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W R E K I N    A N A R C H I S T

# VOICE

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Telford - Progress or Madness  
Mike Wright                    pp. 3

The Warfare State  
John Hallam                    pp. 10

(editorials, shorter articles,  
column)

" I SIT ON A MAN'S BACK CHOKING HIM AND MAKING HIM CARRY ME, AND YET ASSURE MYSELF AND OTHERS THAT I AM SORRY FOR HIM AND WISH TO LIGHTEN HIS LOAD BY ALL POSSIBLE MEANS - EXCEPT BY GETTING OFF HIS BACK".

(Leo Tolstoi.)

" YOU SAY MEN CANNOT BE EQUAL BECAUSE MEN ARE NOT GOOD ENOUGH TO RULE THEMSELVES.

I SAY MEN MUST BE EQUAL BECAUSE NO MAN IS GOOD ENOUGH TO BE ANOTHER'S MASTER."

(William Godwin.)

5 P

Wrekin Anarchist  
VOICE  
Introductory note

The aim of this paper is to get people to think and act for themselves.

We believe that if the world is to survive the rape of sea and soil, daily performed by get-rich-quick industrialists, and the threat of Atomic annihilation, a lot of action is necessary; & that these evils cannot be ended in isolation.

The social system that creates those evils is the same one that creates the problem of poverty here and abroad, taking the product of the toil of the many to line the pockets of the few.

On the cover we quote a passage from Tolstoi describing the injustices he saw in his day. He stressed that in saying to the rider "come down" one was not depriving him of anything that was rightfully his, for the power of the ruler is taken from the ruled. In saying to the ridden "throw him off" one was offering to the ruler something better than privilege - the fellowship of human brotherhood.

But there was not - as there is now - in Tolstoi's day doubt as to the survival of mankind. Now the folly of the rider threatens the continuance of the human race. In the name of expediency as well as of morality the rider must come down.

Most of the editors of this paper regard ourselves as anarchists - all as libertarian socialists. Anarchy is not the advocacy of chaos, but of cooperation without coercion. Anarchists believe that means shape ends, - & that therefore anarchism can only be attained by cooperative and non-authoritarian means.

Anarchists are opposed to militarism, as to governments and nationalism. Not all anarchists are pacifists; - many, perhaps most, believe that in struggling against social injustice (given that those who have privileges are reluctant to abandon them, & apt to be very violent in their defence) violence is both necessary and morally justified; - others hold that violent insurrection can only lead to the emergence of a new ruling elite.

But pacifist or non-pacifist, anarchist sympathies instinctively go to the underdog in all struggles. Wherever the oppressed fight for freedom they can claim anarchist support as a right, but we warn that to create new governments is merely to change one set of masters for another & that "national liberation" movements are almost always states in the making.

We therefore for instance condemn British action in Ireland and support the struggle for civil rights in Ulster, but we do not necessarily support any of the particular organizations in that country, whether the law-abiding Nationalist Party, either wing of the IRA, the civil rights' association or the civil resistance alliance, the SDLP or PD.

Equally we deny the right of the White minority in Rhodesia to oppress the Black majority, but we do not think the Africans will solve their problems merely by acquiring a government of the same colour as themselves. We refute the slander that the Africans are not ready for democracy in a way that Europeans are, - the argument that uses the excuse of authoritarian regimes in black Africa to justify the continuation of White authoritarian ones, - after Belsen and Auschwitz (& one might add Londonderry) Europeans are in no position to boast. But we warn the peoples of Africa that governments of the same colour as one's self are just as evil as those of another.

Opposing militarism we work for unilateral disarmament in whichever country we may be, saying that armaments are made by states primarily to frighten their subjects into obedience with the myth of defence & that they are the greatest threat to democracy that exists.

In this the first issue of the VOICE we feel there is a need to say in a short and easily checked form what we want, what society we want to attain, & where we stand with regard other political groups.

The following statement - that of the New York Libertarian League (with one clause amended) - does not of course express everything we believe, nor would we exclude anyone who might quarrel with one or other part, but does nevertheless give the essentials of the anarchist and libertarian socialist case.

We intend that the VOICE shall be a local paper, on local struggles for justice and issues, but it is impossible to ignore national issues since these affect local ones.

It was therefore no accident that the final decision to publish was taken while we were in London demonstrating against the Government's betrayal of the Rhodesian Africans; & that we intend that the first issue will be sold on the national demonstration against nuclear weapons at Easter.

The "free" world is not free; the "communist" world is not communist. We reject both: one is becoming totalitarian, the other is already so.

Pollution, nuclear and other wars of mass destruction put a question mark over the survival of the world & mankind, as a product of their power struggle & disregard of human values.

We charge that both systems engender servitude. Pseudo-freedom based on economic slavery is no better than pseudo-freedom based on political slavery.

The monopoly of power which is the state must be eliminated. Government itself, as well as its underlying institutions perpetuates war, oppression, corruption, exploitation and misery.

We advocate a world-wide society of communities & councils based on cooperation & free agreement from the bottom (federalism) instead of coercion and domination from the top (centralism). Regimentation of people must be replaced by regulation of things.

Freedom without socialism is chaotic, but socialism without freedom is despotic. Libertarianism is free socialism.

knock knock

R. G. Gregory

all the paths I have  
ever travelled  
have eventually arrived  
at this door  
the nameplate says  
ANARCHY

i knock on the door  
nobody comes

tired of knocking  
i open the door  
and go through

and find  
a thousand more paths

Mike Wright

Its all happening in Telford. The New Town is really on the move, & many of the big changes promised are underway. But will this change necessarily be for the better?

We are told that the New Town will benefit both the local community & the newcomers, but many people who originally welcomed it are now beginning to realise how much social & commercial disruption it will cause locally. Their fears are real enough, but as it is easy to be deceived by the short-term advantages that a New Town seems to offer, so it is possible that concern over immediate problems can obscure the long term fundamental social consequences that such projects create, not only for the people of Telford, but for society as a whole.

In what follows I want to examine some of these wider implications by looking at three examples of the kind of change that we in Telford are going to see.

### 1. The New Hypermarket

Local traders fear that when the 'Superstore' is completed in 1973, it will have a drastic affect on the business of existing shopping centres. American experience confirms this, for where out-of-town shopping centres have been built, city-centre businesses have suffered considerably. Unfortunately, however, the problems of the hypermarket are not limited to the narrow interests of a few shopkeepers.

The hypermarket concept is geared to the idea of a car-owning population, yet even by 1980 about a quarter of the total number of families in England and Wales will still be without cars. How will old age pensioners, in particular, manage? - faced with both a decline in local shopping services & the difficulty & expense of travelling to the hypermarket as essential goods become increasingly difficult to obtain locally.

No one needs reminding of the frustrations of traffic congestion, yet the hypermarket will bring an unnecessary increase in traffic volume. This will mean more expenditure on existing roads & the building of new roads for access to the store. Enormous areas of valuable land are to be used to provide parking space for the thousands of vehicles that will be expected daily.

There is also the matter of choice; no amount of assurances that hypermarkets will offer a wide range of cheap goods can disguise the facts that they are in the vanguard of a movement towards an increasing standardisation of goods & monopoly of interests which weaken the power of the individual to choose for himself the pattern of life that he desires.

The problems which the hypermarket will bring are not confined to Telford. Sites are already under consideration outside Bristol, Reading, Nottingham, Oxford, Reigate, Southampton and London, yet the Secretary for the Environment has refused to adopt a firm policy on the issue. His decision to consider each case on its merits means that the general social implications will not be dealt with, & that as usual short-term economic pressures will take precedence.

### 2. High-Density Housing

Sutton Hill & Woodside, the two estates so far completed, provide some interesting indications of the direction in which society is moving. In their rush to provide new housing, the planners have ignored basic social factors which are essential to the stability of any comm-

unity. By bringing together large numbers of people with no common community bonds, they have created a situation in which the social controls which regulate behaviour in older close-knit areas are weakened - hence the high level of crime and delinquency on these two estates. The building of community centres cannot compensate for the lack of a common bond such as that which was created in the old mining communities. Similarly, the accusation that the newcomers are "the dregs of Birmingham" (however acceptable it may be to some people) totally ignores the effect of uprootedness on human behaviour.

The miners' strike has clearly shown how dependent we are becoming on outside sources for the services essential to the basic requirements of life. This tendency is nowhere more noticeable, than on estates like Sutton Hill & Woodside where people are totally dependant on electricity or gas for all their cooking, heating and power requirements. There are no gardens and no open fires, & consequently, the independence that people in other areas still retain when disruption or shortage occurs, does not exist.

The absence of gardens, together with the more general trend towards convenience foods means that in these new housing developments particularly, old skills of cultivation & the cooking & preserving of food are being lost.

Thus the New Town Development Corporation, together with others like it, is assisting the emergence of a society which will be almost totally dependent on a few massive corporations & business organizations who will be able to dictate where we live, what we eat, & how we spend our leisure time.

The planners have estimated, perhaps optimistically, that the life-span of the new houses will be in the region of fifty years. This is surely putting housing in the same category as cars & other consumer goods, which by their short life, help to maintain an 'expanding economy' with the wasteful & unnecessary use of limited natural resources.

### 3. The Wellington Bypass (M54)

"It'll be a good job when the by-pass is finished" - that is the reaction of many people, faced with the present congestion on the A.5. It may be that they are willing to accept the damage that will be done to the Erccall, & perhaps it doesn't concern them that the new road will pass through the grounds of Arleston Manor, Wellington's ancient hunting lodge; but can anyone really believe that it will provide any long-term solution to the traffic problem? Surely it will only serve to bring more traffic into the area & to act as a commuter road for the large number of people who will move into the New Town to live, but who will work elsewhere. With over 2,000 people unemployed in the area already, there seems little chance for newcomers to find jobs locally.

Many other new roads are planned for Telford, as they are over the whole country, but should we not ask where this policy is leading us? We are all breathing in increasing amounts of lead & carbon monoxide from car exhausts, so that sooner than we think we may be in the same position as the City of Los Angeles, where deaths from carbon monoxide poisoning are nearly equal in number to lethal car accidents. Professor Bryce-Smith of Reading University has found that "startling & unexplained increases in the incidence of mental disturbance among children are believed to be connected to heavy metal pollution of the environment".

There are more than 12 million cars in Britain today, & according to the AA this figure will rise to 21 million by 1981. At present many people use their cars to get out into the countryside at weekends, but as congestion increases & the countryside recedes, this will be neither practical nor pleasant.

We are rapidly coming to the position where public transport would

provide greater freedom of movement than the motor car. Can we really accept a doubling of roads during the next ten years? - with all the implications for society that are involved.

Those who have criticised the building of the Wellington by-pass & the motorway (M 54) link of which it forms a part, do not appear to have asked themselves this question - they seem to be bogged down in a dispute about the least damaging route it will take. The MP for the Wrekin, Dr Tony Trafford, said recently: "If we don't have a motorway the situation will be very serious"; - I would ask him to consider the consequences if we do!

The political implications of these criticisms are serious & far-reaching. If we are to avoid the very real dangers that these aspects of the New Town present, then we will have to change the system which allows & even encourages them to develop. It is difficult to see how this can be done through the normal democratic process. It is commonly believed that democracy can be made to yield to the discontents of those within it, but the fact is that the "democracy" that we have is sustained by industry; & industry - as the miners' strike has made plain - is not in itself democratic.

Also it is important to realise that resistance to what is called progress, is not just a middle class concern. It is the big construction firms, the car industry & the large commercial organisations which will benefit from the developments I have outlined - it is the ordinary working people, not the middle class, who will suffer the worst social consequences.

It will no doubt be considered that to alter radically the direction in which society is moving is beyond the bounds of political practicability, but unfortunately, if we continue to concern ourselves with political rather than social reality, then we will rapidly reach the stage where it will not be moving in any direction at all - it will be extinct.

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Mike's article is not meant to end the matter, indeed he is writing a longer version which with other material we hope to produce as a pamphlet. So if you have something to add please send it to us. Particularly we want details of commercial tie-ups, we have heard rumours, we also have heard somethings that are rather more than rumours and have been promised an article with details; about:-

1. It is said that the reason for the new town in the first place was purely to justify the construction of an extra sewage works.
2. It is said that at one stage when a rubbish disposal incinerator was being planned, and it was seen that this would entail a water-cooled chimney, that it was suggested that estates be supplied from this source free hot water and central heating. But because of a contract made between someone on behalf of the Corporation & a firm which was to supply heating.
3. It is said that one early opponent of the New Town dropped his opposition on being given an appointment carrying payment for a sinecure.
4. It is said that another person connected with the Corporation suddenly disappeared from the scene & from participating in a London firm engaged in similar development.

continued at foot of page six



## SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP

continued from page five

5. It is said that only light industries - employing a very small number of workers have been moved out here. That some of these employ only highly skilled operatives and that the industries generally prefer to bring workers with them from elsewhere than find people locally.
6. It is said that this helps solve Birmingham's employment problem but not Telford, and that the planners are reconciled to Telford being a commuter town.
7. It is said that closing railways and building motorways may not be entirely unconnected with a former Transport Minister's connection with a road making firm; & that there were family connections with the "beaching" of the railways.
8. It is said that unchecked property development now, & the failure of the Minister of the Environment to intervene may not equally be unconnected with interests held by a prominent politician in the development firm of Slater-Walker.

After an heroic struggle the conclusion of the Upper Clyde work-in sees the workers of one yard - or at least two thirds of them - bound by the union to make no pay demands whatever for four years, regardless of the rise in the cost of living, & not to strike for whatever cause. This in return for a four years guarantee of work for them & redundancy for the remaining third.

This is a recipe for slavery. The four years respite will probably be just that as the construction of oil-rigs for off-shore drilling caters for a fairly limited demand. The present rise in the cost of living, variously estimated at from 10 to 15 percent, will ensure that every £3 will then only be worth £2.

For months workers on the Clyde have shown that workers do not need the boss to tell them what to do; that bosses moreover perform no useful function, that the money that has to be exchanged to buy the yards does not in fact change hands & is purely fictional.

Unfortunately in that time the workers' representatives - both the Boilermakers' Union & the Shop Stewards' Committee - have spent their time running round trying to find a capitalist to exploit their members, & have acted as assistants to the Government Liquidator, when the workers themselves wanted to forbid that Liquidator to enter the yards.

Various Libertarian papers - whose circulation is unfortunately too small to make a difference - warned through the course of the work-in that if the workers left things as they were they would be defeated. They could have made an appeal to workers in the steel industry, to lorry drivers delivering steel, to workers in other yards, to back them, & supply them so that they could carry on producing ships, promising to pay when they were paid for the ships, - arranging their own contracts.

No doubt the Government would eventually have used troops to blackleg; but they would have shewn what was possible & an appeal to the troops as fellow workers, not to blackleg would have had enormous importance.

But the workers, unfortunately, had blind trust in their officials, & they have been let down in consequence; - notwithstanding the fact that some of these officials claim to be revolutionary & are painted by the gutter press as the red menace. "The Grand Old Duke of York" led his men up the hill only to come down again, at least better than the Communist Party which leads them up to sell them down the river on the other side.

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Polluted Thoughts

Ian Brodie

(N.B. Ian is not an anarchist but is Liberal Candidate for Shrewsbury. Which means that he would not necessarily endorse other articles in VOICE & equally we would not endorse his proposals in this.)

It has become fashionable to talk about pollution. Unless the word is used several times in the quality Sunday newspapers & in the 'major speeches' of eminent politicians then the article or the speech are considered incomplete. Pollution has become so fashionable it has become trivial. We come to regard it as a minor problem, not even a political issue, in comparison with traditional pre-occupations like Northern Ireland, unemployment & economic growth.

Of course exactly the opposite is true. The question of pollution - in the fullest sense of the term - is at the root of most of our 'minor' problems. I believe that the problem of N. Ireland is closely linked



with overpopulation of an area which has few of the resources considered necessary for the stable development of an industrialised economy. Similarly pollution is largely the result of individual greed & genuine thoughtlessness, the production of "throwaway" plastic milk bottles is a prime example of the way in which each of us sees his activities quite separately, without thought to the effect these activities will have on other people. The huge problem of unemployment is again the result of 'Maximisation of profits' without thought being given to the social consequences of automation.

'Unemployment, pollution & poverty can all be eradicated with greater economic growth' runs the traditional political answer. There is no doubt at all that economic growth benefits those who are 'strategically placed' in the economic system, - the most powerful of the trade unions, the stockbrokers, the car manufacturers & so on. It cannot eliminate poverty, & as long as economic selfishness exists it cannot get rid of unemployment either.

Ironically it is argued that economic growth can make funds available to combat pollution, yet growth will itself create more pollution in terms of increased consumer spending on cars, jet holidays, garden pesticides & so on. The amount of pollution caused by an individual rises very rapidly above a certain income level.

If presently accepted 'solutions' are not acceptable it follows that other solutions must be found. Theoretically this is quite straightforward. We need a change in the nature of man - the disappearance of selfishness, or tighter controls to limit selfishness to an acceptable level. The first is so idealistic; but it cannot happen soon enough - even if it is possible to "change the nature of man".

The second would involve central control of many activities which we have previously considered the preserve of the individual - by previously I mean since the development of large scale industrialised societies.

Small units of control should be small & the process of control involve everybody. But to achieve this we would require such a fundamental change in the nature of society, & this is so closely linked with the nature of the individuals in that society. Perhaps to survive the ecological crisis we will need central non-democratic control by an informed, idealistic, & relatively selfless elite.

Such a system of government would be unlike our present one in several ways, but it would be no more undemocratic than present-day governments which maintain a pretence of democracy behind which they pursue selfish ends. If the 'Left' in this country regards the idea that "power corrupts" as an absolute dogmatic truth then all they can look forward to is an indefinite period of futile opposition against uninformed, conservative, selfish pseudo-democratic administrations.

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Unfair Comment

Thought afore Malice

We are told milk prices have been cut "at a stroke". Who do they think they are fooling? It starts in April for four months only. But every year - during Winter - when milk is not so plentiful something is put on the price of milk, always allegedly temporarily, and sometimes it does indeed come off again in the Summer. As for sugar it is not so long since - after a bad harvest - they increased the price, so this time they've had a good harvest?

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This year for the first time CND has arranged the Aldermarch to Aldermaston. (The 1958 march was organised by the DAC, 52 & 53 by the Operation Gandhi.) That would be an hopeful sign if the March had not been

continued on page nine - at foot

There was a recent account on television of a town in the Liverpool area, in which, after pressure from various liberal-minded groups, the council handed over a large empty factory for use as a communal sports' centre, until the future of the building had been decided.

This made me think about the situation in Wellington. There is a youth club here, with sports' facilities, but this only caters for a very limited age range. Moreover there are many other needs, and many empty buildings.

In Alexandra road there is a large empty house that has been deserted for the past two years. In Market Street there is a large picturesque brewery with a courtyard that resembles an old Shakespearian theatre. At the back of Tan Bank there is an incomplete warehouse, & in Holyhead road there is a pop-drinks' works unused for several years.

Sports' centres for all ages are needed. The Arts' Centre has been started, but not in a central position, & has already gained the stamp of "intellectual" - which has an off-putting effect on the average working man. Surely something could be done; the average worker would be less likely to be put off if the Trades' Council were involved in the control & the provision of activities. With the number of Poles & Indians in the area it would not be difficult to have foreign folk dances. No doubt people would come to jeer - at least at the beginning - but they might well stay impressed (particularly if it were their workmates doing the dancing) & real cultural exchanges could begin. There must be a wealth of Salopian talent worth developing, & encouraging.

Whilst in Sankey's I met many men - Englishmen to boot - who could not even sign their own names for their wages. They would be too shy to go for formal adult education but would welcome facilities provided by unions. They are embarrassed & do not contact local authorities, uninspired by Tech middle class teachers or even the WEAs since these are no longer directly TU-run. But the trade unions could here again run adult education & the organisation of such could be done relatively cheaply, if there were not an attempt to make it too plush.

I suggest that the Labour Movement should request local authorities to help in this, & that it should not be too shy about pressing the request. Socialism is after all workers taking, holding & controlling industry & property for the common good.

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Unfair Comment cont'd

devalued to become a mere charitable 'sponsored walk'.

For years CND has marched "towards the centre of government" - ignoring the fact that governments can only govern & make weapons by the consent & cooperation of the people & they have to persuade workers to make the weapons for them. Not surprisingly the only tangible results of the old policy were to advance the fortunes of various Labour Party "Left" careerists.

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Miners do a filthy & dangerous job. Anyone who loves justice should be thankful they have won a living wage, but will regret that they did not get more support from workers in other industries, & they were left to fight alone. But it is a measure of the stupidity of our society that miners have to fight to prevent pits being closed down. No humane society would force men to work in such conditions, & rationally the miners ought to be fighting to abolish mines and find other sources of power, but when the alternative is unemployment, or enforced movement to other areas, the mine is the lesser evil. Again it is a pity that the miners demands were a pale reflection of the money motive. Socialists wish to see mines (& other sources of power) run by the workers involved on behalf of the community as a whole, not run by state bureaucrats on behalf of private industrialists, as they are at the moment.

## The Warfare State

John Hallam

Apologists for nuclear war argue that the very existence of these weapons prevents the holocaust of nuclear warfare. Alfred Nobel thought the same thing about his dynamite. Perhaps my factories - he told the Baroness Von Suttur "will put an end to war even sooner than your congresses: on the day that two army corps can mutually annihilate each other in a second, all civilised nations will surely recoil with horror & disband their troops." Twenty two years later the first World War was to prove him wrong.

Now nuclear weapons are paradoxically seen as both the means of preventing big wars, & of causing the annihilation many predict for us. In 1946 two nuclear physicists stated: "The advent of the Atomic bomb has given us a new opportunity to make future warfare less likely, on account of the horrors of mass destruction it will entail." Quite possibly the nuclear weapon has prevented a third world war so far that is not to say that it will continue so to do. We devote an immense proportion of scientific talent, financial wealth and national resources, to the ritualistic game of "preventing" war. How expensive is this game to play & what have its effects been on the advance of science & technology?

In the last ten years U.S. industry increased its scientific manpower by 160,000 people. Over 80% of these went to work on military projects sponsored by the government. 60% of all people studying for doctorates in mathematics in the US applied for jobs at RAND - the Air Force's military "think-tank". Such is the demand for scientific manpower in the warfare states of the world.

Unfortunately the effects of this demand are not only felt by the super powers. When a country decides to spend 32 million technical man-hours on a missile such as the Atlas-D, so much gets sucked into the military whirlpool that the effects are felt the world over. The civilian scientific centres go short & have to recruit from abroad. About 10,000 scientists, technologists & doctors emigrate to the US each year. Not only does this constitute a brain-drain from poor nations to rich but mediately from the civilian laboratories of the developing countries to the military organisations of the rich.

Science & war are now closely inter-related. The aim of their marriage may have been to improve "national security"; but certainly this has not been its effect, rather has it diverted much needed resources from a world whose hunger & over-population are grotesque problems. The basic result has been the escalation of the arms' industry to an alarming degree.

President Eisenhower made his famous warning about the 'unwarranted influence' of the 'military-industrial complex', back in 1961. The US Department of Defence was then spending \$47,808,000,000 a year. Yet today its budget has almost doubled to \$80,600,000,000. Eugene McCarthy called it 'the strongest independent power in world affairs'. In 1970 the Department of Defence received more money than the national income of any other country in the world except the Soviet Union, the UK, France, Japan & West Germany. ((\$1 is worth about 37 new pence.))

About half the Department's income goes to industry in the form of contracts & orders. In 1967 this union of military & industrial forces employed 103 out of every 1,000 working Americans. Clearly this is one cause of the increasing momentum of the arms race. There seems reasonable evidence to suggest this momentum is encouraged by the Department. In 1969 it had 6,140 public relations officials on the payroll. There was also a band of 'legislative liason' lobbyists to promote defence interests on the Capitol Hill with a budget of \$4,100,000.

A terrifying effect of the influence & power of the arms industry of the US & other advanced countries is the way they encourage smaller powers to enter into military spending. In 1957, for instance, none of the Third World countries had long range air-to-surface missiles. But by 1968 these weapons had spread to 19 of the world's poorer countries. The result is a world arms' bill of \$180,000,000,000 a year. - "Global military expenditures are equivalent to the total annual income produced by the one

billion (American billion - 1,000,000,000) people living in Latin America, South Asia & the Near East. They are greater by 40% than the world-wide expenditure on education,,, & more than three times world-wide expenditure on health."

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The long term implications of this - as calculated by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute - are most grim: "... military spending will continue to double every 15 years. By the early years of the next century the world will be devoting to military uses a quantity of resources which is equal to the whole world's present (1968) output".

It is science and technology then which helps nourish "this rough beast" new knowledge means there is an element of built-in-obsolescence in every new weapon system. The result is technical innovation at a rate unknown in any other field of human endeavour. Also this produces the startling concept of technicological war, which has been fought out since 1945 with the battlefield, the scientific laboratory. If its initial object was to produce the ultimate weapon to preserve the peace, it seems to have long since become an end in itself.

The mentality of this war is expressed by General Curtis Le May, when he wrote in 1968: "I sincerely believe that any arms race with the Soviet Union would act to our benefit. I believe that we can out-invent, out-research, out-engineer, & out-produce the USSR in any area from slingshots to space weapons; & in so doing become more " more prosperous while the Soviets become progressively poorer".

The object then is to grind the opposition's best scientific talent into the dust. As Robin Clarke comments: "... the medium has become the message. What becomes significant is not what new weapons military research produces, but the act of producing them."

A closer look at the nature of that technicological war reveals another interesting characteristic. No new major weapon has been invented since the H-Bomb & the missile more than 15 years ago. Rather has the research been concerned with "improving" the weapon systems that depend on them. The aim has been to make warheads smaller yet more powerful, more accurate & controllable, & to defend delivery systems from attack: to keep up with the opposition's rate of product-improvement; rather than discover a new ultimate weapon for "peace-keeping". Put bluntly military science has to advance as quickly as its grossly inflated budgets will allow, merely to maintain a previous position of "security".

This goal of product improvement characterises the whole world defence budget. The \$2,000,000,000,000 spent in the last 15 years on defence has not increased the total number of weapons, it has 'improved' them. Indeed some weapons are in shorter supply than they were 15 years ago. The number of aircraft carriers has dropped for instance from 130 to 75, & the number of submarines has fallen from 900 to 700.

Those aircraft carriers and submarines are however a great deal more effective. The Stockholm Institute measured the rate of military product improvement at something over 10% a year. Civil goods do not increase in performance & capability in this way, however much the motor industry would like us to believe they did. One reason for this vast rate of weapons improvement is that the research input in the military field is at least 12 times greater than in the civilian field. The UK for instance in 1964-65, spent more on military research per pound of result by a margin of £62.2 (per hundred pounds of resulting goods in the military field) to £4.9 per hundred in manufacturing output.

These figures go a long way towards explaining the momentum of the arms race. Improvements will be inevitably made because of the manpower & financial resources used. The weapons are developed & deployed. But it must be assumed that potential enemies have also made the same improvements, & expensive counter-measures must be developed. The result is the vast & costly security deadlock which is the ultimate aim of technicological war.

The important thing in this war seems to be to keep security momentum forging ahead at maximum speed with minimum thought for the consequences. Dr Edward Teller - known as the "father of the Bomb" wrote in 1963:

"... it is much better not to ask for military requirements but to push scientific development to the limit: - the military requirements will soon follow..... we must not be deterred by arguments involving consequences or costs".

When the consequences or costs involved may be the survival of mankind this remark seems even more extraordinary. But even when considered within the narrow confines of National 'security' such philosophy has proved expensive, disastrous & completely futile.

Dr Herbert Cook was director of defence research & engineering for the Pentagon, yet even he wrote condemning the decision to deploy anti-ballistic missiles in the U.S.; he concluded:

"The arms race is a series of technical challenges followed by cool, calculated responses in the form of ever more costly, more complex & more fully developed automatic devices..... Thus the steady advance of arms technology may not be leading us to the ultimate weapon, but rather to the ultimate absurdity: a completely automated system for deciding whether or not doomsday has arrived".

Hopefully this could represent a change in priorities in the world of science. If it does not then the outlook is bleak indeed. Even if a nuclear holocaust does not engulf us all, the sheer cost of 'preventing' war may prove insupportable. By the end of the century it is predicted we may be spending as much on arms & soldiers as the whole of the world's present economic output. As two thirds of the world are already in dire economic need, it is no exaggeration to say that this financial burden could be the straw that breaks the camel's back (that is the warfare States).

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#### Allegory number infinity

Two million years ago, in the Pleistocene epoch there lived a deer known as the Irish Elk. It stood about 6 feet high, & devoted most of its energies to growing a gigantic pair of antlers, spanning up to 11 feet, & weighing nearly an hundredweight. Every year this enormous burden was shed & a replacement grown. These antlers were only used in ritual combat, & were truly a deterrent weapon, with maximum credibility.

The burden of this animal's defence budget was quite crippling, & in fact proved too great. In its attempt to provide itself with extra security against its own species, it left itself unable to cope with changing conditions. Finally it lay down & died - leaving only the fossilised remains of its synthetic strength.

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#### Editorial notes:-

The term the Warfare State was first used by the late Simone Weil, (Mathematician, Philosopher & Theologian), she analysed how the economy of advanced industrialised societies - this was in the days of Stalin & Hitler & included Russia & Germany - had become state-managed capitalism & stressed that whereas the private enterprise capitalists engaged in economic competition, the means of competition appropriate to states was & is war.

John is at one point a little optimistic, the fact that civilians have not heard of new weapons does not prove they don't exist; nuclear research is of necessity large scale & so secrecy inefficient. Less gets out about the developments of Laser beams, Psycho-Chemical Weapons, Bac-

continued at foot of page thirteen

A "bright" future in the Common Market

Mike Harbour

French capitalism is winding down the old industrial regions of the North & East (to suit the demands of the Community) - coal & iron mines with neighbouring textile mills. State backed owners, under the title of "measures of recession" are rapidly closing down even profitable concerns smaller units are being re-located nearer newer forms of energy.

This must sound familiar to a lot of ex-miners, but in Common Market-France the workers are retrained to skilled status, - into an overloaded work market, - "still we can't employ you, you're riddled with silicosis.

Provided you don't occupy your work place, damage it, or picket other forms of power or industry the bosses, unions & capitalist-state are quite happy with no financial outgoing aid while strikes continue; & the Tories here will be able to follow suit very soon with this fine bit of legislation & Executive action.

There is hope - stemming from way back in the post-Marshall Plan policies, - the effects of change have been to antagonise suburban fringe industrial workers, workers with small holdings, small peasants with part-time industrial jobs & these are acting in concert with more orthodox factory workers, bringing in food to strikers.

Which last gives a pattern for Telford, what will happen to "our" cheap Labour, GKN "country bumpkins" please note & remember what happened to your pay claim, & know that work rationalisation (speed up) is equally (if not more) rampant in France.

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P.S.

Negotiations

We hear a lot from Heath & Faulkner of how the SDLP, - the Northern Irish equivalent of the Labour Party - which has said that since elections are rigged in Ulster and it cannot possibly get a fair hearing it will withdraw from all participation in parliament, is playing the coward - running away from the negotiating table, "the worst sort of cowardice of all.

But when the Provisional IRA declared an unilateral 72 hour cease fire so as to give the British Tories an opportunity to come to the negotiating table and make some offer to Ulster Catholics short of the terror to which they have been subjected for fifty years the answer was that the Government would not negotiate with armed men.

The hypocrisy is sickening.

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continued from page twelve

Microbiological & biological Warfare research does not attract the same publicity, - & incidentally there has been evidence in the past that military research has been done there paid out of the National Health Service budget so that the financial position is even worse than John says.

Looking at armaments from a local viewpoint - therefore with Donnington in mind, it immediately is obvious that one cannot disarm in isolation. Disarmament would only be possible if there were sufficient other social change as to prevent workers being thrown on the scrap-heap of unemployment. Moreover the Government not merely uses arms to emphasise fear, to induce fear of an outsider, but also uses the threat of the unemployment to overcome the scruples of workers who have no wish to make the means to kill other workers.

The VOICE being intended as a local paper is naturally one of a number of such papers. There are also national anarchist journals & other libertarian socialist ones - for anarchism overlaps with many currents of Marxism and of pacifism, as well as with much of what is now called the Underground Press.

Various national papers are available (or could be obtained) through the Wrekin Libertarians: Freedom & Peace News (anarchist & pacifist weeklies - 5p & 7p respectively) are also available from The Bookstore, Tan Bank, Wellington, or the publishers:-

Freedom Bookshop, 8b Whitechapel High St., Stepney, London E.1.  
PN, Housmans Bookshop, 5 Calcedonian road, London N.1.

Anarchy (magazine) can be obtained from these or from Libertaria Bookshop, 95 West Green Road, London N. 15; the Pacifist (also a monthly) from Freedom, Peace News or the Peace Pledge Union 6 Endsleigh St., London W. C.1; which will also supply a bi-monthly, Resurgence.

Most if not all anarchist groups may be contacted through the Anarchist Federation of Britain, 5 Hannaford road, Rotton Park, Birmingham; but there are smaller federations concentrating on different work & publishing their own material:-

The Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance (syndicalists hope to change society through industrial strike action) c/o Libertaria Bookshop or of Bob Lees, 6 Coniston Ave., Oldham, Lancs.;

The Syndicalist Workers' Federation c/o Freedom Bookshop;

The Black Flag can be contacted through Freedom;

Minus One (The Individualist Group) 2 Orsett Terrace, London W.2.;

Organization of Revolutionary Anarchists (whose basic statement is an expanded version of the VOICE's) 68 Chingford Road, London E. 1 publishes The Newsletter from 65 Vine St., York .

Other pacifist papers are chiefly christian, some denominational & inter-denominational ones are available from the Fellowship of Reconciliation the Anglican and other pacifist Fellowships, at 29 Gt. James St., London W. C. 1., Pax Christi (R.C.) from Barbara Wall, 57 Ladbroke rd. London W. 11., & these are also available c/o Friends' Bookshop, Euston road, W.C.1,

The more libertarian Marxist papers available are: -

The British Marxist Humanist	31 Balbeg St., Glasgow S.W.1
The Socialist	4 Kensington Ave., Cheltenham
The Socialist Standard	52 Clapham High St., London S.W.4 ;
Socialist Current	202 East Ferry Road, London E. 14;

Libertarian but not fitting any of these labels:-

Solidarity (a number of regional papers & groups of the same name)

27 Sandringham rd., London N.W.1

The Hyde Park Socialist 48 Gilbey St., London S. W. 16

Confrontation, & The London Letter obtainable through Freedom

The Libertarian (pub. by Common Wealth) Scamps Ct., Pilton St.,  
Barnstaple, Devon.

Inside Story 3 Belmont rd., London S.W.4

Wrekin Libertarians addresses (besides Albert Rd.)

Mike Wright  
Fleak House  
The Rock  
Dawley.

Mike Harbour  
18 St Chad's rd.,  
Wellington

James Browne  
16 Kingsland  
Wellington

VOICE editorial meetings first Tuesday in the month (Albert road)  
other Libertarian meetings on third Tuesdays, other Tuesdays  
social chat. The editorial expressing the agreed views of the Wrekin Libertarians was signed as such, other signed articles are the responsibility of their authors, unsigned & pseudonymous articles are the responsibility of the secretary - Laurens Otter.