refusal to wear uniform (which, being illegal, would amount to a request to be arrested or shot on sight anyway)! Perhaps revolutionary groups in Britain have been too ready to echo the slogans of the IRA uncritically, but the remedy is not to echo the assumptions and rhetoric of the politicians and bourgeois press. We don't have to support one side because we oppose the other.

At the same time, if we invoke a plague on both their houses we should be able to back up this line with a considered analysis of the NI situation in its various aspects. This is something which has still to emerge from the libertarian left in Britain.

L.W.

for it is a change of differentials for which one is asking!

Unionism is only just emerging amongst power engineers. (The EPEA has been in existence a long time, but has a long history as a 'scab' employees association.) Some regard it as elevating their status by raising their wages, others consider themselves to be exploited white collar workers, the latter naturally being the minority. Obviously the two factions merge in action as their aims are the same, if not their motivations.

It is because the emerging awareness of these engineers interests me that I write these reports (remember the actions and effects of power engineers in France, May '68), not because I support claims for more pay as such. Personally I regard all pay claims as divisive. No pay claim has to my knowledge raised the level of the workers relative to the capitalists.

A.B.

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The Individualist Forum. For further information, contact: J. Galt, 19 Newport Court, London, W.C.2.

Electro-Stencils cut. 45p each (inc. post). Libertaria, 95 West Green Road, London, N.15.

Comrades in Japan would like to contact anarchists who are interested in Commune Movements. Write to Hiroshi Ozeki, Japan Commune Assn., Asahi Bldg. 5-7, 2-Chome, Akasaka, Minato-Ku, Tokyo, Japan.

The Match!—a monthly Anarchist journal. Send to Box 3488, Tucson, Arizona, USA. Year's sub. \$3.00.

Minority Rights Group's recent reports—on Northern Ireland; East African Asians; Religions in Russia; Japanese Outcasts; and (just out) a double report on the Southern Sudan and Eritrea—price 30p each from MRG, 36 Craven Street, London, W.C.2.

North East London Poly (Barking) Anarchist Group, c/o Students Union, Longbridge Road, Dagenham.

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

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.

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

Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications. The Revolutionary Catechism, Necheyev, 5p + 23p post. 'Song to the Men of England', Shelley, 'Poster Poem' with Walter Crane's 'Workers' Maypole', 10p + 23p post.

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