

CZECHOSLOVAKIA : GOVERNMENTAL CHANGES

THE CZECH GOVERNMENT has just been reorganized. The first announcement of the changes mentioned that Smrkovsky had been demoted and the announcement was made by Husack. Smrkovsky was appointed after student campaigns (he was the least desired of three anti-Stalinist candidates), and has always been regarded with Cisar (one of the other two) as being even bolder than Dubcek in his resistance to the Russians. Husack on the other hand is the nearest thing in the Czechoslovak leadership as a non-discredited pro-Russian.

What makes this particularly interesting is that in a number of factories, and regional committees the workers have announced that they will strike if Smrkovsky is removed. Where student protest is still to be seen, in the emasculated pages of *Lyterarni Listy*, the liberal intelligentsia has also pledged itself to resume demonstrations if Smrkovsky goes. ('And shall Trelawny die...')

Probably before this article reaches the editors of FREEDOM, certainly before it could possibly be published, it will be apparent whether or no the workers are in fact going to strike. If they do not, one will have to accept that the Czech experiment in attempting to build humanist socialism is at an end and as much a thing of the past as is the Hungarian attempt of '56. If on the other hand they do...

Even bourgeois Sovietologists such as Sforza have noted the fact that whereas last year the impetus for liberalization came first from the literary papers and spread to the students, with the industrial workers standing on the side-lines and generally assumed to be pro-Novotny in Western circles, and the issue complicated by the nationalist discontents of the Slovaks; that now the backbone of the resistance to the end to the liberalization comes on the shop floor from factory workers.

Interlinked with the demands made at the beginning of the year when the Czech liberals began demanding minimal democratic rights were other requests for higher income differentials for middle class professional workers, the rising technocrats and managerial elites wanted freedom and privilege. This provided the justification for the Stalinists to claim that the liberals were reactionary, wishing to restore bourgeois privileges, and as the economic policies advocated went so far as to suggest a reintroduction of a modified market economy with stepped up trade to the West; it was obvious then that side by side were being posed pro-

grammes for democratization such as was a pre-essential for any development of workers' control and any advance to real socialism, and for the introduction of a mixed economy such as would lead towards Western-type neo-Capitalism. It was obvious then that sooner or later the two programmes would conflict.

Today the workers are demanding a continued democratization, or rather a limit to the extent that democracy is undermined, and there are no demands for greater differentials being made as the literary and student rebels of yesterday have either been physically suppressed or know that they are known rebels and are lying low, and no longer being heard demanding change.

Resistance to Russia is therefore now, very nearly at least, unmixed socialist revolt. If it flares into strike activity the whole Eastern European resistance movement will move onto a new plane. No longer will it be possible to pretend there is something in common with Western liberal-capitalist ideas to be found in the radical programmes of the East. No longer will the *Observer* and others such be able to claim that Left is merely a matter of being against the system existing in one's own sphere of the world, and that all Left protesters in the East want a Western type society (*tertium non datur*) for it will be all too obvious that the demands posited by the Left in the East and West for greater freedom, equality and control of work by those who do it is one and the same.

In the West those who justified the rape of Prague, argued that the rebels were all petit bourgeois, and therefore incurably reactionary. (In point of fact of course, very often, those same people, at other times when talking of Western conditions, explain away the lack of working class support for VSC and so forth by saying that the working class is bourgeoisified and that one must look elsewhere for the new revolutionary vanguard.) It will be interesting therefore to see their reactions if in a new Czech phase the Russians are brought directly in conflict with an obviously predominantly working class resistance movement. It will mean that not only has the movement of liberation in the East reached a new stage but that disillusionment within Stalinist ranks has also gone beyond the mere New Left (Socialist Humanist) and Trotskyist stage, and it will make anarchism an immediate reality for numbers of people who cannot now begin to consider what we are saying. L.O.

IF, AT A GUESS, only ten people over the whole country are arrested at football matches every weekend, this adds up to three hundred and fifty people a year—more than those arrested on demonstrations in the same time.

People arrested at football matches face similar charges to those arrested at demos... possession of offensive weapons (marbles and flagpoles included), disorderly conduct, incitement to riot, assaulting policemen, etc. They also face the same heavy fines and terms of imprisonment for a first offence that are handed out to demonstrators when there is a public scare on. Last week a Chelsea fan was fined £100 for threatening behaviour after being found guilty of waving his closed fist at somebody.

'Give me ten Hell's Angels to one demonstrator', a Chicago policeman is

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On the Terraces

supposed to have said, and for some of the same reasons which are behind this statement a football fan must be the perfect type of offender as far as our own police are concerned. Even if only temporarily, he usually accepts his role as the ruffian, and, more importantly, the policeman's role as a policeman. He takes his punishment in a way which the police understand and doesn't go squealing to the NCCL or writing to the papers. There are no embarrassing ideals hidden behind his outburst of enthusiasm, or demonstration, other than support for his team.

So although violence at football matches has been a big abstract topic for the papers to discuss this winter, we do not hear much of individual cases which are still local press stuff spread out over the country. The only case involving a

football fan which was brought to the notice of the NCCL during the past year was the one, now well publicised, in which a fourteen-year-old first offender was sent to a detention centre for taking a flag to a match.

It's hard to say whether this type of violence really is on the increase. The crowd at a match I went to recently seemed a lot better behaved than the crowds I remember when I used to watch football more regularly and when there were always lines of men weeing against any available wall, in or around the ground, and a policeman just wouldn't have thought of arresting anybody for bad language.

A clue as to why football rowdiness has become such a topic might lie in the fact that clubs pay for the policing of their own grounds and some of the

Police Riot in Derry

Derry, 3 p.m., Saturday, January 4

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY march reached the Guildhall battered and savagely beaten to be greeted by a tumultuous crowd. After three days of frustration and deliberate and violent harassment from the self-styled Major Bunting and his para-military thugs, aided and abetted by the police who were apparently unable or unwilling to prevent twenty cudgel-bearing 'loyalists' from blocking the legal march of several hundred civil rights marchers. Throughout the three days the police sided blatantly with the illegal counter-demonstrators against the civil rights marchers, who were non-violent, culminating with Friday's fiasco when the marchers outside Dungiven were told to have their tenth re-route from their legal route because 'there is opposition ahead'.

Advance reports from the marchers' cars revealed that there was in fact no opposition on the prohibited (i.e. legally filed) route and that the 'loyalists' (UDI-minded fanatical loonies who hate the Archbishop of Canterbury more than the Pope and brand any civil rights march as 'rebel') but that there was on the route demanded by the Divisional Inspector. The 250 marchers linked arms and advanced to the cordon; after several minutes pushing a quick wheel and the 192 police gave way.

The march went on to Feeny and Claudy to be greeted with applause along the route and no opposition whatsoever. The police answered the charges of incompetence, bias and lying against them by claiming that three policemen were temporarily hurt by a pepper bomb blown by a local man at the cordon. *The Mirror*, 'the workers' paper', printed hysterical accounts of this and claimed that the marchers were 'a screaming cudgel-wielding mob'—a view that every other newsman ridiculed as completely untrue.

10.30 a.m. on the Saturday

The marchers left Claudy on the last lap. Belfast lay 65 miles behind, Derry eight ahead. Swollen to about 300 with local support (about 500 Dungiven people had walked to Claudy with the march, giving up a day's pay to do so and returning that night), they arrived at Brackfield crossroads two miles out with no sight of trouble—until the police arrived.

Yet another DI (*Detonator's* pig of the week, see FREEDOM, 21.12.68, p.3) told the footsore crowd that 'there appears to be a little bit of trouble ahead'. When pressed he said 'there are a few people in the fields who may throw some stones but we think we (three tender-loads of police) can get you through'—he left to

'reconnoitre'.

Meanwhile, unknown to the marchers, a gang of about 50, led by the Paisleyites' military arm leader, Bunting, were openly piling up stocks of rocks and thick cudgels, while the police benignly looked on. Back came the DI and the march moved on, into a vicious ambush led by Judas goats in black, the Royal Ulster Constabulary. For about 500 yards the marchers, mainly students and many of them young and old women, walked along to one side of the road under the shadow of a high hedge on the right. The first thing they saw was about twenty men and boys in the fields on the right overlooking the road and a dozen policemen gently shepherding them along. A few missiles were thrown and suddenly a petrol bomb was lobbed at the unarmed crowd. It missed but the next thing the front three rows knew they were set upon by groups coming from right and left wielding heavy cudgels and iron bars.

As this happened the helmeted police put up their shields and fled. Forget the BBC 5.40 news that night about their 'great courage'—they fled. The first three rows, although badly beaten about the heads, women and young girls particularly, were the lucky ones—they got through. The marchers behind were subjected to showers of heavy rocks and repeated batterings. Many were forced off the road and into the fields where they were hunted down by groups of thugs and smashed into the ground. One old woman and young girls were forced into the waist-deep river and almost drowned under a barrage of clubs and rocks.

A young girl, one of the prime movers in the People's Democracy, was pointed out to the attackers by the grinning Major Bunting and knocked unconscious to the roadside, then kicked systematically. When she regained consciousness she staggered up to one policeman and begged him to try to stop the slaughter. 'Get away ye Fenian bitch' was the gallant officer's reply. Police clubbed some bleeding marchers as they staggered up the road and one officer kicked a girl in the face, already streaming with blood, as two of his colleagues were trying to help her into a tender. Not all the police acted as badly as this, some did try to help, but they were the minority. Some marchers spent the next few hours hiding in the fields from the jubilant bands of 'loyalists' who roamed the countryside.

In a state of shock and almost disbelief the march regrouped a quarter of a mile up the road and waited for any

stragglers. Some police went back down the hill and reported that there were no civil rights marchers to be seen—but then they didn't look too hard.

On the march staggered as the ambulances began to take the wounded to hospital—87 of them—one a policeman! The pay rise doesn't seem to have inspired them to fulfilling a 'productivity deal'. Approaching Derry, the people of the city began to come out to join the march but just after it passed Attnagelvin hospital and in Derry itself, another ambush took place.

While police stood looking on a crowd of extremists from Irish Street estate, standing on a grassy hill overlooking the road, hurled bottles, bricks and large rocks down on the march. Many more were injured. Again many coppers fled past the marchers in their haste to reach the tenders. Only after five minutes when most of the damage had been done did they charge the crowd at the top of the hill, most of whom merely retreated to take up their next vantage point.

Still refusing to retaliate the march again reassembled to do the last two miles, only to be trapped in the terror of the narrow streets of the Waterside while bricks hailed over the roofs and onto the packed crowd. After twenty minutes the valiant bands in the tenders charged up the narrow side streets and the march was able to walk over the bridge and down to their tumultuous welcome in the Guildhall.

'What sort of country is this?' is the question being asked today. What sort of government is it that allows an armed mob to attack unarmed marchers, that lets their leaders go unscathed? Once again we've had the police halting the peaceful demonstrators and making no effort to disperse the hostile armed counter-demonstrators.

Derry had another police riot last night as police baton-charged the workers in the Leckie road and town by the Catholic Butchers Gate. Police threw stones at civil rights leaders and reporters.

Today's press, with the honourable exception of the *'Sunday Times'* and, surprisingly, the *'People'*, have distorted the truth and played up the sectarian clash line. Undoubtedly there were *R v. Paisleyite* fights around the Guildhall on Friday night after Paisley's provocative incitement to his mob, and Saturday night too saw retaliation for the afternoon's events, but this is not the real issue. The PD don't regard Paisleyites as their enemies. Many of them are under-privileged and need jobs and houses, too. They are being used by Paisley and Bunting just as McAteer and Currie have tried to use the RC poor and O'Neill & Co. use the Protestant middle class.

Only when the people cast off these sectarian shackles can the situation improve.

CHARLES WILLIAMS.

NOT ENEMIES

THE PAISLEYITES who attacked the civil rights marchers, seriously injuring some of them, are not our enemies. They are just deluded by their leaders who are using them. Many of the people who came out and attacked us needed jobs and houses just as badly as the people who were marching.—A People's Democracy spokesman, who organised the 75-mile march from Belfast to Derry (quoted in the *'Irish Press'*, Dublin).

bigger clubs have been talking about modernisation, and that a football match shouldn't be thought of as somewhere a man disappears to on a Saturday afternoon, that it should be somewhere he can decently take the wife and kids, and some of them are laying out on restaurant facilities and more seats with this in mind.

Whatever the reason, the number of arrests are going up, and magistrates have begun to use the same tone of voice that was a characteristic of their mods and rocker tirades a few years ago: 'sawdust Caesars / Napoleons, only brave when you're hunting in packs / among a crowd, hopeless weaklings, etc.' and with sociologists writing books on them and television chairmen deploring them it looks like we're in for a long season of it before they tire and find a new target.

If the press, public and police have chosen the rowdy few (the lunatic fringe?) in a football crowd to play the role of Bad in the Grand Spectacle, it shows how hard up for candidates they're getting. The gang thing has almost died out, there aren't as many bunches of

kids on street-corners to hustle around, the working classes don't get drunk so much, hippies are fairly quiet people, and recent demos haven't come up to their violent expectations, and so some other activity must be found and branded.

A football team, to anarchists, might not seem one of the best causes to demonstrate in support of, but about half a million people do so each weekend and a lot of young workers make their first contact with the police and are taught that any excessive enthusiasm or energy in support of anything is called violence or is seen as potentially violent. The same repressive system and moribund respectability is tightening its grip over all of us when somebody can be arrested for swearing at a football match, as has become the case recently. If anybody will help to give out a leaflet in Shepherds Bush and Chelsea on match days, please will they contact the address below. Also welcome are press cuttings and information from other parts of the country.

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ALAN SILLITOE has changed less than any of the other writers who became well known during the 1950s. He hasn't sold out or become a snob or retreated into private obsessions or taken refuge in religious or philosophical nonsense. His novels do show an advance from describing young people who aren't intellectuals to describing older people who are intellectuals, but this simply represents the passage of time and the alteration in his circumstances over ten years. Experience and success have scarcely affected him, except perhaps that he is more sure of himself and less concerned about other people's views of his work.

His stories are particularly consistent. First *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* (1959), then *The Ragman's Daughter* (1963), and now *Guzman, Go Home* (Macmillan, 30s.)—the stories in all three of his collections deal with the same kind of people in the same kind of places in the same kind of way. There is nothing like

EARLY WORKS STILL BEST

a Sillitoe story except another Sillitoe story.

This is meant as praise, not blame. After all, Sillitoe is a serious writer, worth reading properly and thinking about carefully, because of his material and his attitude to it, rather than his technique—because of what he has to say rather than his way of saying it. In fact he is at his worst when he relies on technique, when he loses his grip and falls into 'fine writing'. He is at his best when he writes directly what he knows, and it is good to see him doing just that in six of the stories in *Guzman, Go Home*. Of course this is a technique itself, but the best art is the art that hides art, and in these stories you don't realise how well they are written until you have finished reading them.

There are quarrels between husbands and wives, leading to attempted poisoning (or was it a delusion after all?), to dazed children, to family problems. There is plenty of sex, not in the modern form of arty pornography but as a disturbing and delightful force. *Make love and war* might be Sillitoe's motto. There are beautiful sketches of the kind stories used to be in the days before cleverness became fashionable—a beheaded chicken which runs into the next house, the man who can never forget the girl he picked up when he came out of prison who disappeared when he went to steal some money for her. And there is a fine return to Nottingham and an old girl friend by a man who left them both ten years ago.

These are all vintage Sillitoe with an excellent and unmistakable flavour.

There is also a tour de force in the title story, which is largely a monologue by a Nazi who runs a garage in the middle of Spain. It is very good in its way, but this isn't Sillitoe's way, and it is curiously disappointing, while the other stories are curiously satisfying. Writers get it both ways. If they go on writing the same way, they are told that their range is limited and they should develop it; if they write in different ways, they are told that they have no recognisable style and they should establish one. But I think there is no doubt that Sillitoe is best when he is most definitely himself, and that he is read and will be remembered for his most characteristic work. However much he may hate it, he is the man who wrote *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* and *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner*, and it is when he writes in that tradition that he compels our attention.

N.W.

Gulliver's Travels

BEFORE THE HOLIDAYS are too far forgotten and the children back at school, complete their celebrations with a visit to The Mermaid. *Gulliver's Travels* is probably by a very long way the best of the 'holiday shows'.

In Lilliput The Mermaid has coped with the imaginative feat of a man nearly twelve times the size of the rest of the actors by a blown up film projection of the actor (Michael d'Abo) at the back of the stage, with an amplified sound track of his voice; and in Brobdingnag by using a rather fascinating little walking doll to represent Gulliver. Both these scenes contain some very moving moments, and the spontaneity and alertness of children's responses to being addressed from the stage in pantomime tradition was a pointer to their involvement in this adult play. Their 'progressive' elders will gain some pleasure from identifying among the actors such known personages as members of The Alberts, William Rushton and Declan Mulholland who was always memorable in Unity Theatre productions.

Curiously enough it is the human situations applicable to the 18th century and any other which most surely find their satirical mark. Perhaps the organisers of all future N.I. Civil Rights marches would do well to perform the Lilliput scene along the route for Protestant big-enders and Catholic little-enders. The scene in Laputa, with crazy scientists on their space satellite making lunatic experiments in producing power and synthetic food, which should speak most nearly to our condition, is the weakest section, being largely slapstick, enjoyable though the fantastic exploding gadgets of The Alberts be. (Though some of the unsatisfactoriness

of this scene may have been because of a feeling that the actors were not too sure of their lines in this one scene, and this has probably been righted as the run has progressed.)

The intimacy of audience to The Mermaid stage makes costumes appear makeshift, but the final scene of The Houyhnhnms in very beautiful ivory coloured horses' heads and cloaks, and ballet-like movements in cadences to match the measured Platonist dialogue, is of great visual beauty. Which rounds off the whole concoction of comedy, wit, sentiment. In short, it's fabulous. It runs until the end of this month.

M.C.

Comrade Roger Etherington

WE ARE SAD to announce that Comrade Roger Etherington died on the Thursday before Christmas after a long illness. Roger always had a great distaste for long obituaries in the libertarian press. Suffice it to say that to list his career as an anarcho-syndicalist militant, active both in the peace movement and the movement for workers' control in the London SWF (besides assisting in the production of their paper *Direct Action*) would be a list of every major demonstration that has taken place in the last seven years. The death of such a young militant is a loss that leaves the movement much the poorer. He died peacefully with his friends never too far away from him.

L.F.A.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

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

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Sunday evening meetings at the 'Metropolitan' (corner of Clerkenwell Road and Farringdon Road), 7.30 p.m. Next meeting Sunday, January 12. Sid Parker: 'Anarchism v. Socialism'. **HARINGEY.** 'Siege of Sidney Street Appreciation Society'. Meet Wednesdays, 8 p.m. at A. Barlow's, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Crouch End, N.8. **PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.

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

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Carippa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m. 3rd Friday of each month at Donald and Irene Room's at 13 Savernake Road, N.W.3, at 8 p.m. Every Monday at A. Barlow's, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Hornsey, N.8. (Siege of Sidney Street Appreciation Society).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

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

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

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

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

LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.

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

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

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

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Peter Newell (see N.E. Essex Group). Group Addresses—**NORTH EAST ESSEX.** Peter Newell, 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex. Regular meetings.

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

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

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

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Sue Warnock, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14. Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 118 High Park Street, Liverpool 8. Contact: Chris Kneath, Basement, 52 Belvidere Road, Liverpool, L8 3TQ.

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

SURREY FEDERATION

G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom, Surrey. Groups and individuals invited to associate.

SUSSEX FEDERATION

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

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

Other groups in **CRAWLEY and SUSSEX UNIVERSITY.**

YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Meetings every 8 weeks. Next meeting February 2. Secretary: Colin Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm, Lund, Selby, Yorkshire. Look out for 'Liberty'!

INTERNATIONAL SUMMER CAMP '69 FUNDS NEEDED

This summer, the annual international camp is to be held in England for the first time. An excellent site has been found in Corwall, near the sea, for the whole month of August. The site has hot showers, toilets and a large barn.

A working group is being formed in London to organise the camp arrangements in conjunction with the local Cornish anarchists. If you would like to help, please let me know.

Our first job is to raise a large amount of money. We have to obtain tentage and hire or buy communal cooking equipment for those who will not be able to come to the camp unless we can provide facilities for them. This applies to many of the comrades from abroad. In the past the Continental comrades have provided good facilities for us, and we want to do just as well by them. We also need funds for the initial stocking of the camp shop.

The Continental comrades are enthusiastic over the prospect of a camp in England so we expect a fair number to arrive, also strong support is anticipated among British anarchists, many of whom have not been able to make it to camps abroad because of finances or the difficulty of travelling with young children. Those among us who have been to previous camps know that not only does it provide an enjoyable holiday, it is one of the few opportunities for discussion between national groups.

In order, therefore, to raise the funds necessary for successful organisation, we would like everyone who intends to come to the camp to make a pre-payment of £1 now. A record will be kept of all payments received and the £1 paid in advance will be deducted from each person's camp charge in August.

Please send urgently your postal orders to:
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London, S.W.2.

Ken Weller Better

WE ARE GLAD to be able to say that Ken Weller, whose injury in a road accident was reported in our last issue, is now making a good recovery. His motorcycle was hit by a car coming out of a side road (whose driver is being prosecuted by the police), and he sustained a broken arm, hip and leg. He is beginning to move around again, but he is still suffering considerable pain and discomfort and will be in hospital for several more weeks. Messages may be sent and visitors may go to Ward A3,

Paddington General Hospital, Harrow Road, London, W.9.

(Ken was touched by the previous announcement, and several readers did send messages; it would be nice to follow it up.—N.W.)

VANDALS AT WORK

Prince Philip and Prince Charles shot 250 pheasants at the weekend at Sandringham, bringing their bag for the first three days of shooting this year to more than 700.
—From the Daily Express.

—monthly 6d.—out in January.
HALIFAX: David Stringer, c/o Paul Simon, 91 Essex Street, Parkinson Lane, Halifax.
HULL: Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.
KEIGHLEY: Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley.
LEEDS: Direct Action Society. Contact John Boutwood, 142 Brudenell Road, Leeds, 6.
SELBY: D. Mackay, 247 Residential Site, Drax Power Station, Drax, Selby.
SHEFFIELD: Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10.
YORK: Nigel Wilson, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.

WELSH FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to: Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff.
SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Ian Bone, 3 Bay View Crescent, Brynmill, Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.
LLANELLI: Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwynnedy Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

EAST LONDON LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

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

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

STUDENT GROUPS

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY GROUP. C/o Ian and Peggy Sutherland, 8 Eslemont Avenue, Aberdeen, AB2 4SL.
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Matthew Robertson, Trinity College, or John Fullerton, Jesus College.
SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Francis Jarman, Red Brick Lodge, 49 Upper Rock Gardens, Brighton. Meetings every second Thursday jointly with Brighton Group; bookstall every Monday outside J.C.R., 12-2.30 p.m.
YORK UNIVERSITY. Contact Nigel Wilson, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.

EAST ANGLIA UNIVERSITY. Contact Dave Lomas, E.A.S. II, U.E.A., Norwich, NOR 88C.
LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION. Contact address: Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow.

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact us at the bookstall in the Students Union Foyer every Friday lunchtime.
OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Francis Casline, Pembroke College, or Steve Watts, Trinity College.

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY. Contact Mike Don or Bill Jamieson, c/o University Union,

Oxford Road, Manchester, 13.
SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY. Contact Robin Lovell at the Students' Union.
LSE ANARCHIST GROUP. C/o Students' Union, LSE, Houghton Street, W.C.2. Read and sell 'Beaver'.

KINGSTON COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY. Penrhyn Road, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey. Contact G. Wright.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Dave Coull, secretary, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden, Montrose, Angus. There are active groups in: **ABERDEEN, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, HAMILTON, EIFE and MONTROSE.**

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

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

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

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000. Phone No. 69-8095. Open discussion and literature sale in the Domain—Sunday, 2 p.m. Call at 59 Eveleigh Street, Redfern, NSW 2015 for personal discourse, tea and overnight accommodation.
BELGIUM. Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Liège.
USA. James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.
VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming an anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, c/o 24-160 East 20th, N. Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel: 985 7509 or 987 2693.
USA: VERMONT. New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Discussion meetings. Actions. Contact Ed. Strauss, RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.
TORONTO LIBERTARIAN-ANARCHIST GROUP. 217 TorYork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Libertarian'.

PROPOSED GROUPS

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Contact Les Smith, 192 Euston Road, Morecambe, Lancs.
WATFORD. Anyone interested please contact Ronnie Anderson, 31 Marlborough Road, Watford, Herts.
ROCHDALE, BURY & OLDHAM areas. Those interested in libertarian activity contact David Purdy, c/o 35 Balmoral Drive, Darn Hill Estate, Heywood, Lancs.
MALATESTA GROUP: West Kensington Area. Contact Reg Sharpe, c/o Freedom Press. Initial meeting Tuesday, January 21.

The Case of James Bell

JAMES BELL STOOD outside the Ministry of Productivity and Employment Office in Rose Street, Wokingham, and burnt a ten shilling note. He did this in protest against what he terms victimisation.

He has a wife and four children to support on £10 17s., because when he became unemployed eight weeks before he was unable to find work. He applied for a supplementary allowance and was told that someone would call within a few days to fix things up for him. That was two months before!

He was sent to a labouring job by the Exchange, but as it paid only £12 per week he said it was unsuitable. The official replied, 'It is suitable to me.' And suspended his money. This was appealed. He turned down another job and was suspended again.

Eighteen months ago he applied for a Government training course under the scheme to offset the effects of SET. He heard nothing since he first applied.

The Ministry officials have indulged in other petty forms of harassment. One day he was sitting in a roomful of men waiting for their dole. Many of them were smoking, but an official said to him

alone, 'I see you smoke. You're not given money for cigarettes you know.' On another occasion he brought his child for the ride into town, and the official asked, 'Whose child is this?' Upon being told she added, 'Well, don't bring her again.'

All this added up until one Thursday James stood outside the Exchange and burnt a ten shilling note. He stayed there all day, fasting and speaking to any interested passers-by. On Thursday evening three comrades visited him to express their solidarity and offer any help they could. On Friday James spent the day in front of the exchange, fasted and burnt some more money. On Saturday he met the group and decided to accept our offer of help. On Monday (16th) he kept up his fast and vigil alone, but the group decided that it would occupy the building if nothing was done, entering just before closing time and staying until his case was dealt with or until removal by the police.

Accordingly they entered the Exchange,

after giving out leaflets, and discussed the case with the officials. After the usual question and answer session, getting nowhere, they sat down and announced that they intended to stay until James' case was dealt with.

The Exchange manager, Miss MacPherson, was asked by James why there was a delay in his application for supplementary allowance. She simply replied that the form had been forwarded to the Ministry of Social Security. James asked if she had followed it up. No, it was not her job. A comrade asked if she felt any moral obligation to follow up the delayed allowance. She replied, 'No.'

After closing time the police were called, and a sergeant arrived followed quickly by a 'Panda car' driver. They pulled up a chair and tried the technique which lies somewhere between the 'old soldier' routine, and the 'I've got my job to do' act. They threatened arrest if we did not move, and we voted our course of action. Having all come directly from

work to the demo we decided that the point was made and that we should go.

A light-hearted interval came during the sit-in when the police radio called out of the sergeant's pocket, 'Tango 6 coming to your assistance. I've not yet informed the inspector. He's out shopping with his missus.' Even the fuzz had to smile at that!

Outside it was warming the way the facade of bullshit fell from the cops' faces. 'What's it all about then? Yes, I'll read your leaflet.'

However, by Thursday evening there was still nothing for James. It was decided to sit-in again or leaflet in the neighbourhood of the Exchange manager's home. But the next time James went into the Exchange he was invited into a back office to meet a 'Supervisor'. He was granted his supplementary allowance and given a date to see a panel at Slough. After a little chat, which included a cup of tea and a cigarette, he was accepted for a Government Training Scheme. The Ministry has stepped down and met both our demands after only 100 leaflets and a 40-minute sit-in at the Exchange. Next please!

M.H.

FIFTH COLUMN

THE SOLDIERS

I HAVE NEITHER read *The Soldiers* nor seen the current London production of it. I therefore have no opinions to offer about the play itself as drama. But *The Soldiers* is a success.

As six former members of Churchill's 'secret circle' wrote to *The Times* on January 2: 'A propaganda play has just been produced in London designed, like many others before it, to convey the message that all war is terrible, that modern weapons of mass destruction cause untold suffering and that the conduct of war demands inhumanity and ruthlessness from a nation's leaders.'

It is a measure of Rolf Hochhuth's success that so many of his opponents have found it necessary to answer him in public debate—thus ensuring a wider audience for his message.

Their main objection to the play is this: 'Sir Winston himself is portrayed as a ruthless war leader deliberately, if reluctantly, destroying women and children.'

Their own version is as follows:

Sir Winston Churchill was resolved to fight the war... with total determination but without more human suffering and loss of life on either side than was necessary for victory. The casualties involved in strategic and industrial bombing were for him a deplorable consequence of the strategy... by which the war was most likely to be quickly won.

The language in both passages is carefully chosen to convey a particular impression—but if you compare them closely they say exactly the same thing. The following facts are not in dispute:

(a) that Churchill's primary objective was to win the war as quickly as possible;

(b) that Churchill ordered strategic and industrial bombing which destroyed women and children;

(c) that Churchill ordered strategic and industrial bombing not because he wanted to destroy women and children but because he wanted to win the war as quickly as possible.

'Ruthless' is an anti-word generally reserved for those of whom we disapprove: 'total determination' is the equivalent admirable characteristic. 'Deliberately, if reluctantly' is a far stronger phrase than 'deplorable but inevitable consequence' but the meaning is the same: you know what you are doing and regret one of the effects of it.

The 'secret circle' cannot conceal the reality of Churchill's past—and their own—by describing it in a special way.

They also assert that the great man did not 'descend to political assassination to achieve his ends' and describe the suggestion that he did as 'an absurd fabrication'. It is absurd because Sir WC once said: 'Political assassination is something I would never countenance'; and because one of the men with Sikorski was the godfather of Churchill's daughter.

I offer no evidence that Churchill ordered the assassination of Sikorski but I do not accept that it was impossible for him to do so either because he said he hadn't—or wouldn't—or because a friend of his would die at the same time. A man who orders the large scale destruction of civilians because it is necessary for victory can hardly be squeamish about the murder of one man—and another who happens to be a friend of his. Politicians have to be liars: twentieth century war leaders can't afford to be sentimental.

That Churchill was not a sentimentalist is evident both from his action and his published words. In his account of the Second World War Sir WC defends the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki because it shortened the war and in the end saved lives. He compares the use of the atom bomb with Cromwell's massacres at Drogheda and Wexford which also shortened the war and in the end saved lives.

It is interesting that a historian called Ashley writing about Cromwell quotes the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in defence of the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford. This argument can obviously be used to justify any atrocity in war.

It has always been true that 'the conduct of war demands inhumanity and ruthlessness from a nation's leaders'. It is now also true that the conduct of war demands that the state become totalitarian.

Those who revere the memory of Sir WC—and above all those who worked immediately under him—may not like the suggestion that in fighting the Nazis he necessarily adopted some of their methods. But then the civilian populations of the bombed German cities probably didn't like his bombs.

WYNFORD HICKS.

THE GREAT MOVE

WE ARE HOPING to be able to move into new premises on the other side of Angel Alley fairly soon. The building to which we are going has been renovated at considerable cost. The floors have been strengthened with steel girders. The roof has been repaired, and the electrical system renewed. The Moving Fund has almost reached its target. Thank you very much comrades.

However we are still not yet out of the wood. The Premises Fund, which is to meet the new, increased rent we shall have to pay in our new quarters, is still far from its target, and we still need your help. We hope that everyone who is able to will rally round and help. We think that we shall be moving in some time during the early spring.

A.W.U.

MOVING FUND

Target is £500.
Received to Date—£430 0s. 3d.

PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.
Pledges honoured to date and donations—£565 15s. 5d.

KEEP IT GOING!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT 31.12.67—28.12.68

Estimated Expenses:
52 weeks at £90: £4,680
Income: Sales and Subs.: £3,881

DEFICIT: £799

PRESS FUND

Brisbane: R.J. 11/-; Wigan: B.B. 10/-; London, W.11: M.T. £2; Penbury: R.W. 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; J.W. 5/-; R.W. 5/-; Bristol: P.T. 3/-; Leeds: A.L. 5/8; Epsom: C.W. 10/-; Leeds: G.F. 2/-; Falmouth: R.W. 1/6; Woodstock, Vt.: E.S. £5/10/-; Manchester: B.J. 5/8; Aberdeen: I.M. 10/-; Wigan: B.B. 10/-; Glasgow: A.J. 2/1; Aberdeen: M.D. 5/-; Taunton: J.D. £1; Stroudsburg, Pa.: C.B. 12/-; Nottingham: H.T. £2/2/-.
TOTAL: £15 19 11
Previously Acknowledged: £744 7 5
1968 Total: £760 7 4
Deficit: £799 0 0
TOTAL DEFICIT: £38 12 8

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

Gift of Books—London: M.W.K.; London, N.1: M.H.K.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:
1 week at £90: £90
Income: Sales and Subs.: £74
DEFICIT: £16

PRESS FUND

London, E.7: J.R. £2/5/8; Stroud: S.R. 4/8; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 4/-; J.L.* 6/-; Chicago: J.K. £8/9/2; Petersfield: P.W. 1/8; Southall: L.W. 2/8; Liverpool: H.J. £7/5/8; Preston: B.P. 10/-; Los Angeles: J.E. £9/12/-; Brenford: J.S. 5/8; Hove: H.C. 13/5; London, E.11: L.R. 3/-; Lulea: H.P. 5/-; Bradford: F.R. 5/8; Glasgow: A.J. 4/-.
TOTAL: £30 18 3
Deficit B/F: £16 0 0
TOTAL SURPLUS: £14 18 3

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

Nauseating Report

Dear Sirs,

I would like to comment briefly on your report (21.12.68) about the lack of response by Tilbury dockers to blacking arms used to kill Biafrans.

While my own report, which was not used, may have been too bitter and sarcastic, I found the excuses for the dockers that you printed to be rather nauseating.

I find it incredible the writer should think they had barely heard of Biafra. (Dockers do read the *Daily Mirror* and watch television from time to time.)

Secondly, it was stated they were not a seething mob ready to revolt and because of their economic position they could not afford to strike.

Yet earlier in the year they could afford a day's strike in support of Enoch Powell's anti-immigration remarks. Neither were they asked to revolt or go on a full strike, but just to black a certain cargo in order to save lives. Over the last year their average wage has been over £30 a week and they could easily have afforded to do this.

Dockers are often unjustly attacked by the press, but the callous way many tore up pictures of dying Biafran children was a case which deserved criticism in my opinion.

Yours,

Grays, Essex MIKE PENTELOW.

Comrade Bill Dwyer

BILL DWYER is in jail at Long Bay Remand Prison. He is held on \$800 remand bail, plus \$5,600 appeal recognisance on one charge of possessing drugs (lysergic acid), \$2,000, and three charges of selling drugs, \$3,600. He was sentenced to 18 months for possession, and 12 months for selling—sentences to be served concurrently.

The nature of the appeals sureties, plus remand bail, is not necessarily cash but surety. However the police have vetoed one friend who has a house in his name, worth \$9,000, because they are suspicious of his motives. Of course this argument could easily be smashed if one wants to play legal games. However this friend says that his money is better spent on his friends than in paying the costs of legal manoeuvres.

The address of Bill Dwyer is:

William Dwyer,
No. 513,
P.O. Box 13,
Matraville,
New South Wales,
Australia.

A letter would be very heartening, as he only gets one visit a month (with special exceptions). He has two more charges to face, for selling, in January.

M.H.

Community

Comrades,

Community has been produced as a vehicle to carry news and theory into one of the new and growing revolutionary situations. This is the fifth of the population now living on council estates, with many more being rehoused each year from slum clearance schemes. It is important to recognise that much of the apathy and cynicism towards party politics has been dispelled by this new situation—together with the freezing of wages and disregard for people as human beings—there has been tremendous growth in indigenous groups seeing 'through' the party, and adopting a 'do it yourself politics'.

Community is meant to provide liaison between existing tenants groups, and to act as a catalyst where none exists. It also broadens horizons beyond the defensive actions, and will try to carry the outlook into a sphere of offensive

Letters

and constructive work.

Although mainly for the North West we are writing to all the groups (Anarchist) to see if they can find outlets for the paper, or themselves initiate tenants groups where there aren't any. Any group selling the paper will find many reactions! Including the right ones. From these individuals the basis of a group is formed.

25% of sales can be retained for your own funds. There is an excellent sales poster—designed by Mike Don—price 1/6d.

Ask tenants to send in articles. In the North they sit on an editorial group. Please send your orders by return if possible.

Fraternally,

RON MARSDEN.

David Graham—Community Research & Action Group.
Ron Marsden—Manchester Anarchist Group.

58 High Lane, Manchester, 21
Phone 061-881 1788

P.S.—We are willing to meet any group to talk about this and other projects—Sec. School Union, gipsies, surveys, education, etc., etc.

Victimised

Comrade Editors,

The piece in *FREEDOM* of 30.11.68 ('Foremen or Con-Men?') I received through the post, and then took to work with me. To say it caused a sensation is to use an undertone! (I work at the Dunlop Hindley Green Branch.) In a matter of minutes I sold fifteen copies of *FREEDOM*, all I had. The same day I was reprimanded by my boss, for distributing them. The next day I was transferred to shift work.

A few days later Percy Webb, Branch Secretary of the NUGMW, came across to the Dunlop factory and proceeded to make enquiries about who was distributing *FREEDOM*. I am proud to say it didn't get him far!

Lancs. FREEDOM SELLER.

Avro Manhattan

Dear Comrades,

I was intrigued to learn, from a report by William Webster (14.12.68) on the present troubles in Northern Ireland, that 'Paisley's latest publishing venture is *Catholic Terror* by Avro Manhattan, a 10/6 must for your Xmas stocking'. Is it possible the Orange fascist and the freethinking Italian radical have become business partners? I suggest our Ulster friends write to Avro, explaining the true situation, and ask him to denounce Paisley. Coming from such a famous anti-Papist, the effect would be considerable.

I am not familiar with the particular work referred to, but I have read other books by the same author. Like the Pope, Avro Manhattan thinks in global rather than national terms. His *Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom* contains, out of 510 pages, 27 on 'The Vatican against Protestantism', 13 on Ireland, and not a single word about the Province of Ulster.

As for the quality of Manhattan's writing, I can do no better than to quote from his foreword to *Catholic Imperialism*.

'The contents of this work may prove controversial. Controversy implies disagreement. This is often nurtured by doubts about the veracity of the source

of information.

'No documentation has intentionally been incorporated in these pages without its source being given. Most of it is drawn, on matters specifically connected with Catholicism, from Catholic Canon Laws, Papal encyclicals, and Vatican decrees; on specifically American problems, from documents of the US administration, which can be found among official American papers (e.g. in the Libraries of Congress, Washington). The principal sources for current affairs have been documents issued by various governments, or by international organisations such as UNO, as well as what are generally admitted to be most soberly authoritative organs—for example the *Osservatore Romano*, the *London Times*, the *New York Times*, and a few others, religious or political mouthpieces of either national hierarchies, political parties, or various other official or semi-official bodies. Abundant notes and references are made throughout each chapter, and can be found at the end of the book.'

Yours fraternally,

DAVE COULL.

Regina v. Rogan

Dear Editors,

On Tuesday, December 17, 1968, the State Police moved against the South Yorkshire Peace Centre. At 11 a.m. on that day they raided it in my absence. Without warrant or lawful authority they removed one window blind containing an anti-war pictorial display.

On Wednesday, the 18th, Sgt. Adams, accompanied by a constable, visited my home at 7.30 p.m. They complained to me about the window and asked for a signed statement after they had cautioned me. I refused to give them one.

They then invited me to agree to an informal chat concerning their allegation that the window was an obscene exhibition. I agreed on condition that my wife was allowed to be in the room and take part. No notes were taken by myself or my wife; the sergeant, however, did take notes. They showed me photographs they had taken of the approximately 60 pictures in my window and claimed that five were indecent. I told them that war itself was indecent. At 8.30 p.m., after warning me that I would be prosecuted under the Vagrancy Act of 1824, they left.

Today, December 23, I appeared at the local Magistrates' Court as ordered in the summons. Present in court was my friend and associate, schoolteacher Chris Weeks. I asked that the case be remitted to the High Court of Justice in London. The police objected, and the application was refused. I then told the Court I would ask the High Court, myself, to remove the case from the jurisdiction of the local Magistrates on points of law, and the Court agreed to grant me an adjournment until February 5, 1969. I will keep you posted.

Meanwhile to my many friends in London may I say, Good Luck, Merry Christmas, and a happy New Year.

Corner Shop,
158 Cemetery Road,
Doncaster, Yorkshire

P.S. I replaced the anti-war window on Saturday, December 21. For so long as I remain in charge of that Peace Centre that window display stays. I am running short of pictures on Biafra and Vietnam. If the police raid again I will be out of stock. Please help me by sending a few.

**WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY.
LATEST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF
MSS., LETTERS, MEETING NOTICES
IS THE MONDAY IN EACH WEEK
OF PUBLICATION.**

Creeping Towards a Corporate State

Castle's Mussolini Gambit

IT IS ARGUED, fatuously of course, that the Labour Party is the party of the working class, it is elected by them not only to protect their interests, but to further progressive thought, i.e. social justice.

The Labour Government's record in terms of industrial affairs has been one of criminal betrayal. It has ponced on its traditional backers, the trade unions, by using such hypocritical phrases as 'Support your Government', 'Don't rock the boat' and 'Far better your own people legislate, if the Tories get back they will legislate with a vengeance'.

As far back as 1951 a Labour Government prosecuted seven dockers' leaders. That great working-

class leader whose name will go down in working-class history, Sir Hartley Shawcross, prosecuted for the Labour Government through his office as Attorney General. The dockers won the day and Sir Hartley of the 'Red Tie' went away with his tail between his legs.

Labour Governments have consistently attacked the working people through their traditional capitalist economic policies. Again back in the 1950s, Sir Stafford Cripps attempted to enforce a wage freeze, but the Electrical Trade Union literally blew it apart. Smithfield Market lorry drivers, electrical power station men and gas workers were all subjected to strike-breaking by conscript military labour. 1,500 workers at Beckton Gas Works struck work. Ten members of the strike committee were arrested and charged under Order 1305 and the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875.

Our old friend Sir Hartley Shawcross laid the foundation stone for any future Labour Government's industrial policy when he said, 'I take the opportunity of making it quite clear that this Government, like any government as an employer, would feel itself perfectly free (my italics) to take any disciplinary action that any strike situation that might develop demanded'. (*Hansard*, Feb. 2, 1946.)

No one can deny that any successive Labour Government has ever deviated from the intention of that statement. The Wilson Government have carried it out to the letter, but have been shrewd in its application, as the railwaymen know to their cost. On two occasions a national rail stoppage has been fobbed off with vague promises. On the last occasion Wilson himself promised the railwaymen something concrete, then the Wage Freeze put them at the receiving end of nothing!

The Labour Government's Wage Freeze in itself is a diabolical piece of class legislation, operating under the guise of a Prices and Incomes Policy. Prices and Profits UP! WAGES DOWN!

The present Labour Government was elected by a middle-class vote, on the basis of the unions being made to 'toe the line'. This policy was a vote-catcher as far as the middle class were concerned, and to be perfectly frank a good many trade unionists were not opposed to this line of thinking. Press and TV propaganda had done its job well. According to the mass media Britain was one of the most strike-prone countries in the world and therefore something had to be done about it, hence the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers Associations, appointed in April 1965 and reported in June 1968. Employers in particular and some people in general had hopes that the Commission would recommend legislation to prevent strikes.

official or unofficial, in other words make strikes illegal. In fact the Commission was opposed to any legislation of that nature.

In the light of present events, Wilson, Castle & Co. can be included in the 'some people in general' who had hoped for a recommendation in stronger terms against the unions. And to prove the point Barbara Castle is proposing her own brand of legislation supported by the Cabinet.

Although all the details of the proposed legislation on trade unions is not known at time of going to press, the basic theme is being freely canvassed which is 'Enforceable cooling off period for selected unofficial strikes and compulsory ballots before certain official strikes can take place'. Anticipating some opposition from the TUC, the 'hatchet lady' for the Wilson administration has offered 'sweetmeats' in exchange for support, grudging or otherwise. The 'sweetmeats' are in terms of—firstly, during the cooling off period any machinery or work methods that have caused the dispute will be taken out of action; secondly, a proposed increase in the number of workers on company boards, and thirdly a Government fund to help union mergers.

Obviously the whole proposal opens the flood gates for future legislation, the proposals in themselves are designed literally to take the heat out of a strike situation. Ballots and waiting periods create a situation in which pressures can be exercised to accept a weak compromise. Labour Party leaders did not visit Sweden for the benefit of their health, they went to learn how Swedish industrial legislation operated under a Social Democrat Government. It is very difficult for workers to go on strike in Sweden.

Detailed legislation is not expected to be introduced until the next session of Parliament which is in November. In the meantime the Government is to set up the Commission for Industrial Relations (CIR) as proposed by the Royal Commission. The CIR will be armed with powers outlined in an Order in Council. It is intended that trade union reforms will be tackled industry by industry; it is also proposing safeguards against provocative sackings.

The employers' attitude to Barbara Castle's proposals are as expected; they claim they do not go far enough, they want contracts legally binding. At the moment the TUC's attitude is one of opposition, but by the time this article is printed their official reaction will be known. They will eventually succumb to blackmail by the Government who state that Tory industrial legislation will be worse, the lesser of two evils so to speak.

Frank Cousins is right when he says that such legislation is toward a Corporate State. If any political party can establish a Corporate State it is the Labour Party. Their 'confidence' technique is well established.

The question that worries me is: 'Do the people of this country want a Corporate State, do they want to be led and directed what to do? I am not so sure the answer is 'No'. There is an active minority who oppose, but the rest?

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

(Other contributions have also been received on this subject. We are printing 'One Step from Tyranny' by I.D. in our next issue.—EDS.)

Freedom For Workers' Control

JANUARY 11 1969 Vol 30 No 1

IF THE HAT FITS...

IN THE JULY of 1967 Tarsem Singh Sandhu was dismissed by the Wolverhampton Transport Committee for refusing to shave off his beard and remove his turban. It is the declared policy of the Wolverhampton Transport Committee that only the regulation uniform issued by the Committee must be worn and beards though deemed to be personal property must not be worn during working hours. Tarsem Singh Sandhu was not sacked for incompetence but for insisting on wearing the worldly manifestations of his spiritual faith. For he is a follower of that Hindu monotheistic sect, founded by Baba Nanak in the 15th century, who formed the core of the British Army for four centuries and who were honoured only as long as they did not take up permanent residence in the land of the Queen Mother, for whom so many of them died. There were protests in Wolverhampton and in London over this act of racial and religious prejudice but it came to nought and Sandhu and his beard and turban made the sad and ancient trek to London to work for the London Transport at their Southall Garage.

This should have been the end of a mean and vicious little story were it not that the workers at the nearby Hendon bus garage decided to carry on this evil persecution that the Wolverhampton Committee had unintentionally instigated. The London busmen to their lasting shame decked themselves in a carnival of grotesque headwear in a baleful mockery of the turban worn by Tarsem Singh Sandhu.

Sikh leaders in Birmingham have now decided to force the issue and C. S. Panchi, a leading Sikh, has stated that the only course left for the Sikh community is to take the matter to the Race Relations Board. But they have failed to realise that they are crossing pens with Alderman Ron Gough, the chairman of the Wolverhampton Transport Committee, and in matters of dress Ron is a man of iron determination who has decided to stand for no old buck from the boys from the

Punjab and Ron has gone on record that 'if Sikhs are willing to comply with the terms of employment—and one is that regulation dress must be worn—they will be taken on'.

And here at the moment the matter rests with an inevitable victory for the Sikh community not as a matter of right and justice but by the sheer weight of social and economic pressures.

What affects us as workers is the stupidity of the bus men at Hendon and those at Wolverhampton in not realising that their own personal freedom of choice is bound up with that of Tarsem Singh Sandhu. This is not a mealy-mouthed sermon written at a safe distance for others to love their neighbours, but a statement by one involved, pointing out the obvious, that if any employer can contain the freedoms of any one workman then our own freedoms as workers is placed in jeopardy.

The London Transport officials who gave matey smiles to the London busmen while they behaved like village louts knew that this was but a brief circus of unreason for, if these clowns drove the Sikh busman away from the job or forced him to shave off his beard and remove his turban, then they in their turn would suffer the same fate should they be seen to be working without wearing the regulation cap or shining from the daily shave. This is but a matter of common observation for hardly ever now do we see a conductor or driver wearing that ghastly hat yet this is regulation dress and after fifty years of fairy tales of militant busmen it was only with the coming of the coloured workers onto the job that we old hands dared to openly report for work without the regulation gear.

I, for my part, despise every form of national and religious dress when it is daily worn as a mark of special distinction but the day that some drear clod is not allowed to wear a kilt, a turban or a rosary, then that day my freedom not to wear a London Transport regulation hat is lost.

LUMPENPROLETARIAT.

MANAGEMENT BY REMOTE CONTROL

ONCE MORE the tyre men of Dunlop, Rochdale, are in a militant mood. A £1 a week rise fought for and won in the new tyre department has been kept from the Regent tyre men.

As we see it the firm hasn't a leg to stand on, and we want the £1 and back pay from December 30, 1968.

When our Regent tyre shop was opened, about a year ago, we were promised the same pay and conditions as those upstairs on new tyres. The job we do is just the same and the conditions, from the wet tyres which all but drown the labourers, to the dust which clogs up our throats and the nerve-racking noise of machines is, if anything, worse. They're getting their pound of flesh out of us.

TOP AND BOTTOM OF IT

The top and bottom of it is that the management are delaying our rise. Why? Because Dunlop is in a combine and there is bitterness between different managers in the group.

When our shop was opened, a battle took place between the Dunlop bosses at Rochdale and the Manchester management of Regent. Regent won and a Mr. Brown took over the running of our shop from his office in Manchester (12 miles away).

We don't see much of Mr. Brown, but at his branch of the combine in Manchester, he deals with and poorly pays his non-union labour. The Dunlop Rochdale bosses recognise the unions.

LET'S HAVE A DO!

So there it is, Mr. Brown, bless him, is too proud to let himself be influenced by the Dunlop managers. Eee, some bosses could start a row in an empty house! I'm sure we workers could do better with our eyes shut.

This not to say of course that bosses of the Brown type couldn't run a piss-up in a brewery. They clearly could!

But what we would suggest is that management by remote control is bad management. And that a firm in Rochdale does not operate best with a Manchester management.

Management by workers' control, on the other hand, would do away with most of the paper work and pen pushers, so beloved by bosses like Brown.

Isn't it obvious, a workers' management committee on the job would see and solve workshop problems and production techniques, which the present bosses couldn't crack in a month of Sundays. And naturally the will to work would be stronger if we had a hand in how things were done. For, let's face it, working men have a common sense and practical know-how, which most bosses for all their bullshit and bureaucracy don't have.

How about letting us have a do?

MUNICIPAL & GENERAL WORKERS.
P.S. This article has been written at the request of the Dunlop tyre workers. Only the views on workers' management are purely my own.

Contact Column

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

Ulster Civil Rights Picket. This Saturday 11 a.m.-2 p.m. at 11 Berkeley Street, W.1. Northern Ireland Government Agents' Office. Bring your own placards.

Brighton and Hove area. Anyone interested in group activities contact Nick Heath (address in groups list).

Typing jobs done at home. Reasonable rates. Douglas Kepper, 21 Vernon Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11.

Flesh-Meat Means Murder. 100 stickers, black on white with Vegan Action symbol, 5/- post paid. Direct Action against animal exploitation, cruelty and butchery. Send 6d. for newsletter or s.a.e. for details to Vegan Action, 11 Clematis Street, Blackburn, Lancs., BB2 6JP.

Home required for intelligent 16-year-old girl (orphan) till legal independence at 18. She is, tired of being messed around—had five hostel moves last year. Anxious to find job, perhaps later study for GCE. Situation must be capable of approval by Birmingham Children's Department. Contact Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23.

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

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

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

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

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

The Crypt, 242 Lancaster Road, W.11. Music, Poetry, Theatre every Wed. 2/6. Audience participation.

Birmingham Discussion Meetings. Tuesdays at 7.30 p.m. Venue usually at The Crown, Corporation Street. Further information from Peter Neville, c/o Peace Action Centre, Factory Road, Birmingham, 19. (S.A.E.)

Badges and Banners. Rectangular metal black/red badges 2/6 each post free or bulk rate (10 or more) 1/- each—resell at 2/- or 2/6. Also flags and banners to order, from 7/6. McGee, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Cambridge, Cornwall.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

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