

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly **6d**

NOVEMBER 16 1968 Vol 29 No 35

No Votes at Eighteen!

EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT youngsters mature much earlier nowadays. Puberty at 13, 12 or even 11 is regulation—the late starter begins to think something is wrong! What with the permissive society, Dr. Spock, bless him, progressive parents (if you're lucky), propaganda for the pill, a vague grasp of what Reich was on about, and the beat, beat, beat of the pop group hammering at our heart-strings, to fix the 'age of consent' at 16 seems a bloody imposition. And since the teen age is the age, you've got a whole lot of livin' to do before you're twenty.

Now this is great as long as you're content to live it up on someone else's terms, as laid down by the oldies, objecting to they know not what, but stoutly holding that schooldays are the best days of your lives and you should have fun within limits.

These limits are pop and coke (no, no, not pot and poke) and good clean fun, the more Outward Bound the better. Attention to superficial cleanliness, get your hair cut, do your homework and get good passes in your 'O' levels and 'A' levels and on to University for three steady years of hard work at the taxpayers' expense and great sacrifice by your parents. Remember the teacher is always right and Dad knows best and Mum is always there to talk to and once you get your degree—and by Christ you'd better get a good second at least—then you're away for life with a safe, pensionable job with ICI and a semi-detached of your very own in Croinge, the ticky-tacky dream come true. And a great sigh of relief for the terrible teenage years safely behind you.

EMBARRASSING QUESTIONS

Life on easy terms—to secure the future shall be as the past, only more so. The only mystery, the only uncertainty—the generation gap, seemingly bigger than ever before, a new affluence bringing a new culture, a new freedom bringing a new confidence, a new, inexplicable maturity bringing new demands.

NEW DEMANDS! There's the danger signal! A red light glowing from the Red Bricks signals an end to childish pastimes. Rigger, rowing and rag days for charity are not enough; we are now asking 'Why charity?', 'Why poverty?', 'Why war?', 'Why waste?', 'Why this irresponsibility?', 'Why authority?'

These are embarrassing questions, and can be asked only as long as the young questioners will be fobbed off with lies, soothing syrup and gentle pats on the head. There, there, you leave it to the more mature citizens, the ones who know what real life is all about, who are

not idealists (have no ideals), who are realists (have no principles), who are adjusted (have no imagination).

But what if the youngsters won't be fobbed off with lies, spit out the soothing syrup, answer the gentle pat with a smack in the mouth—what then? What if the society of the squares does not impress them, in fact disgusts them? What if they want to run their own world on their own terms and begin to find ways and means to bring it all about? What if they refuse to be held down? What if they PROTEST?

IT IS WRONG TO OPPOSE

Well, almost by definition, the oldies were not born yesterday. They own the means of expression and they can sneer and scarify and pervert the truth and bring their propaganda to bear so that when we are peaceful we are wrong and when we are aggressive we are wrong. Whatever we do is wrong because basically it is wrong to oppose them!

Except by ways they can control. Someone in high places had a brain-wave and thought 'There is nothing wrong with young people that the ability to vote wouldn't cure' because, he thought, all this extra-parliamentary activity stems directly from the fact that the youngsters are frustrated. Give them the opportunity to express themselves through constitutional channels and you kill several birds with one stone:

1. First of all you skim off all those who don't really believe in direct action anyway. This includes all those who basically are politically-orientated and who would be proud to vote for their own candidate if they got the chance. Short of getting 'their own candidate' they will vote of the next best—however near the worst he happens to be. There are also those who want to be able to say 'We have tried all the proper channels before being driven by desperation to direct action'. Give these one more channel up which to waste their time and at the very least a further breathing space has been won.
2. The sooner you get your suckers hooked on harmless methods the better. Get them believing in Parliament and majority rule, and you've got them believing in being ruled. This is the most important con to work on anyone. Who does the ruling doesn't really matter, since governments are all essentially the same anyway. Just get them believing that it is important to make a non-existent choice for a non-existent difference, and you've got them accepting their own non-existence.
3. Once they are hooked on this, the rest is easy. Even if the old parties fall by the wayside, the corruption of power will itself take care of any revolutionary content in any new parties that take their place. By the time a new mass revolutionary party of the working class has climbed to power it will have become as oligarchic, as dictatorial, as

representative of a minority as the old ones. The leaders become the new elite; the rank and file begin a new experience in disillusionment.

4. You isolate the real revolutionaries. These are the hard core of real direct actionists who embrace direct action as a principle not as a tactic, because what they want—a reorganisation of society without any government at all—cannot be achieved by playing politics and choosing masters. Once isolated, these can be dealt with by all the extra-parliamentary methods that the ruling class is quite prepared to use when its interests are threatened: victimisation, character assassination, police and prison methods—the lot.

THE BIG CON GAME

These then are basically the reasons why our undemocratic Labour Government is introducing voting at 18. It is a big con game to divert our vigorous young protesters from direct action—an attempt to make them feel that they have a stake in constitutional parliamentary authoritarian society after all. There may even be a pathetic hope that young voters are more likely to vote Labour than Tory.

But they will fail. This television generation can dig Shifty Harold as clearly as Slimy Ted. We are not taken in. In any case we are seeing clearer than ever before that freedom—and it is freedom we want—cannot come through the channels of government.

In our art schools and universities students want the kind of responsibility that freedom brings. In our factories the frustrations of bossdom give impetus to demands for workers' control—the real grass roots democracy that cannot come through choosing slimy opportunists to fiddle the capitalist economy for the next five years.

We are not seeking participation in our own degradation. We are seeking the dignity of free men, which we have to take for ourselves.

We do not want your vote, Harold Wilson. What we want we are going to take—and there is nothing you can do about it.

JUSTIN.

AFB CONFERENCE

THERE HAS BEEN a certain amount of correspondence about the article in FREEDOM on the conference. Unfortunately FREEDOM does not have room for this and it is suggested that the correspondence be taken over by the LFA Internal Bulletin. Comrades not in the LFA wishing to take the Bulletin which will contain a section of international news can subscribe for 10/- plus postage for ten issues.

Peter Neville wishes to point out that the arrangements for the first quarterly regional delegate conference in Birmingham are being made by him. Suggestions, etc., to Peter Neville, c/o Birmingham Peace Action Centre, Factory Road, Birmingham 19.

DIGGER.

The Presidential Election

'There's nothing they won't do to raise the standard of BOREDOM.'

(From a Situationist strip-cartoon.)

WITHIN A DAY of getting elected President of the United States, Richard Nixon met his defeated 'opponent' Hubert H. Humphrey and with him issued a joint statement calling for unity. No other proof is necessary of this sham contest. Although the Democrats have retained their majority in both the Senate and the House of representatives, this does not mean that they are going to challenge Nixon in any way, the Industrial/Military complex is a coalition and will continue to rule as before.

The electoral ballyhoo has taken many anti-war militants initially away from the real issues. But by the time of Democratic Convention in Chicago and

during the confrontation with Mayor Daley's police even the politically innocent youth were convinced that electoral politics was a dead-end. The final insult came when McCarthy, not unexpectedly from an anarchist point of view, endorsed Humphrey's candidacy. So the manoeuvre failed. Those who were momentarily de-radicalised by the McCarthy trick, have now returned to work within the SDS and similar organisations.

Nothing has been resolved by this election. The Vietnam War drags on. And if the assassination plot on Nixon is anything to go by, there is again a renewed danger of war in the Middle East, where Nixon is committed to arming the Israelis, whilst the Russians continue arming the Arab countries.

R.

Who will rid us of this meddlesome Priest?

THE REVEREND Dr. Ian K. Paisley is in his forties. His 'titles' were bought for a few dollars from the Bob Jones 'University', a southern fundamentalist racket in the USA. Five years ago he was just a joke, a sick joke. Today he is a very real menace, Ulster's Elmer Gantry. His 'free presbyterian' churches are spreading, the *Protestant Telegraph*, his fortnightly hate sheet, is reported to be about to appear weekly. It is worth stealing a copy—certainly you wouldn't pay them for it. It does however have that certain endearing robustness of style about it—where else would you see the Archbishop of Canterbury described as 'the archtraitor Ramshackle, who looks like an overfed Bulgarian peasant' or be subjected to screaming headlines such as—'Mass celebrated at Buckingham Palace', 'Russia in cahoots with the Vatican', 'Rome's satanic lies', 'Homosexuals married in RC church', 'Common Market an RC plot', 'RCs spawn of satan', 'The massacre of Altnaveigh'—which turns out to be three highly inflammatory pages about the murder of six Protestants 46 years ago by the IRA?

Another contributor whose words of wisdom are given several pages is that great white Christian gentleman Governor Lester Maddox of Georgia, friend of the Afro-American. Frighteningly, the circulation of this provocative trash is increasing. But Paisley is a man of peace, he's told us so, and it runs in the family. His goodladywife Councillor Eileen Paisley, Ulster's walking advertisement for halitosis, is a vigilant champion of public morality. On the committee which banned *Ulysses* from Belfast cinemas, she walked out after half an hour saying that the film was 'disgusting, obscene and has a good plug for popery in it'. (Since Joyce was born in Dublin he must have been a good teague.)

Her other big campaign recently has been to ensure that the city's parks and play centres remain closed on Sunday as it is clearly immoral for kids to swing on the sabbath. But she is a mother first and foremost as the free presbyterian congregation appreciate, for when the twins were born to her an enthusiastic member rose mid-service to congratulate the noble Ian—'He knows it's not just for stirring his porridge with'.

But anyone attending a Paisley service knows it's no laughing matter. It's very unnerving. Accompanied by his faithful (or perhaps not so faithful) lieutenant, Rev. 'Squealer' Wylie, Ian, his ruddy butcher boy's face aglow, whips the people up to a frenzy of bigotry—the scarlet whore on the banks of the Tiber, 'the beast of the apocalypse which is Rome', the stream of filth keeps on spewing out. The first twenty rows are filled with the behatted ladies who dote on him; just past the menopause and looking for a filial surrogate, they lead the chorus of hallelujahs. The red-necked farmers, uncomfortable in their stiff collars, come next. They seem subdued but dig deep into their

pockets when the plate is passed round, and it's notes not silver they give generally. Lastly, the huge throng of urban protestant extremists, mostly working class, for although many of the bourgeois support him financially it isn't the done thing to attend with the hoi-polloi. They hate O'Neill as much as the Pope, and the ecumenical movement even more. And always there are the strongarm men, strategically scattered around the hall. They used to have to deal with hecklers, but few are foolhardy enough to dare heckle now. Union Jacks bedeck their halls and churches for aren't they as loyal as our gallant kith and kin in Rhodesia, like that nice Mr. Lardner-Burke? Indeed they are, but most of the TV sets in their homes have a shiny picture of Rev. Ian alongside our radiant Majesty's.

Some would have us believe that Paisley is the victim of the extremists within his own group, just as the pathetic O'Neill is. This is manifestly not so. No one upstages Ian when it comes to extremism. He is a shrewd fascist who knows his audience. He knows how to exploit the religious divisions in this community and how to capitalize on and enlarge the split. His latest venture is the attempt to bring back the 'Clyde Valley', a leaky old tub which was used to run guns in 1912. The gullible public were persuaded to subscribe to this lunatic enterprise, and aided by big business interests (shades of an earlier Adolf) a geriatric retired skipper was flown to Newfoundland to bring the fair barque back to the old sod (believed to be a reference to Mr. Paisley). After extensive and expensive repairs she set sail and the *Protestant Telegraph* proudly announced that she would arrive back at Larne on October 26 (DV). D it appears was not too V, since the wretched hulk almost sank forty miles out and had to be dragged back to port again. £5,750 worth of repairs later, the new date is November 16 (DV).

But the farcical elements of extremist fundamentalism should not encourage us to ignore it. Paisley's self-inflicted martyrdom of three months in jail has only served to strengthen his hand. He now feels that he can ensure the cancellation of any demonstration that he doesn't like—e.g. civil rights—by threatening a counter-demonstration. He has had private talks with Adolf Craig, our beloved Minister of Home Affairs. So far he has had his own way in the streets, aided and abetted by our fascist misgovernment, but the time of his comeuppance is at hand. Soon he'll have to be taught that other people have a right to the streets and will not brook his interference.

JOHN BELFAST.

WHO THE HELL DO YOU THINK YOU ARE?

School leaflet now ready

£1 a 1,000 or 2/6d. a 100 (plus postage)

from
Anarchist Publications Committee,
84a Whitechapel High Street,
London, E.1.

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

books?

we can supply
any book in print

SECONDHAND

- We have a large stock of secondhand books. Try us for what you want. This week's selection.
- Three Ann Quinn 12/6
 - Rainbow Fish Ralph Bates 4/-
 - The Quiet American Graham Greene 3/6
 - Journal of Arthur Stirling Upton Sinclair 3/-
 - The Thief Takers Patrick Pringle 8/6
 - Prisoners at the Bar (Bill Hayward, Sacco and Vanzetti, etc.) 8/6
 - The Wings of the Morning Edward Hyams 3/6
 - Ten-Thirty on a Summer Night Margaret Duras (paperback) 5/-
 - The Assassins of American Presidents Robert J. Donovan 8/6
 - Biology in the World Today L. Anderson Fenn 2/6
 - Towards Democracy Edward Carpenter 3/-
 - The Croquet Player H. G. Wells 3/6
 - The Turning Point Klaus Mann 3/-
 - Mazzini Bolton King 3/-
 - The War and the Second International V. I. Lenin 3/-
 - Birth Control and the State C. P. Blacker 3/6
 - My Years in Germany (1939) Martha Dodd 7/6
 - Science at Your Service Julian Huxley, Bragg, Appleton, etc. 3/-
 - The Frustration of Science Crowther, Bernal, Blackett 3/-
 - Wind, Sand and Stars Antoine de Saint-Exupéry 5/6

Freedom Bookshop

Write or Come!

Editorial office open Friday, November 15, 6-8 p.m. and Monday, November 18, 2-8 p.m.

Telephone: BISHOPSGATE 3015.

New temporary address:
84a WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET,
c/o Express Printers,
(entrance Angel Alley),
WHITECHAPEL, E.1.
(Underground: Aldgate East. Exit:
Whitechapel Art Gallery. Turn right
on emerging from station.)

Temporary opening times:
Tuesday-Friday, 2-6 p.m.
Saturday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

FREEDOM PRESS

are the publishers
of the monthly magazine
ANARCHY
and the weekly journal
FREEDOM
specimen copies will
be gladly sent on request.

Subscription Rates

- FREEDOM only (per year):
£1 13s. 4d. (\$4.50) surface mail
£2 16s. (\$8.00) airmail
- ANARCHY only (per year):
£1 7s. (\$3.50) surface mail
£2 7s. (\$7.00) airmail
- COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION
FREEDOM & ANARCHY (per year):
£2 14s. 4d. (\$7.50) surface mail both
£4 15s. (\$12.50) airmail both

PUBLICATIONS include

- Berkman's
ABC of ANARCHISM 2/6 (+5d.)
- Rocker's
NATIONALISM AND
CULTURE 21/- (+4/6)
- Richards'
MALATESTA: His Life and Ideas.
Cloth bound 21/- (+1/3);
paper 10/6 (+1/-)
- Bakunin's
MARXISM, FREEDOM and the
STATE 7/6 (+5d.)
- Berrier's
NEITHER EAST or WEST 6/- (+9d.)
- Woodcock's
THE WRITER & POLITICS 7/6
- and
Annual Volumes of Selections from
FREEDOM 1952-1964
each year's volume 7/6 (+1/-)
Full list on application.

INEVITABLE WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

THE DEMANDS of modern war require that the individual not only commit himself on one side or the other, but insist on the general perfection of his side. The argument that runs 'if you were a Vietnamese, you would have to choose to be involved' applies equally in Israel and also in the neighbouring Arab States. It is the more likely to appeal to people with revolutionary social consciousness. The Jewish bourgeoisie could fit in as a trading community in the Levant, to the complete satisfaction of the Arabs generally; no Zionist would object to the oil sheikhs, desert kings and Arab military leaders, provided they afforded no threat to the growth of the Jewish state. Since however Israel has evolved into a nation with a working class as well as a trading bourgeoisie; and since the Arab leaders have to reckon with a vast mass of pushed-under workers and peasants who have no chance of life at all but revolution at home or war abroad (and in the case of some, war on their own territory), there is no alternative to war in some degree or another. Ultimately—such is power politics—such a war could involve the world.

International considerations may limit the Middle East war or cause it to observe an uneasy armistice from time to time while both sides watch for the inevitable incident which can say that the other side is 'aggressing'—as if anyone really cares which side 'starts it'—so that hostilities may commence; in fact, all realists know that hostilities will commence the moment it is in the military interest of either the Jewish State or the Arab States. To judge from the standpoint of the schoolyard argument ('he hit me first') may suit innumerable paid and unpaid propagandists for either side, but it is only in default of an alternative case. No plea that 'the other side started it' is needed in order to oppose tyranny. But all who espouse from a partisan point of view either pan-Arabism or Zionism must feel uneasy at the company they keep.

The followers of 'Communism' (Moscow, Peking, Havana or Mexico-Mausoleum brands) are almost all committed to the notion of a current Arab revolution, unless they happen to be in an Egyptian desert prison (and including many of the latter, too). Nasser's officer clique, the oil-rich sheikhs, the Nazi advisers in Cairo, the 'Socialist' officers of Baghdad and the wily entrepreneurs of Beirut who even manage to stay neutral in their own war, are all 'objectively' part of the socialist revolution because they are deemed to be anti-imperialist.

Unfortunately, the Israeli Socialists who have picked at the same texts, use the same anti-imperialist arguments and the same quotations from oil statistics, to prove that theirs is an anti-imperialist

struggle, too; it is unfortunate from this point of view that power politics aligns them now with the French Right Wing, now with the Americans (on whom domestic political pressures can also be applied). Advanced co-operation on the industrial and consumer level, with liberal injections of private enterprise from capitalists and bankers elsewhere, have produced a mixed economy in Israel that is perhaps a foretaste of the 'alternative to 1984'—the liberal-socialist-capitalist solution of involvement and integration within the present economic framework. Martin Buber held, of course, that the alternative to 'Moscow' (and to 1984) was 'Jerusalem'. This mixed economy of liberal capitalism is indeed the antithesis to feudal communism on the Egyptian plan (public works plus hereditary class control).

But the difference in economies has nothing to do with the clash which was inherent from the very beginning. One can blame 'the Jews' by saying that obviously from the start it was clear that the only way what was then Palestine could become a Jewish State would be by genocide (in those days the Zionists argued they did not want a Jewish State but merely a National Home). On the other hand, the majority of Jews did not go to Palestine voluntarily. They went as a direct result of European anti-Semitism and because genocide in Russia and Germany made no other place possible. The world was prepared to accept small numbers of Jews, particularly as traders; nowhere in the world was prepared to accept millions of 'pauper' (in other words potential working class) Jews, least of all those countries which claimed to have attained socialism and solved the unemployment problem which was claimed to be the barrier.

It is for this reason that the recurrence of hostilities are inevitable, because it is the Jewish working class which has the stake in Israel, while the capitalist can (and frequently does) go anywhere in the world he chooses. And conversely the displaced Palestinian Arabs in particular, but also anyone in the neighbouring Arab countries with nothing to lose, has everything to gain from war, which—so long as it is successful—will be popular.

Has the revolutionary, therefore, nothing whatever to say in the matter? He has certainly no method of influencing the situation, because no single group emerged in any of the Arab countries without being instantly suppressed, nor in Israel at all, that was prepared even to consider the possibility of revolutionary internationalism. So far as the anarchist movement is concerned, to the best of my knowledge the Hussein brothers were the only propagandists to be directly influenced by anarchism. Within a few weeks of forming a labour movement amongst Egyptian and

Sudanese workers and open to Jews, they were murdered (one by the police in open fire; one by nationalists). In Israel, despite occasional allegations that an anarchist movement is about to be created, there has certainly been no vestiges of one. (I cannot regard seriously the not unknown reformist-anarchist who retires to Israel to write an occasional broadsheet in Yiddish on the wonders of Judaism from Moses to Ben-Gurion.)

The most, therefore, that the revolutionary can ever do in the matter is to look somewhat pityingly on the people around him who, on some issues, appear to be moving in his direction, and then, at the sound of battle in Sinai, either rush to Marks & Spencer's London office to volunteer for Israel; or mutter about

Red & Brown

WE STOOD at the table seeking to choose between the regimented rows of red and white wines and vainly seeking for the exotic on the plates of Private View foods. The commissionaires, polished and officiously servile, blocked the doorway to the Royal Mall while we of the Private View drank of the red and the white. From the royal drag came the shrill screaming of officers and the dull rattle of Guardsmen fixing their bayonets while the off-stage band hammered out *God Save the Queen* and the blond coach lumbered by and Adrian Henri, Poet of the Month, blew a kiss to an elderly admirer.

Guillaume Apollinaire has been dead these fifty years and the Institute of Contemporary Arts decided to celebrate the occasion by inviting sixty artists and poets to pay public homage to the late Guillaume. It was a small peg on which to hang an exhibition and the mass of second-rate work appears to have justified the choice of corpses for public rehabilitation.

Within every social, political or aesthetic movement there is that man or woman who forms a focal point for those with talent to come together. Theirs is the café table, the place at the bar, the small shop or the private dwelling to which all those with something to proclaim gravitate. The man at the table becomes the editor of the personal appearance seeking out for public or private amusement the gifted minority and his reward is the vicarious excitement of a proprietary interest of the man of the hour.

Such a man was Apollinaire. Joy of the Parisian café society, friend of Picasso, Picabia, Chirico, Derain, Marcoussis, Cocteau, and all those mini-

the sinister influences at work on the London editors publishing news of Arab defeats.

A revolutionary movement within either Israel or the Arab countries can only come from the bottom upwards; and ultimately it will. It will not do so while the working class have, or feel they have, the major interest in warfare that perpetuates the nation State. One cannot in revolutionary terms think of 'Jews' and 'Arabs'; it is only by the abandonment of nationalism and the State that we can end both exploitation and war. It is equally true, of course, that there is no solution, in those terms, to the problems of 'whites' and 'coloureds'; or 'Northern' and 'Southern' Irishmen. Such 'solutions' only solve the problems of the present exploitative society. Solutions in terms of a free society mean scrapping such abstracts as nationalism—that is why these solutions have to be revolutionary.

A. MELTZER.

giants of our dying age. A poet of limited talent, he played with the visual appearances of his poetry in the mannered fashion of today's *concrete poets* and wrote out his appreciations of his associates' revolutionary art theories in a parody of the style of Oscar Wilde that still dies the death in the unreadable columns of *International Times*.

For this was Guillaume Apollinaire, a man of splendid company and slight talent. A bourgeois patriot in the gentlest meaning of the term in that when the band played and the flags waved he tumbled into uniform and won a head wound and a photograph as a passport into the Establishment. Apollinaire was no wild man of the boulevards for he loved the Establishment and desired to become part of it and its cage formed the boundaries of his poetic flights.

So what better place should have been chosen than the Institute of Contemporary Arts in the Royal Mall? The celebration was named and organised by Simon Watson Taylor and as such he is responsible for the one amusing thing about the celebration. Mike Kustow had, in the course of his duties for the celebration, to invite sixty artists/poets to flex their muscles for the cause and among those INVITED was Jeff Nuttall of the bubble curls, the erratic temper and the way-way out prose style who offered to contribute a bucket of shit. This was one of those occasions when a single matter of bad taste becomes an inspired choice for the Institute of Contemporary Arts were forced to take a stand, not by an accident of history as with the DIAS affair but coldly and collectively at a

Continued on page 3

Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation, c/o Freedom Press, 84a Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

- LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Sunday evening meetings at the 'Metropolitan' (corner of Clerkenwell Road and Farringdon Road), 7.30 p.m. Sunday, November 17. Albert Meltzer on 'Workers and Soldiers councils in recent history'.
- LEWISHAM. Contact Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone: 01-852 8879.
- S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS. Contact: 14 Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acre Lane end), S.W.4.
- WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7. GRA 9848. Regular activities.
- NORTH LONDON ANARCHISTS. Contact Cindy Scott, 54a Mountfield Road, Finchley, N.3.
- EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Lindsay Wither, 19 Aylmer Road, Shepherds Bush, W.12.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

3rd Friday of each month at Donald and Irene Rounan, 13 Savernake Road, N.W.3, at 8 p.m.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

- BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT. C/o John Bonnet, 40 Lullingstone Crescent, St. Paul's Cray, Kent. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway.
- BEXLEY PEACE ACTION GROUP. Enquiries to 150 Rydal Drive, Bexleyheath, Kent.
- 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).
- BOLTON. Get in touch with John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.
- BOURNEMOUTH AREA. Local anarchists can be contacted through Nigel Holt, Rossmore, Harvey Road, Canford, Wimborne, Dorset. (Wimborne 2991.)
- 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. Laurens and Celia Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath (LIV 7546).
- EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact: Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.
- HELPS. Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage.
- IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.
- KILBURN, LONDON. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London,

- N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.
- LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.
- NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.
- 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.
- REDDITCH ANARCHISTS AND LIBERTARIANS. Contact: Dave Lloyd, 37 Peckenhams Road, Headless Cross, Redditch, Wores.
- SELBY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact D. Mackay, Residential Site, Drax Power Station, Drax, Selby.
- TAUNTON LIBERTARIANS. Jill and John Driver, 59 Beadon Road, Taunton, Somerset.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Peter Newell (see N.E. Essex Group).

- Group Addresses:—
- BASILDON. M. Powell, 7 Lingercroft, Basildon, Essex.
- BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
- CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.
- EPPING. John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.
- HARLOW. Ian Dallas, 18 Brookline Field, Harlow and Annette Gunning, 37 Longbans, Harlow.
- LOUGHTON. Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.
- NORTH EAST ESSEX. Peter Newell, 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex. Regular meetings.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

- LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT. Gerry Brex, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 3. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.
- MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Sue Warnock, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.
- Every Saturday: 'Freedom' and 'DA' selling outside Central Library, 2.30-4.30 p.m. 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.

SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Finden Road, White-

- bank, Brighton.
- BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton, BN1 3HN. Regular fortnightly meetings. Contact Secretary.
- SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP (see details under Student Groups).

WELSH ANARCHIST 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 Llwynnendy 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.
- LEYTONSTONE GROUP. Get in touch with Anthony Matthews or Ron Bailey (address as above).
- STEPNEY. Trevor Jackales, 10 St. Vincent de Paul House, Dempsey Street, Clichy Estate, E.1.
- NEVHAM. F. Rowe, 100 Henderson Road, E.7.
- ILFORD. Del Leverton, 12 Hamilton Avenue, Ilford.
- DAGENHAM. Alan Elliot, 98 Hatfield Road, Dagenham.
- WOODFORD. Douglas Hawkes, 123 Hermon Hill, E.18.
- LIMEHOUSE. M. Solof, 202 East Ferry Road, E.14.

STUDENT GROUPS

- CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Matthew Robinson, 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 Lomax, 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.

SCOTTISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

Secretary: Dave Coull. ABERDEEN ANARCHIST GROUP. Bob Comrie,

- 28a Hardgate or Ian Mitchell, 3 Sinclair Road.
- GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E. or Joe Embleton, 26 Kirkland Road, N.W.
- HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.
- FIFE. Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar.
- PERTH AND CENTRAL SCOTLAND. Iain MacDonald, Craighair, Bridge of Gour, near (?) Rannoch Station, Perthshire.
- MONTROSE. Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden.

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. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, and Margie Rojo, P.O. Box 192, Carlton South Sydney, 8 p.m.
- USA. James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.
- MELBOURNE. Get in touch with Bob Hopkins 3053. Public meetings at Yarra Bank, Melbourne.
- MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY ANARCHISTS. (Formerly T.R.E.A.S.O.N.) Union House, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria, Australia.
- DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Gothegade, 27, Viborg, Denmark.
- VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming 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.
- SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.
- SWEDEN: Libertad, Allmänna Vägen 6, Gothenburg, Sweden.
- 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.
- KINGSTON, WIMBLEDON, MERTON. New Malden, Surrey. New group forming. Please contact K. W. Bennett, 63 Hook Road, Epsom, Surrey, or G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom, Surrey.
- PRESTON. Contact I. B. Cowburn, 140 Watling Street Road, Fulwood, Preston.

What Students Face in Aberdeen . . .

PRINCIPAL WRIGHT of Aberdeen is alleged to be involved at a high command level in the Government's post nuclear set-up. A couple of years ago, the *Glasgow Herald* reported him as opposing the cutback of the Territorial Army and the universities' OTC, since they would be needed after a nuclear war.

Students in Aberdeen have a thin time. Not only at university but at other institutions, too. Perhaps the worst is the College of Commerce, where 40-year-old mature students have their names taken for being five minutes late and the Principal spends his days (on a salary of £6,000) going along the corridors peering in windows to make sure that no one has a coat hanging over a chair back—one of several minor matters he has a phobia about. People are regularly expelled for 'insubordination'. The judge of 'insubordination' is the Principal.

The Education Committee of Aberdeen Town Council is dominated by the ultra-right wing Church of Scotland who have a number of fanatics co-opted on. How much longer will the people of Aberdeen allow this to go on? Must we allow our children's lives to be run by non-elected Calvinists? As a result of Church domination religion is rammed down the throat of every pupil in Aberdeen. Even at the College of Commerce, attendance at the end of term service is compulsory—the alternative is to submit to being herded into the library—a bit thick when you're 40.

At the Robert Gordon's Technical College, the Art School and the Architectural College, things are just as bad. What is lacking is any form of co-ordination of aims and tactics between dissenters at all the varied colleges. A properly organised, democratically controlled students' union (with all delegates subject to the right of recall) is an essential. The authorities are organised. So must the students be.

PETER THE PAINTER.

. . . and in Leeds

FASCISTS USE DIFFERENT tactics to reactionary and racist Conservative politicians. While the former are busy pushing militant racism to the working class as a quick and easy answer to all the questions their vicious exploitation forces them to ask, Conservative politicians are specialising in non-events at universities.

Their general idea seems to be to go to a university and provoke a hairy/ lefty demonstration and then scream 'Free speech, free speech!' to a well-heeled press. Patrick Wall, MP, has been to Leeds once and got a sensation-worthy response (the lying press said we had kicked his wife to the ground and then used her for a trampoline). You can't have enough of a good thing so little Patrick came back on November 8 for another go. We had issued a leaflet, part of which said:

'We must demonstrate our contempt for trash like Wall, we must have a carnival in the hall, a carnival that demonstrates that we are on the side of life as opposed to Wall's tight-arsed, hypocritical, political way of death.'

And we did. We socked it to him with mighty song renditions, and towards the end of the meeting more people were listening to the various other small meetings in the Hall than were listening to him. And finally, to a chorus of 'We'll meet again', he left 25 minutes early.

All Wall gets out of it is a little more for his press cutting library. It'll

be forgotten by people in general by the day after tomorrow. But for the people in the Union, the students who took part in the demonstration, it is a demonstration of the fact that they're there. A politician isn't a dominating act of God, he's as important as people let him be. We didn't let him be very important. He was made into an object lesson in a political education.

We must not be too worried by Wall's free speech mouthings. He and others like him have had ample opportunity to spew his views over the media. The reason we demonstrated against him was because we don't have the chance to be heard unless we do demonstrate. We live in a society where men with 100 watt amplifiers and men with gags in their mouths are kindly given the same right of free speech. We are in the gag-removing business.

LEEDS DIRECT ACTION.

Government of the People, by the People

LIBERAL DEMOCRACY is defended on the grounds that the people want it and that it is fair and just.

The majority of the British people do not oppose liberal democracy. They behave as the system demands, refraining from active participation in politics of any kind yet turning out to vote at general elections. In other countries, under regimes which the liberal democrat would describe as totalitarian, the majority similarly behave as the system demands. In Spain, the UAR and the Soviet Union, the mass of the people are not enrolled in revolutionary movements: they pas-

sively accept their own political systems just as the British do.

Thus if the absence of significant opposition to a system shows that the people want it, all existing political systems are wanted by the people who live under them.

This the liberal democrat would not accept. He considers that all those who do not have liberal democracy are thirsting for it. If they do not appear to struggle to create liberal democracy it can only be that they are deterred from doing so by state repression. In other words only under a liberal democratic system can the people's wants be clearly expressed.

This particular argument is not restricted to liberal democrats. Many political theorists and propagandists

Red & Brown

Continued from page 2

table. And Simon Watson Taylor as the organiser of the *Apollinaire celebration* rejected Nuttall's bucket of shit as a contribution to the non-event of the aging year.

In 1915 the New York *Salon des Independents* indignantly rejected Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain*. Vainly Duchamp pointed out that it was an exhibition of independents and that as a member of the jury he was willing to accept his own work but it was not to be and Marcel Duchamp's piss basin with the signature of R. Mutt was rejected. It was rejected by these good bourgeois Americans for the same reason as the Institute of Contemporary Arts, the Royal Mall, rejected Jeff Nuttall's bucket of shit for, to quote Simon Watson Taylor, 'if all that Jeff can scrape out of the bowels of his imagination, to mark his enthusiasm for the memory of Apollinaire, is a bucket of shit and a line (out of context) from one of Apollinaire's sillier bits of barrack-room juvenilia, why not simply opt out of the whole project'.

Simon Watson Taylor has posed the question and he should, after all these seasons in the field, know the answer and it is this, Simon Watson Taylor: When you invite people to contribute to any form of public manifestation you should be aware and know the manner and the personality of those you ask and, in that it is you who have asked and they who are giving, you must be prepared to accept on their terms whatever they offer. If you find that any contribution is out of key with the

event then the fault is yours in that you chose the contributor, he did not choose you.

Just as the New York *Salon des Independents* is only saved from historic oblivion because they rejected Duchamp's piss basin, so the *Apollinaire celebration* will only be remembered because the Top Brass of the Institute of Contemporary Arts found themselves out of their depth and they lost their collective nerve and rejected a bucket of shit from an invited artist while they were prepared to accept so much third-rate work from other men.

I have no feeling in the matter of Guillaume Apollinaire, for he lived out a pleasant and amusing life and it is doubtful if the history of contemporary art would have been altered one iota if he had never lived for there is always another man at another café table to attract the passing spectator.

To seek a final summing up of this *celebration* for the plump ghost of Apollinaire one must not turn to Simon Watson Taylor's fulsome introduction to the *celebration* but to his article on Apollinaire in the *London* magazine, wherein he states that 'in fact, Apollinaire was altogether rather awkwardly placed to be the spokesman of the *avant-garde* in art and literature. He had no intellectual understanding whatsoever of painting, and in poetry he constantly felt the tug of the rich sonorities of the symbolism on which he had nurtured his sensibilities. It would not be unfair to say that he was totally innocent of any metaphysical or sociological curiosity'. Then what are we celebrating, Simon?

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Aberdeen University Sit-in

ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 4, at 5 p.m., 60 students moved into the Aberdeen University Registry to stage a token sit-in. The students were demanding to be given statistics pertaining to failure rates at this University believing that such figures are essential to discussion and action on matters concerning the lives of students. The Students' Representative Council had already asked the Administration for failure figures but had been told that these would take many months to compile. Six students however worked out provisional figures for 22 different subjects in ONE AFTER-NOON by looking up pass lists published in a local newspaper. This in itself was a lengthy process and would have been greatly simplified had the students been allowed access to University files. The Administration had obviously stalled the SRC—a body which has no power and no say in the running of the University (a striking example of student exasperation is the fact that only 24% of students voted at the SRC elections a fortnight ago).

THE AIMS OF THE STUDENTS

The sit-in was a protest against the ineffectuality of the SRC and against the reticence of the University Authorities in releasing the required statistics. The precise aims of the occupying students were as follows:

1. To demand and extract all figures pertaining to failure rates as we believe that no information directly affecting students should be withheld from them.

2. To display that the University bureaucracy itself is most unwilling to inform students of their statistical chances of passing particular subjects, and in the long run of obtaining a degree, because these figures, if released, would reveal the irrationality of the system and the arbitrary nature of the standards by which we are assessed.

3. To use these figures to expose the monstrous wastage, inefficiency and inequity of the capitalist system of education.

4. To show that there exists in Aberdeen a group of militant left-wing students who are prepared to use tactics of dramatic direct action, which are the only ways of cutting through the delaying and diversionary tactics of the University bureaucracy, to further the ends of the student population as a whole.

The six students who had worked out provisional failure rates published their findings in the University newspaper and these showed clearly that there was a vast difference in the percentage of overall failures for the 22 subjects investigated. For example some subjects such as Sociology and Logic had an overall failure rate of 5% while at the other end of the scale, German and Latin had 31.8% and 32.5% respectively and Natural Philosophy had 48%. It was also noted that a department's position below or above the mean is remarkably consistent each year. In other words those departments who failed 30% last year have done so consistently for a long time and will no doubt continue to do so. (The average over the whole University has been constant at around 16% for years but the standard of student in terms of A-levels, etc., has been constantly rising.)

The Administration's reticence in publishing failure rates is thus obvious; if the statistics were known a student might shop around for low-failure departments and the University would be forced into an examination of the reasons for the ridiculous discrepancies in failure rates.

MASS MEETING

When the occupying students left the Registry on Monday night they went straight to the SRC offices and demanded that the council call a mass meeting of students on Wednesday, November 6 and that the Principal of the University should attend and listen to the students' grievances—the SRC had little option but to accept and over 2,000 students turned up on Wednesday afternoon. The meeting voted on a motion 'That this

assembly supports the actions of those students who occupied the Registry on Monday night'. The motion was defeated by a two-thirds majority. (The previous day an 'anti-militant' petition had been drawn up and had been signed by nearly 1,000 loyal supporters of the bureaucracy.) The 60 students were denounced as being an 'irresponsible minority' totally unrepresentative of the mass of students. The 'irresponsible minority' however had made no claims as to being representative of the whole. The object of the sit-in was to draw to the attention of the mass of students to the great discrepancies in their educational system and this object was accomplished successfully. The majority of students did not support the sit-in BUT were now aware that something was far wrong with the University system of student assessment and were demanding more information.

NO ROOM FOR COMPLACENCY
The outcome of Wednesday's meeting was that the Principal agreed to release the information demanded not 'after many months' as originally stated but in one week's time. A victory for the militants? Not entirely. The students are not being permitted to have access to the full figures themselves; the Administration 'will supply the required statistics'. Reading between the lines this means that the authorities will supply figures at their own discretion.

Nevertheless the militants had got the ball rolling. A further motion was proposed at Wednesday's meeting to the effect that 'All information available to the Senatus Academicus (the governing bureaucracy of the University) and pertaining to the running of this University should be made available to all students'. This motion was passed by an overwhelming majority. Significantly the Principal made no comment on this motion; the Administration will condescend to release a few statistics (vetted statistics if necessary) to help perpetuate the myth of student participation in the running of the University but it will not yield to the above motion, which questions its power, without a fight. A preliminary skirmish took place last Monday night but as yet there is no room for complacency amongst Aberdeen students.

ABERDEEN STUDENT.

maintain that their dream is simultaneously the dream of all other people. Were all repressive obstacles to be removed, the dream in question would automatically be realised. However it is obviously important to distinguish between what people want and what they are capable of in different circumstances. And to make the point that state repression is not enough to stop a determined people.

The liberal democrat cannot shelter under the claim that the people want the political system he favours. He must defend his position by showing that only liberal democracy is fair and just. This is after all what he means by saying that only under liberal democracy can the people's wants be clearly expressed.

The first objection to the claim that liberal democracy is fair and just is that it is only a formal system. Liberal democracy does not touch the reality of power and decision-making. It is not a separate system of government at all, only the most sophisticated method yet devised of conning the people that their opinions count; that they can affect what happens to them.

The evidence for the view that the function of general elections is to persuade people that they influence events, rather than actually to make it possible for them to do this, is overwhelming. The slogans of the political parties emphasise the differences between them—their actions in power demonstrate their similarities. The policies which are presented to the voters before elections can fulfil either of these functions—or both. Policies may be inspiring yet vague, calculated to gain the support of a particular group but involving no clear commitment; or they may be generally inoffensive and likely to be implemented whichever party wins; or they may be stated in quite different and contrasting terms by the two parties but amount to much the same thing in the end. And, most important of all, what is said before elections is likely to be explained away after them 'in the light of new circumstances' while unpopular policies are usually not mentioned at all.

It is interesting that the growth in the power of the state and the bureaucratic political machine—together with the lack of any clear differences between the major parties in countries like America and Britain—has been accompanied by a tendency to personalise politics. The key question in Richard Nixon's campaign was not how he proposed to end the Vietnam war but whether he could successfully assume the image of an honest second-car salesman.

The main function of the politician is to sustain the myth that by supporting him the people choose him as an expression of their will; he exercises power on their behalf and does what they want.

This is a myth not only because real political issues are not discussed at elections but because the successful politician is not in fact able to do very much.

Formally success in a British general election gives a political party immense power. The reality is that it can act only within certain quite narrow limits. When a new government is formed there are some new faces in Whitehall offices—but the work in those offices goes on much as usual. It is only in their speeches, that ministers can pretend they are in control: in their own offices they cannot avoid seeing that they are essentially public relations officers for their own departments rather than architects of the nation's destiny.

The political party is not only faced by the entrenched power of the state. Allied to it are, for example, the bureaucracy which controls industry, financial interests inside and outside the country and various foreign governments. It is hardly surprising that most politicians in office follow the example of their predecessors: they have little choice. The people who vote for them have even less.

WYNFORD HICKS.

DRAWING THE LINE

Quotation of the week must go to the Vice-Chancellor of Reading University, H. R. Pitt.

Speaking in Reading he referred to persons inside and outside the university who held views 'positively destructive of political and national institutions and who believe that the universities should be part of their movement'.

He went on to explain that these people were tolerated because 'Universities should be free of political pressure, places where people could read, write and think freely'.

Then the gen: 'We must draw the line, however, when these people think their views should be put into action'.

LARRY.

MOVING FUND

Target is £500.

Received to Date—£422 12s. 0d.

PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.

Pledges honoured to date and donations—£494 1s. 7d.

Good Going!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:		
44 weeks at £90:		£3,960
Income: Sales and Subs.:		£3,394
DEFICIT: £566		

PRESS FUND

Woodstock, Vt.: E.S. £5; Berkeley, Cal.: A.K. £1/6/6; Hartford, Conn.: D.S. 12/-; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Caerphilly: R.W. 5/8; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; London, N.W.6: P.C. 10/-; London, W.5: D.S. 3/-; British Columbia: D.J. £1/3/-; Los Angeles: M.B. 4/-; Lancaster: R.T. 3/-; Chicago: In Memory B.Y. £12.

TOTAL:	£21 17 2
Previously Acknowledged:	£676 9 7
1968 Total to Date:	£698 6 9
Deficit B/F:	£566 0 0
SURPLUS:	£132 6 9

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

BUILDING WORKERS CAN TURN THE GOVERNMENT'S BLUNDER INTO VICTORY

Strike Against Wage Freeze!

THE GOVERNMENT'S decision to refer a 4½% interim pay increase for 1½m. construction workers to the Prices and Incomes Board is a political blunder from which they might have some difficulty in extricating themselves. All-round opposition has never been so strongly against any previous decision to refer to the PIB. Not only have both the employers and the trade unions condemned this further intervention, but also 90 MPs have signed a motion, sponsored by Mr. Heffer, a one-time carpenter, condemning the Government reference.

This interim pay increase was agreed to last month. It gives craftsmen 3½d. an hour and labourers 3d., and came into effect on November 4. But the payment was only made because of the delay in publishing the PIB report on the union's wage claim, which was referred to the PIB in May. They were supposed to have reported by the end of October, in time for a new agreement to be reached for November, but the

Board asked for a further month, which the Government granted, and so the unions and employers agreed to an interim payment.

While this increase is a modest one, it does, strictly speaking, with the 1d. an hour cost of living increase given last March, exceed the Government's 3½% increase in any one year. The criteria for obtaining excesses over this figure are very harsh and are only justified under productivity agreements, changes in wage structures which lead to increased efficiency and productivity. So even if, by working harder, increased productivity is obtained, this does not automatically entitle anyone to an increase over 3½%.

PRODUCTIVITY UP!

Productivity in the industry has, in fact, gone up considerably. Last year it rose by 7½%, while figures so far this year show a further 5% increase. These figures also came about with a decreasing labour force. Even one of the Government Ministers, Bob Mellish, praised these increases recently in an article in the monthly paper of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives. He had the unpleasant task of defending the Government's reference in the absence of Barbara Castle.

The blunder of the Government is that although the interim increase does exceed their incomes ceiling, it would have been wiser to have been flexible on this, in view of the fact that they were responsible for the delays with the PIB report. Now they are having the worst of all possible worlds, for the signs were that the employers and the unions were coming to some agreement which would have been in line with the Government's criteria. A new wage structure with grading and interchangeability of jobs was being discussed.

It is these points that workers in the industry should not lose sight of while, at the same time, putting up a fight to keep the interim increase. For this interim increase was only given because of the delay with the PIB report. Of course both the employers and the trade union bureaucrats are angry because this intervention by the Government will bring about a situation that they had both hoped to avoid. Mr. Kemp, leader of the building section of the Transport and General Workers' Union, put it thus: 'In view of the fact that our three year award expired in November, we and the employers had no alternative but to make an interim award to avoid anarchy and industrial unrest in the industry' (my italics). It is interesting to note that on the day this interim award was agreed upon, just over a thousand construction workers demonstrated outside the employers headquarters. (See FREEDOM, October 19, 1968.)

Now things are back in the melting pot. The 'veil of secrecy' which surrounded the negotiations about grading and other concessions demanded by the employers in answer to the union's original claim for £17 11s. 8d. for craftsmen and £15 for labourers, may now be lifted. In fact the Government's intervention has done the trade union bureaucrats and the employers a disservice.

A TURNING POINT

A wages campaign amongst the

rank and file has been slow in getting off the ground. Last month's demonstration was a success and a turning point in that workers in the industry were beginning to grasp the full implications of the concessions the employers were demanding. Rank and file demands on the demonstration were for the full union claim, with no strings, and this must remain the same.

The wages campaign has now to fight the reference to the PIB. A delegate meeting of representatives of union branches in the area was called by the West London branch of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers and agreed to organise a picket all this week at the Ministry of Employment and Productivity. On Monday, November 18—the day the increase is stopped under the terms of the Prices and Incomes legislation—they are calling for a one-day stoppage and a mass lobby of Parliament.

ANOTHER LOBBY

Once again, I am afraid, the delegates opted for the usual lobby. In the past we have seen how this type of demonstration gets dissipated by the police when the demonstrators reach the mile boundary. The whole impact is then lost. Many of those who finally reach Parliament get fed up with queuing and those who see their MPs will be told 'Well, lads, leave it to us, but no more industrial action'.

Many of the MPs who are now attacking the Government for its intervention voted for the legislation their Party is now enacting. Construction workers should not be taken in either by these MPs or by the statements of the trade union leaders. For the fact must be faced, the PIB report will make recommendations which are going to undermine the conditions of construction workers. Stewards' power to negotiate bonus targets will be attacked. Grading and interchangeability will be proposed and means of weakening union organisation on sites will also be recommended. Already the unions have discussed plans with the employers for curbing the powers of shop stewards. The National Joint Council for the Building Industry are taking up recommendations of the Cameron Report, which will give the unions' federation the power to appoint their stewards, instead of them being elected by the sectional stewards.

The strength of the construction workers remains on what can be built up on the sites. Strong organisation here is the last thing that the union leadership wants because this will lead to action. However, action is the only way to defeat not only the freezing of the interim increase, but also the agreement, with productivity strings which will come later.

Considerable contacts do exist between organised sites, not only in London, but in other large cities. The struggle should and can be a national one, and the Government's blunder and inflexible attitude could be turned into a victory for the workers in the industry.

P.T.

Xmas Subscription for a Friend?

Freedom

For Workers' Control

NOVEMBER 16 1968 Vol 29 No 35

Clyde Shipworkers' Dispute

NINE MONTHS AGO negotiations started between the Boilermakers' Society and the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders for better wages and conditions. It took so long as the employers were trying to push job evaluation, measured day work, time and motion and, worst of all, the grading of workers into a hierarchy, i.e. Group 1, Welders; Group 2, Platers, Shipwrights, Caulkers, Burners and Blacksmiths; Group 3, Riggers; Group 4, Hammermen. Furthermore within these groups the workers will be graded again, according to ability, age and performance. For example, a plater will start his job and will be assessed, and if not up to standard will be put on a lower-grade job, which means lower wages and so forth down the scale and, very probably, redundancies.

Needless to say, this is not what the workers wanted, in fact what they wanted was a decent basic rate of 15/- per hour with an incentive scheme on top.

Working parties were elected by union officials to negotiate this claim and industrial action was promised. A one-day token strike was held by all members (4,500) of the Boilermakers' Society on the upper reaches of the Clyde to decide whether strike action should be taken. At this mass meeting all we heard was mealy speeches from union officials and shop stewards. In fact what the officials did was muzzle some militant shop stewards.

Failure by the working party, union officials and shop stewards to get anywhere with this claim, resulted in some of the shipyards going in for bonus schemes of their own.

This again angered some of the workers which resulted in one yard (Connells) taking industrial action on their own, through the lack of militancy by the working party and apathy among the shop stewards. This eventually brought in Dan McGarvey, the Boilermakers' President, to negotiate on behalf of the members. A settlement was reached on October 4 between Bro. McGarvey for

the Boilermakers and Hepper, boss of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, which was as follows:

Welders, Group 1 12/5 per hour
Platers, etc., Group 2 11/3 per hour
Riggers, Group 3 9/7½ per hour
All above plus 1/- p.h. Special Allowance
Hammermen, Group 4 7/6½ per hour
Plus 8d. p.h. Special Allowance

McGarvey recommended to a meeting of shop stewards to accept; they in turn took it to the workers who accepted the agreement as this meant a substantial increase in wages, backdated to September 2. For example, the platers would go from 10/3 to 12/3 per hour (11/3 plus 1/- for special allowances), an average rise of £4 per week.

Furthermore, a new incentive and productivity bonus scheme, over and above the wage increase, was to be brought in within 3 weeks. When the 3 weeks were up, the workers wanted to know why they hadn't received their increase. They were told by the employers that there had been a misinterpretation by the union over the agreement.

This brought McGarvey back up to Glasgow on November 5 to meet Hepper, but Hepper was not in Glasgow as he had been called away on business elsewhere. McGarvey met another director of the UCS, a Mr. Farrim, and told him that the boilermakers were not getting what they thought from the agreement. He (Farrim) stated the agreement said, for example, a Grade 1 Boilermaker (Welder) could earn up to 12/5 plus 1/- for special allowances—this was including the productivity bonus.

The Boilermakers' Society have now put a ban on all overtime and given the employers 14 days' strike notice.

It looks as though the employers are up to their old tricks again. The strike is due to begin on November 19 and all boilermakers employed by the UCS are being called out. But the rank and file will have to keep a close watch on Bro. McGarvey.

ANDY MCGOWAN.

Contact Column

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

Time Out. This new information magazine wishes to print advance news of meetings, demos, etc. Time Out, 24 St. George's Court, Gloucester Road, S.W.7.

Greek Social at Three Horseshoes. Heath Street, Hampstead, Saturday, November 30, 7.30 p.m.

Read Beaver! Official organ of the London School of Untrammelled Desire. LSE, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

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.

Racialist School Picket; Lewisham Free Schools Campaign, etc. Libertarian Teachers' Association Open Meeting to discuss practical projects. 7.30 p.m. Wednesday, November 20, Basement Flat, 23 Ellington Street, N.7. Ring FIN 6954 for details.

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

Accommodation Wanted. American girl—very pregnant but not penniless, urgently requires accommodation. MAI 5572.

What Next? Social and discussion. Free-men Syndicate. Saturday/Sunday, November 16/17 at Clarion Youth Hostel, Hadlow, nr. Tonbridge, Kent. Telephone Dave Wetzel 574 7461.

Schools Campaign. Posters available, 6d. each, 5/- per doz. Duplicated leaflets (two different), 1/- per 100. Postage extra. Let us have your schools leaflets and posters in exchange.

Interested Person Wanted (Preferably Girl) for second-hand book-shop. Saturdays. Phone 527 3988.

The Crypt, 242 Lancaster Road, W.11. November 21, 8 p.m. Mandala.

Free the Schools! We are proposing to start an anti-authoritarian schools campaign in S.E. London area. Provisionally to start November 1. Please contact A. R. Sadiev, 90 Ermine Road, S.E.13 (or Mike Rasley, Duncan 1572, after 5 p.m.).

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.)

If you wish to make contact let us know.

Printed by Express Printers, London. E.1 Published by Freedom Press, London. E.1

THE SILLY SET-UP

REGENT TYRE inspectors at Dunlop Rubber Co., Rochdale, have this week stepped up their struggle for the 10/- a week rise owing to them.

Last week, the bosses acted to counter their claim by bumping the required hourly tyre examinations from 25 to 30. Also, by stopping overtime for those not already knocking out 30 an hour.

Apart from being a cheap trick on the firm's part, to ask an inspector to work to the clock seems almost as silly as putting a doctor on piece-work. Do the bosses really think a tyre examined in 1½ minutes is being inspected as well as one done in 2 minutes?

It's typical of pencil-pushing bosses to demand output at the expense of quality, their attitude encourages bad workmanship and scrounging.

The situation for the Dunlop inspectors is that they must examine 240 old tyres in an 8 hour day. For this they may, if they're lucky, get their rise.

The snag is that inspectors here, unlike other places, must mark up the tyres as they're accepted or rejected; breaks and other work reduce the examining time further; and on top of this wet tyres make the examiner's job even more difficult; finally though visiting the toilet is

not controlled, as at some firms up here, it must be limited to meet management demands for 240 tyres a day.

Jimmy Higgins, the boss responsible, better not be shooting the shit when he says the lads can have the rise from Monday next, if they're doing 30 an hour. Dunlop is a union shop and these militant tyre men are not to be messed about.

The firm has had a fortnight to decide to pay up. If it's no can do, something will have to be done. Remember we're doing the firm a favour by marking up the tyres, we're not paid to be clerks.

It's a silly set-up which demands quantity and not quality; that antagonizes workers by treating us like kids; that thinks that factories can best be managed by big combines making decisions far from the factory floor. This is the silly system under which we live.

I wonder if we'd let somebody else lose our life savings in a card school; that's what it amounts to, allowing bosses, politicians and pencil-pushers to play out our lives.

It's up to us to change the rules of the game, and put the people in control. Workers' control of the factories at least.

MUNICIPAL & GENERAL WORKER.