

## DOCKERS' VICTORY, BUT . . .

THE GOVERNMENT'S Industrial Relations Act and the National Industrial Relations Court both suffered a severe hammering last week. It began with the Government's attempt to use the Act to defeat the railwaymen. Their use of the cooling-off period and ballot only prolonged and strengthened the railwaymen's case and their resolve to win. In the end the Railways Board were told to pay up.

Then came Lord Denning's decision in the Appeal Court that, contrary to the NIRC's ruling, the Transport and General Workers'

Union were not responsible for the actions of its shop stewards in blacking containers at Liverpool and Hull. The union was not in contempt and the Appeal Court ordered that the £55,000 fine be set aside.

The third reverse, or possibly a Government inspired retreat, was the intervention of the Official Solicitor whose action prevented the arrest of the three shop stewards. On the Official Solicitor's evidence at a quickly convened Appeals Court, Lord Denning once again found against Sir John Donaldson's NIRC. The reaction of the three shop

stewards to this surprise move was: 'It's a bloody liberty.'

London dockers have been picketing the container depot at Chobham Farm. Their action, in support of their claim that registered dockers should load and unload these containers, has virtually closed the depot. It was this and the proposed laying-off the T&GWU members at the terminal that brought about the action by two workers at Chobham Farm who applied to the NIRC for an order, naming the three stewards, to end the picketing. It was the three stewards' (Bernie Steer, Vic

Turner, and Alan Williams) defiance of the Court's order to end the picketing that nearly ended in their arrest and imprisonment.

Firstly we must salute these three shop stewards for their stand against the law. There is no doubt that they were prepared to go to gaol for a principle and that they were not going to recognise the NIRC. They seemed at first surprised and disappointed that they had not been arrested. It must also be said that the support and the solidarity by dockers throughout the country was tremendous. Such defiance on the part of individuals and the collective solidarity of rank and file trade unionists vividly contrasted with the retreat of the TUC and the trade union leaders when they faced a head-on clash with the Government and the law.

The dockers really showed what solidarity is all about. Their direct action showed that the Government and the forces of the state are helpless when faced with such opposition. Truly the industrial might of the working class is invincible.

### THE SAME FEAR

In the dockers' case it is being used against the law and to preserve jobs. However the jobs at the container depots which the dockers are claiming represent only a very small percentage of the total container traffic. Friday's climb-down has been described in the *Morning Star* as a 'tremendous victory for militant working-class struggle and solidarity' but the Communist Party fails to mention that it was the same fear of being sacked that made the container depot workers take the dockers to the NIRC.

This clash of interests should never have arisen between terminal workers and dockers. They are both organised in the same union and yet the leadership has not managed to sort out this conflict and force an agreement with the employers to suit both sections of the union.

Containers might be creating work but it is only marginal compared with the loss of jobs at the ports. The only answer is for dockers and terminal workers to decide that they are workers first and as such they shouldn't fight one another. Having reached that conclusion the dockers' traditional militancy could be used to win more leisure and job opportunities. Clamouring among ourselves for the 'right-to-work' is not the answer to the problems facing the working class.

Every day hundreds of dockers are put on fall-back pay and yet no one is demanding the reduction in hours. Let all recognise that we are

### Stoke Newington Squat

THE EVICTION has not yet taken place. As anticipated, the Hackney Council have not instructed a bailiff at the time of going to press. The Chairman of the Hackney Housing Management Committee stated that it was still their intention to evict. Help is still needed to anticipate the eviction. Please get in touch with Helen Vennard, 32 Grayling Road, N.16.

workers and have a common interest in uniting together to take over the industries we work in.

It is not by chance that a major employer hasn't used the Industrial Relations Act. The Confederation of British Industry would rather sort out 'industrial relations' with the TUC than in a court of law. But the fact that the law is being used means we all have to support those who fall foul of it. The lessons are that direct action and non-cooperation with the law, as practised by the three shop stewards, can make the law an ass. The laws made by governments and enforced by the coercive forces of the state are the laws and the order of the ruling class. They are on the statute books because of the present problems facing capitalism in this country.

### DESIGNED TO STRENGTHEN EXECUTIVES

Union bashing is not the intention of the Act. It is designed to strengthen the authority of the union executives over the rank and file. The NIRC said that the unions were responsible for the actions of their shop stewards and wanted the leadership to discipline them. Many unions do this already, without the law's assistance, but the T&GWU's successful appeal knocks a big hole in the Act. Shop stewards can still be taken to court, as indeed, they could before the Act became law.

But the lessons are plain. It is no good workers relying on the leadership of the TUC or their union executives. Appeals to the General Council of the TUC to re-adopt a policy of non-co-operation with the Act, are a waste of time, and only give power to an elitist grouping of bureaucrats who are just as remote from the problems on the shop floor as any managing director.

Seventy-five per cent of the dockers came out to defend three trade unionists. With that kind of militancy and solidarity the working class has the power to smash the Act, bring down the Government, and, if they so desire, to take over from the bosses and start running things for themselves.

P.T.

## Is the Law a Bloody Liberty?

IT IS REPORTED that Bernie Steer, that modern would-be Tolpuddle martyr, said, when he heard that an appeal court had dismissed the National Industrial Relations Court's 'sentence', 'It's a bloody liberty!' Later, Mr. Steer cheered up somewhat and hailed the results of the unwanted appeal as a victory for the working-class. The case of the three docker pickets highlights, as so many cases do, that the law is a bloody liberty. The sudden appearance of the Official Solicitor is just another example of the complexity, anachronisms, unpredictability, discriminations, persecutions, terrors, suffering, boredom, delays, sloth, waste, arrogance, vengeance, chaos, corruption, deception, cowardice, suppression, prejudice, that make up the body of law which is laughingly coupled with that abstract virtue 'justice'.

More flatteringly prose is written on the subject of law and justice than on any other subject. Its very abstraction makes it ideal for the windy platitude. For example the *Daily Mirror* comment, 19.6.72, 'The rule of law is not just a fancy phrase. It is every citizen's protection against anarchy and arbitrary treatment', or the *Daily Mail* comment (same date), 'It is bad luck for Sir John that his first major battles to establish the authority of his court have had to be fought out in the traditionally anarchic terrain of dockland.'

It is increasingly obvious that a confidence trick with words is perpetually

being worked. 'Anarchy' and 'Law' are commonly being played about with as if they were opposites, whereas the farcical history of merely last week's events regarding the National Industrial Relations Court, not to mention the whole sorry mess of the Trades Disputes Act itself, shows how the law itself may be chaos, or as the newspapers would put it 'anarchy'. Even a quick skim through a week's newspapers reveal the absolute chaos beneath the thin veneer of the rule of law which, in the *Mirror's* words, 'is every citizen's protection against anarchy and arbitrary treatment'.

To start with, the case that inspired the title, the Chobham Farm container depot picket, is only part of a larger struggle by the state to regulate the trade unions. It is a continuation of the attempt by the Labour Government when they were in office to legislate for the trade unions. One seems to remember George Woodcock (the trade unionist) stating that trade unions had always been 'outlaws' and it can be recollected that the most revolutionary aspects of the unions (and they are few and far between) are revealed when the pressures of the law are brought upon them. To start at the beginning—but for the Tolpuddle Martyrs there would have been no TUC, but if the Tolpuddle Martyrs had not existed the ruling class would have found some other group to persecute, to publicize and later, to canonize. Relations between the state and the

trade unions have never been irreparable—after all, both are power blocs—and it is thought by some that the Trades Disputes Act would be of great use to the unions themselves in disciplining their maverick members. Instead of which we have this hedge-podge of a bill which merely succeeds in creating judicial chaos and promoting the most unlikely people to the vacant haloes of Tolpuddle.

Kropotkin once called justice 'Organized Vengeance'. What we see from time to time in the courts is disorganized vengeance. The Trades Disputes Act is designed as vengeance on the workers for going on strike. Like most vengeance it has recoiled on the heads of the perpetrators.

William Godwin wrote (*On Law: Freedom Press*), 'Law we sometimes call the wisdom of our ancestors. But this is a strange imposition. It was as frequently the dictate of their passion, of timidity, jealousy, a monopolising spirit and a lust of power that knew no bounds. Are we not obliged perpetually to revise and remodel this misnamed wisdom of our ancestors? To correct it by a detection of their ignorance and a condemnation of their intolerance?' We have only to think of the solemnity and wisdom with which trials for witchcraft were considered in England and the United States, or the ecclesiastical importance of the Inquisition in order to refute the myth of the collective wisdom of our ancestors. Even in the 1940s it was possible to prosecute an indiscreet spiritualist medium under the Witchcraft Act and blasphemy is still an offence.

One of the features of present-day society compared with the society of Godwin or even the latter nineteenth-century society of Kropotkin is the multiplicity of laws. As the state grows more complex, even Conservative capitalist private enterprise governments introduce more and more laws, more and more legislation. It is no accident that a Tory Government was responsible for the Trades Disputes Acts which is a gross invasion not only of the rights of the unions but also the rights of the employers. The increasing reaction of a disintegrating alienated society is that, whatever the anti-social behaviour, 'there ought to be a law against it'. Accordingly laws proliferate as do lawyers.

Political life in this country—and others—is dominated by lawyers. They have a vested interest in law. One gets the impression that for many of them law is a game. The hobnobbing of prosecution and defence lawyers and policemen, and the schoolboy 'joshing' that goes on in Courts of Law bears witness to the shallowness of legal life. In the case of Stuart Christie and others at the Old Bailey, apparently the only news last week (when the court resumed after Anna Mendelsohn's illness) was the presentation to Miss Mendelsohn of a

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## Special Branch Frame-Up

THE APPEAL COURT judges have shown in their recent rulings on the Industrial Relations Act cases that they still realize—what the politicians seem to have forgotten—that unless the State is prepared to use unbridled violence openly in imposing its dictates, then it must have a widely respected veneer of legality. Not for the first time the wiggled guardians of the ruling class have seen that the hob-nailed boots of the political jobs are bringing THEIR system into disrepute.

Similarly, the revelations that Special Branch agents had planted arms in the home of a number of Irish Republicans in London will doubtless stir the liberal conscience. The case on a charge of conspiring to possess firearms was abruptly dropped by the prosecution without explanation after defence allegations of a frame-up. In attempts to establish the facts, defence counsel was repeatedly unable to obtain full replies from witnesses who stated that giving such information would 'prejudice State security'. What it would have revealed, of course, is the extent of the political police conspiracy. Like so many others the accused had served their 'sentences' before they came

to trial: eight months in prison. Their 'crime' was being associated with a political movement in opposition to the British ruling class.

Aware that a number of journalists were working on an exposé of the case the Home Secretary attempted to pull the feet from under them by 'taking the initiative' in announcing that there would be a high-level investigation—conducted by the police! Some sections of the press have called for an 'independent' inquiry by members of the judiciary. (The call will doubtless be echoed by Labour MPs.) All of which is intended to assure the liberal conscience that this is an 'isolated case', and, anyway, justice was done in the end, wasn't it? What could be a better advertisement for a 'democracy within the framework of law'? The liberals will then again be able to rest assured that anyone charged with possessing firearms, causing explosions or whatever deserves what is coming to him.

What will not be revealed is the full extent of the activities of the political police in Britain. Who else has been framed? Who is next?

TERRY PHILLIPS.

**Some are more equal than others**  
**PAY INCREASES** proposed for top people include:—  
Mr. Marsh,  
British Railways Board  
from £20,000 to £24,000  
Mr. Ezra,  
National Coal Board  
from £20,000 to £24,000  
Lord Widgery,  
Lord Chief Justice  
from £16,750 to £20,000  
Sir John Donaldson,  
President, National Industrial Relations Court  
from £11,500 to £13,000  
Permanent Secretaries in Civil Service are due for rises of £2,000.  
Senior Officers in the forces: rises of £2,000.  
These pay proposals result from recommendations by Sir Edward Boyle—the 'liberal' Conservative. Very liberal for the senior State officials who condemn so vociferously dockers, railwaymen and all workers who simply want a living wage.  
J.W.



# Seen any Good Corpses Lately?

WITH ZEN, Flower Power, Macro-biotics and the Soul Brothers now out of favour and out of fashion, the Town and his frau have accepted decadence and romantic death as the cult of the day with green fingernail paint for the women and green eyeshadowing for the bucks of the King's Road, Chelsea. The entertainment industry from the *New Statesman* to the Soho basement porn shows not only seek to create a market but follow the rat pack when the demand cries to be satisfied and it is Liza Minnelli at the Prince Charles Cinema, the French Symbolist Painters at the Hayward Gallery and cardboard coffins with foam rubber linings for the strippers in the Berwick Market, W.1 area who are now pulling in the trade.

The poetry of romantic death is for the healthy young with weeds and green and weeping willows, moss covered tombs and the girl friend leaping over the charnel house skulls in easy pursuit, but when the ancients over the age of twenty dream out these sad fantasies then the world is much amiss, my masters. It is the tragic dichotomy of the middle-class social rebels that in

seeking to destroy the social evils that haunt them they must destroy their own society and themselves and for, understandably, fear of that sacrifice turn to a false mysticism in which death as a sexual partner dominates in all these charades, be it the charivari of Liza Minnelli's film *Cabaret* or the heavy breathing of the visiting aesthetes at the French Symbolist Painters exhibition.

## MR. NORRIS

Christopher Isherwood was of that tragic middle-class student generation of the 1930's who now cry that the gods have failed them as they crawled back into the safety and the warmth of the womb of a decayed Establishment, and we shall remember him not for the anguish of his social conscience in the thirties or *The Bhagavad-Gita*, *Crest-Jewel of Discrimination* and *The Yogi Aphorisms of Patanjali* and other rhu-barb that he churned out with Swami Prabhavananda in the forties and fifties, but for his creation of Mr. Norris of *Mr. Norris Changes Trains*. The entertainment industry did wrong by Kit for they eliminated the central character of Mr. Norris when they filmed the

book as *I Am a Camera* and *Cabaret* and gave us instead the golden-hearted prostitute straight out of casting, and with Liza Minnelli quivering the lower lip in a one-set version of Berlin decadence it is *Hamlet* without Hamlet.

After every major social catastrophe be it war, revolution or economic collapse, there is an acceptance of the futility and the frustration of any socially worthwhile efforts, and it is then that the artists, the poets and the writers turn to a false past or a mystic future. We were fortunate, within these islands, in that our home-bred star-crazed mystics were second-rate poets and writers, and our only card-carrying Devil worshipper, Aleister Crowley, produced nothing beyond a good biography. But 'Mr. Norris' was everything that the age demanded. Enjoying any and every sexual deviation, a ponce, a police spy and a suspect supporter of the German Left, 'Mr. Norris' played his last grand joke when he, an 180 political detainee during the Second World War, posed for the body of the seated figure of Winston Churchill's statue now within the Guildhall. It is said that Churchill howled with rage when he discovered, too late, that while the head was his the torso belongs for all time to 'Mr. Norris', pervert, ponce and police spy. A man of his century and they gave us Liza offering us green fingernails as the ultimate in Berlin decadence.

## FRENCH BANALITY

But the French were not as fortunate as the Island Race, for in the wake of the defeat of their armies in the field, the Siege of Paris and the revolutionary battle of the Parisian working class and the savage destruction of the Paris Commune, the French intelligentsia turned to soul picking and grave-yard dancing as a sop and a source of inspiration, and the banality of that choice within the visual area is now on exhibition within the Hayward Gallery. It is painting at its lowest level, and we must thank the Hayward for smashing the false reputations of these Symbolist painters by exhibiting their original work. For three generations we have lived with these paintings, through the media of reproduction, and while we can accept *Bubbles*, *When Did You Last See Your Father?* and *The Light of the World* as part of our English home decor, it was always on the level of the working-class comic postcard. But Gustave Moreau, Odilon Redon and Pierre Puvis de Chavannes attracted a following of French poets and writers happy and eager to feed off this crude and sterile mysticism. Gustave Moreau has been chosen to dominate this exhibition, and his work has all the ghastly horror of Oscar Wilde's purple prose when Oscar was trying to produce high art. Oscar's answer was to insert into every sentence the name of a jewel in the mistaken belief that the continual naming

of coloured pieces of glass illuminated his thought and prose, and Moreau made the same mistake in that he first filled his canvases with an abstract wash of bright thin colours before penning in his mystic subject matter. In reproduction the wash of bright and garish colours and the laborious pencilled over-drawing become one, but in these original paintings within the Hayward Gallery we view, we challenge and we reject the two art forms congealed within each single canvas. The crime however belongs to the French literary world of the period when men such as Huysmans could write of this painted rubbish, it is 'Spiritual onanism... a soul exhausted by concealed thoughts... insidious appeals to sacrilege and debauchery... purple cataracts flowing with the blood of stars', etc. Not only is there a need for a re-examination and rejection of the work of painters such as Moreau, but a cleaning out from our intellectual storehouse of the writings and the poetry of that fin de siècle 'Age of Decadence', for like poor Oscar their reputations crumble into coloured dust as each line and each canvas is viewed in the cold living light of two world wars, two major revolutions when life becomes the supreme prize and death no longer a matter of café coffee table talk but a matter of State degree, not for tens but for millions.

Yet there was a world of innocence when, in the nineteen-thirties, we could sit in the darkness of the cinema and dream our erotic dreams in guilty innocence. Frank Martin at the Editions Graphiques at 3 Clifford Street, W.1, has found that world with his exhibition of drawings and paintings, for he has turned his brush and pen back to the age of 'Mr. Norris' and the American cinema. Not only Jean Harlow but Marie Prevost and Dolores del Rio and all those wonderful chorus girls of the films, 'Gold Diggers of Broadway'. It was a wonderful age of guilty, unhealthy, erotic dreaming within the hired darkness, as that chorus swung across the screen in their schoolgirl knickers, white blouses wherein their undisciplined breasts flopped like small puppies, like the girls next door high on the factory outing, and of our poverty and our rejected youth we could dream. But there is no place for the joy of healthy guilt for once more it is the time for aesthetic decadence and commercial exploitation of our secret dreams. All that is left for us is the universal guilt fantasies of incestuous Oedipus fun, with dream figures of white-coated nurses and canteen manageresses.

## STERILE WORLD

In his paintings and drawings Frank Martin gives us the same empty sterile world of Hockney and Proctor but in place of their fashionable male-dominated canvases he gives us a sentimental 'Mr.

Norris' world of the thirties, plus a series of Madchen strictly for the cigar-smoking toughies of Women's Lib. What can one say of this year's Royal Academy Summer Exhibition except that it honestly fulfils its purpose? The Summer Exhibition is there as a showcase for the Establishment art of 1972. The work is dull and unrewarding and roomful after roomful of canvases die in the mind after leaving the building, yet the fault is not the Royal Academy committee's for, rightly, they have honoured their trust and shown current established work. Stored away in that Piranesi world beneath the Royal Academy is the work of three RA Post-graduate Students, and as one walks through those dark miserable vaults awaiting the rattle of keys to view their work one wonders why it should be expected for any creative talent to flourish here, but their work was there to be seen. John Fairbank is in the good and solid tradition of the State art schools, and with his academic self-portrait he makes a valid social point in the style of Peter Blake and Lucien Freud, who in a single portrait captured the spirit of our age! Jane Humphrey's work belongs to that world of hard edged, geometrical abstractionism merging into that beckoning play of soft glowing colours, while Kevin Fairbank's huge canvases are of a fluid abstraction out of fashion at the moment.

Kasmin's habit of exhibiting huge abstract canvases without frames can fool the passing viewer into thinking that it is part of a gallery redecoration, but for all that we love the gallery at 118 New Bond Street, W.1. While Burrows' abstractions flood the canvas in a still sea of dark moody tones, and his brush marks on other canvases are undisciplined angry gestures, Jules Olitski's passive abstract paintings at the Kasmin Gallery catch the mood of the time. I love you all but the world belongs to the Hockneys and the Proctors, little comrades, and only John Fairbank has a future in the broad line of the art world.

With but a wayward glance and a nod of congratulation to Arthur Tooth's Gallery at 31 Bruton Street, W.1, for their choice of British Paintings 1900-1971 exhibition, it is on to the National Portrait Gallery for the small, free and marvellous exhibition of silhouette portraits. It is surely one of the most enjoyable exhibitions in London, for it demands nothing of the viewer except to enjoy a delightful minor art form. A gracious and moving exhibition that in its conception of each single work only sought to please and succeeded. I enjoyed my hour within the small room of the National Portrait Gallery, the reading and viewing of the excellent catalogue, Peggy's private lecture to me on the evils of Nye Bevan and the naughtiness of the working class, but outside lies the porn world of Soho and the misery of the drugged and sick hippies, moving like dazed sparrows before the uniformed police and I know 'Mr. Norris' that somewhere in the crowd you are waiting for the ball to bounce once more in your direction. ARTHUR MOYSE.

## Bloody Liberty?

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birthday cake subscribed to by counsel (including prosecution?). Naturally the prison authorities would not let her have it but it was a jolly good show chaps. No wonder Godwin said 'A lawyer can scarcely fail to be a dishonest man' and Godwin was not referring to financial dishonesty which is probably not the most harmful kind.

The Stuart Christie case brings to mind the gross distortions of the law which have been and are resorted to in cases of 'conspiracy', a highly nebulous charge which apparently needs no fellow conspirators judging by the vicious sentencing of Jake Prescott for conspiring with heaven knows who. It would be gross contempt of court (which we feel) to point out that the trial of Jake Prescott's fellow-conspirators, whoever they were, had not taken place hence they had not yet been proved to have carried out such a conspiracy. Logic is not a strong point of the law.

It would be remiss to pass by the Stuart Christie case (one cannot call it the Angry Brigade case without prejudging the issue) without mentioning the question of bail and remands. England is not alone in punishing people before they are found 'guilty'. Italy and the United States for example are guilty of the same incredible delays. Riots have taken place at Brixton which seems to be only way in which improvements could be made in this matter. It is interesting to note the speed with which the Industrial Relations Court can work compared with the long delays in the Christie case.

That our prisons are 'universities of crime' is as true today as it ever was. The plethora of laws has meant that our prisons are overcrowded as well as being old-fashioned. Three in a cell being the common rule, seminars on crime must be common too. The habitual recurrence of prison riots, the bloody massacres at Attica and San Quentin are to be expected of the gigantic modern prisons.

The Christie case highlights the problems of the defence in criminal cases. Lawyers are, as we have seen, apt to regard the law as a game to be played

according to the rules. By a judicious examination system they have succeeded, like many other professions, in keeping down the entrants to their craft, so that lawyers are scarce and hence fees are high and lawyers may choose their cases. As a rule they (who doesn't?) prefer to be on the winning side and many, with an eye to the future, prefer not to take 'political' cases. Playing the game as they do, lawyers, especially in conspiracy cases (for example the Greek Embassy case) make their client's case at the expense of the co-defendants. It has even been known for a collectivity of defence counsels to do a deal with prosecution and police over the heads of their clients, 'copping a plea' in exchange for non-pressing of unsustainable charges.

In all this we are probably guilty of the undefined (and undefinable?) offence of discussing matters which are *sub judice* (under judgement). This specious defence by the press (both right and left) for refraining from discussing the merits and demerits of a judicial procedure or decision is probably a weak-kneed excuse for failing to exercise that 'freedom of the press' of which they all boast.

Amidst this desert of judicial aridity, the most improbable blossoming of freedom has taken place. The freedom of juries to bring in a verdict of 'not guilty'. Angela Davis was found 'not guilty' by a predominantly white jury, the Scottish miners were acquitted by a jury, and the Mangrove seven were acquitted. It has been known before. British juries were threatened and punished by Judge Jeffries, juries brought an end to hanging for forgery by bringing in 'not guilty' verdicts, and even in recent times juries proved reluctant to bring in 'guilty' verdicts in death-penalty cases of murder. Such is the democratic corruption (some say intimidation) of juries in the Irish Free State that the jury has been excluded from some 'political' cases. It could be that juries have become more sensible and more sensitive than the law.

From all this—and much more—it can be seen that the law as Comrade Bernie Steer said is 'a bloody liberty'. It is arguable that once the law may have been a way to liberty, but now to rephrase it, 'it's a dead liberty'.

JACK ROBINSON.

## Sacrificial Lamb?

TODAY MY LOCAL PAPER gave front-page coverage to a letter written by a sixth-form boy at one of the town's grammar schools. The letter had originally appeared in *The Times* and said, in effect, that the writer was ashamed to be a schoolboy in case people associated him with 'anarchist campaigns' like the activities organized by the Schools Action Union. He wasn't going to be a sheep driven by 'Communist wolves', he was going to study hard and, hopefully, go to university and become a diplomat.

Let me assume that this boy, probably of above-average intelligence and well-educated in the eyes of the world, is wholly sincere in what he says. I won't dismiss him abusively or condescendingly although I disagree with everything he wrote. Instead I accept the fact that, for some reason, this clever young man has been piqued and offended by actions that I consider highly commendable. Yet I wonder if he realizes that, in a way, he is doing the same sort of thing himself. He has tried to make his viewpoint heard, he has come forward and taken a stand, and, more important, he has attempted to define his personal situation in political terms and act accordingly.

Of course there is one point which I am damn sure he has not considered. For him, although not easy perhaps from a personal point of view to make this public stand, it has been easy for him to make himself heard. His letter was printed in full in the nation's leading newspaper, he appeared on BBC TV's

'Man Alive' programme, and now he has been featured in his local paper too. For what reason? Not because of the elegance of his prose style, I assure you. Not because of the political acuteness that uses the words Socialist, Communist and Anarchist as synonyms. Certainly not because he backed up his letter with some imaginative or risky action which could have led to expulsion or arrest. No. The reason, as any anarchist could tell him, is that he gave

voice to what we call 'the conventional wisdom'. There was nothing whatever original in what he wrote. He simply told the Establishment what it badly wanted to hear at a time when it is being challenged on many fronts. He repeated their own lies and smears, and he gave them the respect which they constantly demand and never trouble to earn.

But supposing that he had wanted to express an unpopular, radical viewpoint, unpopular, that is, among those he willingly acknowledges as his superiors. Then, like many of us, he would know what it means to be a voice crying in

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## LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION by Vernon Richards

This is not a reprint of the work with the same title published by FREEDOM PRESS in 1953. It is a new and considerably expanded version which the author prepared for an Italian edition published in 1957, and recently published in Paris in a Spanish translation. Additional chapters deal with such important topics as the Militarization of the Militias, the Cult of the Organisation and of Personalities, the Rank and File's Responsibility. As well as a Select Bibliography, the author has contributed a 20-page Bibliographical Postscript in which he discusses the most important works that have appeared on the subject in the past twelve years.

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# Spanish Lessons

LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION by Vernon Richards (Freedom Press, 1972, £1.50).

SINCE THE FIRST version of Vernon Richards' book appeared in 1953, there has been a small flood of publications about the Spanish Revolution and Civil War. This new version, based on the expanded Italian edition published in 1957, includes in addition a most useful Bibliographical Postscript (1972) in which Richards provides a guide through the somewhat murky waters of publishers' lists. From this guide the reader will learn—readers of *Anarchy* 5 should know already!—that the best general work on the Civil War is not Hugh Thomas's allegedly 'definitive' history; it is Broué and Témime's *The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain*, the English translation of which has been published recently by Faber and Faber.

## FLOOD OF PUBLICATIONS

The flood of publications in the last twenty years has not, however, reduced the need for the new version of Richards' book. Richards, of course, writes as a committed anarchist and his purpose is not to provide a pseudo-objective history of the revolution and civil war. His object is aptly expressed in the title: to draw the lessons of the revolution. For anarchists, there could scarcely be a more significant subject. Spain was the country in Europe in which the anarchist movement took firmest root and the only one in which the anarcho-syndicalist model of revolution got much further than the drawing-board. No anarchist, therefore, can afford not to ponder, deeply and seriously, the reasons for the failure of that revolution.

For non-anarchists the lesson of the Spanish Revolution is simple: it merely demonstrated that anarchism is no more than a beautiful dream which inevitably fades in the harsh glare of reality. For anarchists, however, the lessons are more complex. Richards' main theme is that the Spanish experience proved not the unworkability of anarchist ideas but that 'the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists failed to put their theories to the test, adopting instead the tactic of the enemy'. In other words, the Spanish experience demonstrated the failure of anarchists, not of anarchism.

## SACRIFICE OF PRINCIPLE

In the main body of the book, Richards provides convincing evidence and documentation of his thesis. Some readers may feel that he minimizes the agony of the choice confronting the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists. In the circumstances of 1936-37, giving priority to defeat of the Fascist military revolt, even at the expense of sacrificing one's prin-

ciples, might appear to have been the best and only way of saving the revolution. It is easy to be wise after the event, when the facts have demonstrated that the sacrifice was in vain. But Richards' arguments are not based on hindsight: they are based on carefully considered anarchist principles. And, as far as he is personally concerned, the criticisms expressed in the book are substantially the same as he advanced in the columns of *Spain and the World*, 1936-39.

Since this book falls into the category of 'required reading' for all anarchists, no useful purpose can be served here by summarising the detailed argument and recapitulating the process by which the leaders of the CNT and FAI demonstrated the validity of the anarchist principles which they sacrificed through their policy of collaboration. (That anarchist ministers should have validated the theorem that political power corrupts is both ironic and saddening!) Instead, I shall take up the three issues discussed by Richards in his concluding chapter. Although raised by reflection on the Spanish experience, they are general issues which have a wider significance for anarchist thought and practice.

## ANARCHISM AND SYNDICALISM

The first concerns the relationship between anarchism and syndicalism. Within the anarchist movement two main views of this relationship may be distinguished. One is that anarchists should concentrate on the creation of anarcho-syndicalist organisations, either by forming separate unions restricted to those who accept anarchist ideology, or, more typically, by anarchists joining existing unions and impregnating them as far as possible with the anarchist spirit. The latter was the approach of the Spanish anarchists who in 1922 resolved that 'all anarchists should enrol in the CNT and treat it as their special field of action'. The other main view is that, while anarchists should participate actively in the workers' struggle wherever they can, they should do so without losing their separate identity as anarchists. The desirability of revolutionary unions is not denied, but anarcho-syndicalist organisations are not seen as the essential first step in building up a revolutionary movement.

As Richards observes, the difference between the two views is less one of ideology than of appreciation. Appreciation, I would add, of 'the syndicalist dilemma'. A central tenet of syndicalism is that trade unions, given proper direction, can perform a dual role: their traditional defensive, reformist role of protecting and improving pay and conditions, and the offensive, revolutionary

role of organizing the overthrow of capitalism and constituting themselves the basic units of the future socialist society. Practical experience in Spain and elsewhere, however, suggests that this central tenet is mistaken. Despite constitutional devices to prevent the growth of internal bureaucracy, syndicalist unions over time tend to favour their reformist as against their revolutionary role. A major source of this tendency is the practice of opening the doors of membership to all workers, irrespective of their political, anti-political, or non-political views, in a drive to become a successful mass organization. The mass membership, however, proves to be more interested in immediate reforms than in the more distant revolution; and, although the leadership may remain in the hands of committed revolutionaries, the policies of the organization increasingly come to reflect the views of the mass of reformist-oriented members. A theoretical solution to this problem is to restrict membership to those who are ideologically 'pure'. But this solution turns out to be spurious, since it can be achieved only by not recruiting the mass membership which is necessary for the effective performance of both roles. The dilemma, therefore, remains. One can have either effective but basically reformist mass unions, or ineffective revolutionary unions of militant minorities: one cannot at the same time have a union that

## PART I

is both effectively reformist and revolutionary.

What I have called 'the syndicalist dilemma' was recognized by Malatesta at least as long ago as 1907 when he first warned against the fusion of the anarchist movement with syndicalist organization. He repeated the warning in an article written in 1925 from which Richards quotes: 'Every fusion or confusion between the anarchist movement and the Trade Union movement ends, either in rendering the latter unable to carry out its specific task or by weakening, distorting or extinguishing the anarchist spirit.'

At this moment in history there is nothing to add to Malatesta's warning, except the important corollary: what applies to syndicalism applies with equal force to all other forms of revolutionary struggle. In other words, Malatesta's argument may be generalised and the principle he was enunciating in relation to syndicalism is equally valid in relation to the peace and anti-war movement, the co-operative and communitarian movement, the student movement, the squatters' movement, etc. It should be emphasized that the principle does not preclude anarchists participating in any movement or struggle that has revolutionary potential. Indeed, if they do not participate, they are doomed to the sterility of sectarianism. The important thing is that anarchists should retain their own distinct identity: only in this way can they perform the essential role of acting as the conscience of the revolutionary movement.

GEOFFREY OSTERGAARD.

(This is first of a three-part review.—Eds.)

# SELLING THE ACT

THE GOVERNMENT is concerned by the lack of support, and interest, that it is receiving for its Industrial Relations Act, both by ordinary staff and top management in Local Government. It has been sending out senior officials from the Department of Employment to explain, and explain away, the various clauses of the Act to selected local government employees at Special Meetings—one meeting addressed to principle officers and top management, one to middle level employees and management and, finally, one to manual workers and their representatives. Your correspondent attended the second meeting.

The representative from the Department—who appears to have had a hand in drafting the Act—was very persuasive. Like much of the Act itself, he was also very vague when it suited him. His main concern, however, was to 'sell' the audience HMSO's glossy booklet, *Industrial Relations—The Code of Practice*.

Like the speaker, the Code is full of platitudinous and sloppy words and phrases. Here are just a few taken from the Code or repeated by the speaker: 'good industrial relations'; 'reasonable and constructive manner'; 'good human relations'; 'effective arrangements'; 'responsible steps'; 'positive policies'; 'sense of satisfaction'; 'general interests of the community'; and 'adequate information'. All of which, in concrete terms, means absolutely nothing. In fact, when tackled, the Man from the Ministry inclined to agree—which wasn't had from an expert in human relations and an 'experienced' conciliator!

Another point brought out by the speaker, and by the Code of Practice, was that both workers and employers 'have a common interest', but that 'some conflicts of interest are bound to arise'. But 'with good industrial relations they can be resolved in a responsible and constructive way'. Indeed, he said—echoing the Code and the Act—'Good industrial relations are a joint responsibility; they need the continuing co-operation of management, trade unions, employers' associations and individuals.' He did not think that a conflict, or even a struggle, was inevitable within an employee-employer situation, where one group (the workers) are forced to sell their mental and physical energies at the highest price to another group (the bosses) who, through economic necessity, are forced to buy those energies and abilities at the lowest possible price they can. Class struggles do not exist within the august portals of the Department of Employment!

We were then told that 'management should recognise the employee's need to achieve a sense of satisfaction in his job, as laid down in Clause 9 of the Act', and that 'communication and consultation are essential' in order to promote operational efficiency as well as the 'employee's sense of satisfaction and involvement in his job', as laid down in Clause 51. Of course, if one happens to be an architect or even a sewerage engineer, job satis-

faction isn't all that difficult (one doesn't need the Industrial Relations Act or a Code of Practice to find that out!), but if one is a factory operative, or a filing clerk, it sounds, and reads, as so much nonsense.

Again, under the Section on Race Relations, we were told that management 'should develop positive policies to promote equal opportunity in employment'. Simple! If you know how. Then the Code suggested that 'Trade Unions should also employ enough full-time officials', to which it was then suggested that perhaps some of them had more than enough already. Both the Act and the Man from the Ministry emphasised that employees should receive 'reasonable' information about the firm in which they work; but he agreed that what the worker might call 'reasonable' the employer might consider quite 'unreasonable'.

Although the speaker mentioned the Commission on Industrial Relations, the Industrial Arbitration Board, the Registration of Trade Unions, Collective Bargaining, the Agency Shop, etc., he tended to gloss over these matters unless questioned on them. When questioned, he attempted to be 'objective' and slightly, but very slightly, pro-Trade Unions—so long as they didn't kick over the traces and oppose the Law.

Indeed, the whole exercise was very gentlemanly. Our man from the Department of Employment was pretty adept at trying to sell a product that people are not interested in, or are completely opposed to buying. But inside the smooth Moral Re-armament-like velvet glove there still is a very brutal and vicious iron fist. Whatever the Code of Practice, or our super-salesman from the Department of Employment, might say, one of the Act's 'unfair' practices is that no worker or his Trade Union may take industrial action in support of any other worker in dispute. Working-class solidarity is 'unfair'!

The only Code of Practice for us is to ignore the Act where possible, and defy it where necessary. Perhaps it might be worthwhile remembering the following: 'You cannot improve industrial relations by invoking the criminal law, and we do not propose to do so. There will be no provisions for fining strikers; no provisions for sending strikers to prison' (Mr. Edward Heath at the Conservative Trade Unionists' Conference, 4.4.70). Or: 'During the war and up to 1951, practically all strikes were illegal; yet there were plenty of them. In fact, 1944 was one of the worst years for industrial disputes in the last quarter century. Nothing can be more damaging to a nation than to have laws which are mocked' (Conservative Campaign Guide, page 54, 1964).

Well, they said it!  
FROM A CORRESPONDENT.

\*He also looked in on meeting number three for a short while. It was much the same. A colleague attended the first meeting, and dropped off to sleep!



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# Paddington Day Hospital Protest Group

ALTHOUGH the immediate threat to the Paddington Day Hospital, of being merged with St. Mary's Psychiatric Department, has been removed, the future of the day hospital remains uncertain. According to the May issue of the Protest Group's newsletter, 'The Protest Group's follow-up letter to the Regional Board inquiring both about the appointment of a permanent consultant and whether steps would be taken to insure that the hospital would continue its present method of treatment as a specialised regional service after the re-organisation of health services in 1974, received the following response, dated May 15, from Sir Maurice Hackett, Chairman:

"Dear Mrs. Durkin,  
I have your letter of 3rd May and the continuance of the Paddington Day Hospital has been settled. However, you will wish to know that, as mentioned in the attached press release made by the Board recently, that the Board has decided to place the staffing on a permanent basis and this will be by one or more full-time or part-time consultants with supporting staff. In case the enthusiasm of your members gets out of hand, I think I should warn you that any canvassing, private or public, for a particular candidate will automatically exclude him or her from even being considered.

"On the second point mentioned in your letter, it is quite impossible for the present Board or Hospital Management Committee, both of which will be superseded by new authorities in 1974, to commit our successors to the continuance of anything. May I congratulate you on your well run campaign and suggest, in

the interests of everyone concerned, that you now leave the Clinic to get on with its work.

Yours sincerely, Maurice Hackett."

This masterpiece of patronage and suave bullying reveals clearly enough that the situation of the day hospital is as insecure as ever. The group does not intend to rest on its laurels. Instead its members intend to widen the struggle, and to demand more group therapy facilities under the NHS.

The possibilities of developing a stronger and broader base of support for the choice of treatment which PDH represents is the challenge which could now transform the "Protest Group" into a positive "Action Group".

Plans are being drawn up to bring out a book of essays on 'madness', to set up local groups all over the country 'to fight for the right to a choice of treatment and the availability of psychotherapy within the Health Service', to call a conference in October on the subject of people and institutions, to develop a map of resources 'both present and planned' in the Greater London area, in order to discover which boroughs are likely to be under the most pressure when long-stay mental hospitals are phased out and to produce a new leaflet which gives information on the organisation and services of the Paddington Day Hospital, a review of the activities of the Protest Group and a description of the current state of affairs.

If you are interested in any of these activities contact Liz Durkin, Flat 1, 13 Christchurch Road, N.8.

A.W.U.



# THIS WEEK IN IRELAND

**A**LICE Through the Looking Glass is not in with it with Ireland this week. I do not think any Brit could have a notion of how our devious minds are working both sides of the border. Leaving out all the shootings and explosions everyone seems to be trying to outdo everyone else and with very little sense anywhere.

On Saturday, June 10, someone tried to blow up the German Embassy down here. Reputedly the Baader-Meinhof organisation. Over the same week-end the fire bugs struck again and there was a near panic in Dunne's of Henry Street and two people were taken to hospital. Up in the six counties it is march, march, march, the UDA wearing masks and hoods. Two Catholic streets (small ones) in Belfast have been evacuated owing to tartan gangs breaking all the windows and promising to come back and burn the houses if the Catholics did not go. In Derry last Saturday troops prevented the Unionist parade crossing Craigavon Bridge and used rubber bullets, and deep have been the complaints by the same people who are screaming all the time for Whitelaw to send in troops and take the Bogside and Creggan. It is brutality against one's own side and law and order against

the other side.

Whitelaw saw twice deputations of Protestant extremists and the Provos gave him a 48-hour ultimatum to see them and said they would call a seven-day truce if he did. He refused and opinions are very divided as to his wisdom in refusing. True it would be repugnant to talk with Johnny-come-lately Stephen alias Sean MacStiofan, but since he talked with the extremists of the other side one cannot quite see the logic of his refusal to 'talk with men of violence'. He cannot really pretend not to know of the assassinations being carried out against Catholics by these men. Nevertheless some people think the IRA put their invitation to talk at the exact moment they very maladroitly chose on purpose to be refused. They are very afraid because public opinion in their own strongholds has been turned against them. The people are sick of violence.

Down here O'Malley's special courts have sat, and I must say the three judges have fallen backwards over themselves to be impartial.

O'Malley says the gardai won't be armed unless necessary. This means he is just looking and longing for an opportunity to do just that. Many of the

Republican prisoners are on hunger strike as they say they are not being treated as political prisoners. Myself I consider every prisoner a political prisoner, and if one blocks a sub-postmistress of 68 unconscious with the butt end of a gun and then steals all the money she has left with her for paying social benefits I cannot see that refusing to recognise the court makes an iota of difference.

To add to our joys we have an electricity strike tomorrow, and the Government is censoring our wireless and TV and indeed papers (as I know to my cost) out of existence. Soon all they will be allowed to publish is the sermons of the Hierarchy, the weather, and show prehistoric Ruritanian films. Our Labour Party is about to split in two. I moved into a private executive meeting of the dissidents last Saturday and it was very illuminating. Bernie Devlin, who had great potential when she first started, is making very mischievous speeches. She has turned into a proper little bitch, power as always corrupting. The SDLP, who if Whitelaw HAD consented to meet the IRA would have been let off

the hook, are now holding innumerable private meetings and I think disagreeing amongst themselves. In the end of course there will HAVE to be talks with the IRA or there will be no one left to talk either side of the border. The only goodish thing that has happened is that the violent offensive of the UDA which was timed for this week-end if Whitelaw had not licked the no-go areas of the Bogside and Creggan to smithereens has been postponed for a fortnight, but the crunch MUST come.

It has just come over the wireless (a) that Robert Porter, of the Unionist Party has resigned in protest against the move to the extreme right of the party, (b) the SDLP have sought an interview with Whitelaw, John Hume and Paddy Devlin to wit, this is the biggest breakthrough since internment, and ironically it is the Provos who have made this possible, (c) the Official Sinn Féin are saying that the Provos have sold the internees down the river by asking to talk before every internee is free.

One cannot keep up with events, they happen so fast.

H.

## Contact

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

**Help Fold and Despatch 'FREEDOM'**  
Thursdays from 2 p.m., followed by discussion at 7.30 p.m.

**Spanish Anarchists and Sympathisers** wishing to form a direct action group to plan and organise a movement to fight the Franco regime. Ring Manuel 328 5734.

**Two Young Italian Anarchists** urgently need accommodation in London for one month from about July 10. Contact Box 5 at Freedom Press.

**PROP. Prisoners TU Action Group** fighting for parole, legal representation and civil rights in gaol. Magazine Prop 15p. All enquiries to Dick Pooley, 96 Victoria Avenue, Hull, Yorks. Tel. Hull 400232.

**Magie.** All kinds of alternative community info. 10 a.m.-10 p.m. 7 days at 7 Summer Terrace, Manchester, 14 7WO. Tel. 061-224 9087.

**'Peace News'** for theory and practice of non-violent revolution. £4.95 p.a. (students less 10%). Trial sub. 7 weeks for 50p with free M. Duane 'Biological Basis of Anarchism'. 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

**Vancouver Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation** has begun to publish a monthly newsletter in an effort to foster communications between anarchists scattered across Canada. To receive a copy write to SRAF, c/o Volunteers, Box 34074, Station 'D', Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

**Catonsville R.R. 36** contains articles on S. Africa, Kids' Lib, Teacher-Pupil Relations, etc. £1.25 for 12, 1 copy for 8p. 28 Brundretts Road, Manchester 21.

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**Oxford Anarchists** meet every Friday, 8 p.m., 1a Woodstock Road.

**Dorset Proposed Group.** Contact M. and P. Bord, 35 Moorland Crescent, Upton, Poole, Dorset.

**S.E. London Dwarfs & Anarchists** meet Sundays 4 p.m., 61b Granville Park, S.E.13. Street theatre starting. Contact J. Dixon, 44 Pendragon Road, Bromley, Kent. 01-698 8596.

**BLAST** — Bristol Libertarians Against State Tyranny formed. Contact c/o Cowper Road, Bristol, 6.

**ORA Meeting** at the Peace Centre, 36 Romilly Street, on 'Race', Sunday, June 18, 7 p.m.

**Corby.** Public meeting on 'Anarchism and Workers' Control' planned for June 29. Green Room, Civic Centre at 7.30 p.m. Local help with publicity appreciated. Contact Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk.

**Stoke Newington 8 Trial.** Send all aid to '8' Fund, Compendium Bookshop, 240 Camden High Street. Meals, fruit, papers, books (new ones only), cigarettes and money needed.

**Changed Addresses.** Jeff Clives now at 26 Grosvenor Road, St. Albans. Terry Phillips now at 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby.

ber is given or they are talked out of it. After a while, making calls continuously day after day, an agent becomes fluent in dealing with all the variations and difficulties that can arise.

These agencies, now in their heyday, find hundreds of people every day. Owing to this they can bring their charges down to rock bottom and undercut traditional firms. Their clients are mainly the mushrooming finance companies which rely for their success on both ensuring customers are credit-worthy and the new-found ability of agencies to trace missing clients.

Sometimes agencies combine both functions giving credit-worthiness rating (checking with local police, his firm and UAPT) as well as providing a truly unique tracing service.

JOHN TAYLOR.

## Snoopers Inc.

**A** FEW YEARS AGO the customary image of a private eye was a white trench-coated gentleman struggling to keep his St. Bruno alight during a lamp-lit downpour.

Today the scene is far removed to modern office blocks; where beneath the chic decor, grey suited businessmen have at their fingertips the key to almost every record compiled on the unsuspecting public. The instrument of their deception is the homely telephone.

After a few calls to government bodies they soon learn if their quarry has drawn unemployment or social security benefits, or if the local council has any record of their whereabouts. Posing as a similar office they are put through to 'unemployed insurance' or 'sickness benefits' sections where they inquire after units held on the person required, this will establish if they have ever signed on there, or if they have been 'transferred out' or 'shed out' to another office, as often happens if someone moves out of an area. For this line of enquiry it is useful to have the 'last three' of their NHI number. This is easily acquired by calling the wages office of a past employer posing as a Social Security Department. Of course if the person is still working there the task is simplified, as most wages departments carry their employees' current address. The department is usually told that there is an outstanding benefit due to the employee or that there has been a slight mix-up in the files; and letters to the old address unanswered.

## SACRIFICIAL LAMB

**Continued from page 2**  
the wilderness. He would realize how hollow is the tradition of free speech in a country where the ruling elite control the means of mass communication as well as the means of production. Perhaps when he saw how little respect the system had for an alternative viewpoint he would lose a little respect for the system. And maybe he too would find himself resorting to direct action to gain a hearing and to attempt to influence, in no matter how small a way, the life which is his by right but which, from the moment of birth, others will try to live for him.

I don't despise him and I hope that in time he will no longer despise or be ashamed of those supporters of the SAU whom he calls sheep. Sheep follow a leader sometimes, it is true, but it is a leader of their own kind and their own choosing, and if his way is not their way, they go off in a different direction. Then it is the shepherd and his dogs they must look out for, their ruler and protector who cares for them wisely and kindly—until it is time for them to appear on your plate as mutton chops!

PROMETHEUS

Two articles from **FREEDOM: The relevance of Anarchism today and Anarchism and Nationalism.** Available from Freedom Bookshop for 30p a hundred including postage.

## Report from Australia

**THE AUSTRALIAN MINISTER** for Customs allowed *The Little Red Schoolbook* to be brought into Australia. This resulted in a scream from conservatives to have him removed. He has also relaxed the heavy-handed banning and cutting of films and books over the last couple of years. Censorship of *The Little Red Schoolbook* is being carried out by the State government. It is available in South Australia and New South Wales at \$1.75 (about 90p) a copy. Sydney anarcho-libertarians recently caused a furore by distributing copious quantities of free *Little Red Schoolbooks*, printed on newsprint, to suburban schools. Newsagents themselves refuse to carry controversial stocks.

### THE STATE OF THE PARTIES

The Democratic Labour Party is a Catholic Action renegade splinter group from the Fabian-oriented Australian Labour Party—which is the principal opposition to the bourgeois Liberal Party. (The coalition government with the Country Party representing the rapidly dwindling economic power of rural landholders.) The Communist Party is outside electioneering these days, possibly because of its divergencies of inspiration and authoritarian control. Formerly it was a purely Soviet voice. Now both Chinese and local affinities claim their ground. Another party, the Australia Party, is a 'liberal, free enterprise party, with a social consciousness'. Partly it is a thorn in the side of the establishment, and partly a guide to reformist alternatives in the otherwise static bourgeois and authoritarian Socialist confrontation' (sic!).

The Australian Labour Party's former leader Arthur Caldwell (Papal Knight) is renowned for his racist outlook. He recently made a public statement that the ALP will not allow a 'chocolate-coloured Australia to occur'—referring to a group of Asian immigrants who have just arrived. Whilst Labour Immigration Minister he went down in history as saying 'Two Wongs don't make a White', as he duly deported two well-respected Chinese working people who had lived here for some time. The racist idea is still prevalent in Labour Party thinking, as is the differentiation between intellectual and productive labour. A fine alternative!

Peaceniks often are caught up in support of this party, as it professes a traditional anti-conscription stand, even though it was the first to introduce conscription. The then Prime Minister Hughes crossed the floor just after, and the Labour Party and IWW and Catholic Church all went against conscription.

### NEITHER GENTLE NOR SEXLESS

Frankly, 'gentle, sexless'... (maybe 'simple' is correct), these words do not fit the Australian generally. Sex is officially frowned on, more often the use of contraception and true appreciation of sexual pleasure is ostracised, especially by RC parents and the mass media. It is illegal to advertise contraceptives for instance. Only one state has provision for 'termination', South Australia. And then the subject must be three months' resident prior to termination. Of course, illegal abortion is both lucrative and available, but

very often this takes the form of horrific 'back street' methods.

As for 'gentle', who was first in to help the Yanks with their war on Indo-China? And whose politicians only need another call by Uncle Sam to send their robots anywhere in the world to fight 'the evil hordes'? They are ready to help the South African Government too. The diplomatic ties with South African Government and industry are very significant.

### SIMPLE AND VIOLENT

However, 'simple', yes that is appropriate. Whilst containing Communism in Vietnam, the French Nuclear Testing in the Pacific, of more immediate danger than any Communist manoeuvres, is hardly considered of interest.

Recently a Northern Territory magistrate severely criticised a policeman for not shooting at an Aboriginal protest group—instead the cop had fired—but above the heads of the group. Tut!

Draft resisters are subject to continuous harassment, and their families are continuously besieged to encourage the resisters to conform.

Prisoners in Pentridge Gaol (Victoria's main prison—they still endorse hanging down there) have been locked in their cells after having declared 'intent to strike' or engage in 'industrial sabotage' if their pitiful conditions are not remedied. Prison authorities, Civil Rights groups, politicians have all criticised the conditions there. The gentle Australians... ho! ho! very satirical!

Still the sun does shine and youth seems a lot more aware than the adults. We'll see!

C.P.

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