

'It is clear that thought is not free if the profession of certain opinions make it impossible to earn a living.
BERTRAND RUSSELL

In this Issue:

THE CITY MOURNS
ANARCHY & CONSERVATISM
CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

Defend the Press? IT STINKS!

DURING the past fortnight, the Press itself has been very much "in the news", and in spite of the heroic stand by Mr. Clough of the *Daily Sketch* and two other colleagues of his in defence of a "principle", and disliking as we do Tribunals which seek to arrive at the Truth with the aid of the big stick of intimidation (contempt of court), what emerged does not make us exclaim ecstatically: "Thank God for our Free Press"! If anything the stench from our "popular", or gutter, Press, was stronger than ever.

The appointment of the Vassall Tribunal in fact stems directly from the press campaign unleashed after the trial and conviction of Vassall (who received an 18-year prison sentence for spying) in which the

Whose interests does it serve?

THAT such a Press on occasions champions socially important causes and exposes injustice, thereby serving the public interest, should not blind us to the fact that it exists primarily to serve the financial interests of its owners, and in the case of the privately owned press, their political interests as well. Leaving aside the small "quality newspapers", the mass-circulation Press must be viewed above all as one of the principle mediums for the advertising industry, which itself exists to create mass demand for the goods, gadgets and services which industrialists and entrepreneurs are also producing and offering primarily for the purpose of making profits. Without the patronage of the National advertisers the organs of mass-communications (unless State-controlled) could not operate with their present organisational and economic set-ups*; and what is more, circulation is not in itself enough to automatically command the patronage of the National Advertisers. Both the *News Chronicle* and *Picture Post* sold more than a million copies, but

*See last Sunday's *Observer* ("Behind the Headlines") where a picture is presented of the "mystery of journalistic functions" of a daily newspaper such as "the *Daily Express* or *Daily Mail*". We are told that the news editor will have a staff of 50-100 full-time reporters; that he can also call on the services of up to 1,500 local correspondents, not to mention all the "specialised reporters". Then the foreign news editor has "a permanent staff of up to 30 correspondents based in foreign capitals, as well as some hundreds of free-lance 'stringers' in smaller countries". The picture editor "will have control of 100 or more staff photographers... as well as numerous free-lances". And to "supplement its own newsgathering efforts a newspaper uses the services of several news agencies", etc., etc. . . .

dominant theme was that known homosexuals such as Vassall were able to occupy positions of trust because they enjoyed the protection of people in high office. Nearly seventy years after the Wilde 'scandal' it would seem that homosexuality is still the Number One subject for our gutter Press.

could not get the profitable National advertising revenue to subsidise them. Why? To our minds the answer is clear: that the space reserved for editorial and other non-advertising matter assumed that the readers of these publications could think for themselves, and that they took these journals in order to widen their horizons, to stimulate thought and not to dull it with "sensational" headline soporifics or small-time chat about royalty, "debs", and the antics of our playboys. Even if we can be accused of exaggerating our point, the fact remains that when the *News Chronicle* and *Picture Post* lowered their standards their circulations dropped, and so, having sought to appease the national advertisers on editorial content, they then failed to qualify on the question of circulation!

It is argued that circulation and not editorial content influences

national advertisers. Apart from the examples we have given, which, we suggest, tend to show that they do (unless of course, if one is prepared to argue that a million circulation is not a mass circulation!), opinions are in any case divided as to the role of advertising. According to the *New York Times* (Jan. 21) some analysts have suggested that advertising "tends to increase total demand" whereas others argue that it "merely channels demand—i.e. that it diverts spending into non-essentials, like cosmetics and cigarettes, on which enormous advertising budgets are lavished".

If the former theory were shown to be true—that advertising stimulates demand—revolutionaries could argue that advertising serves a positive purpose. The *NY Times* points out, however, that in the Common Market countries demand has "soared despite the relatively low advertising spending". Indeed in all of Europe "advertising expenditures total a mere \$4,000 million compared with \$12,000 million in the United States". If we are appalled to learn that more than £4,000m are spent in stimulating demand in America for essentials or non-essentials, it does not follow that we seek comfort in the modest £1,400m that is spent in Europe for the same ends! What above all

appals us is that our major sources of information depend on an industry which thrives on brainwashing—that is, making the "unessentials" of life appear more important than the essentials—for does it not follow that a society concerned with the material "unessentials" will also be interested only in the socially "unessentials"?

The "quality Press in this country makes no attempt to solve this problem of the dependence of the Press on subsidy by advertisers. It

Loyalty to what?

IN a free society it is reasonable to assume that the Press, as well as love and many other important ingredients of that society would be free! That journalists, and their employers, should now be invoking "immunity", and talking of "professional secrets" or "conscience" would indicate that they have little faith in the "free world" about which they have expended gallons of ink (or miles of typewriter ribbon) extolling, at the behest of their masters. (Incidentally over a sordid matter of money the people of New York have been deprived of their "free press" for more than a month!). With few exceptions journalists are the victims, and the stooges of the capitalist jungle we live in. Mainly because most journalists are no more intelligent than the rest of us but live in a world which assumes that they are. The humiliating, and to our minds, important, revelations of the Vassall Tribunal, is that much of the "sensational revelations" of the gutter Press were invented by amateur Press detectives catering for gaping

exploits the fact that the discriminating public includes not only the impecunious anarchists† but the well-to-do and up-and-coming as well. We are obliged to such journals as the *Observer* for its features such as the interview with the chairman of ICI; we even consider some of its advertisements, such as (prospective - Labour - candidate) Mr. Brooks' "another of these Pimlico dumps for only £7,250, which are bought by the rich, done up and flogged. (We have just resold two for £13,500 and £13,625), as a salutary reminder that in spite of what Conservative Ministers may say, Class, Economics, or what-have-you-distinctions, still flourish in this Affluent Society of ours!

morons. In so far as the Tribunal has exposed the phoney "free Press" with which we are saddled, it has served a public need. In our opinion it has ill-served its own *raison d'être* by waving the big stick and resorting to the High Court to oblige Mr. Clough and possibly other journalists to disclose their unimportant sources of information.

For, in the High Court, the Attorney-General's case rested on the following argument:

Mr. Clough had refused to answer questions on the grounds both of the honour of his profession and his self-interest as a journalist. He was placed, in so refusing, in the position of choosing between, on the one hand, his duty as a citizen to answer questions relevant to the inquiry and to assist in the discovery of the truth, and also as a citizen to further the purposes of the two Houses of Parliament in assisting the preservation of the safety and security of the realm, and, on the other hand, what he conceived to be his duty as a journalist to preserve the confidentiality of the information he had received and not to disclose the name of the informant from whom he had received it.

"In my submission, not only common sense and reason but also the law demand that his duty as a citizen should have priority, and he must observe his duty to assist in the processes of law in discovery of the truth. It is a paradox to assert that a newspaper cannot discover the truth unless it withholds what the Courts are endeavouring to discover what that truth may be."

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FORDS have decided to take back 18 men out of the 35 who were suspended last October. The other 17 have been sent notices of dismissal which take effect from January 31st.

This is the final outcome after weeks of negotiations between union officials and the management. Seventeen men have lost their jobs, but what are the union leaders doing about this victimisation? When the men were first suspended, the union leaders said that they would not stand for any victimisation of their members and would call a strike at the end of January if these men were not re-instated. If they are going to act on this decision, they are leaving it a bit late.

The Ford's shop stewards have distributed a leaflet stating that their confidence in their officials has been seriously undermined by all the dilly-dallying and they call for an official strike.

The dilatory behaviour of the union leaders and the methods Fords have used against their workers have been illustrated in a pamphlet published recently by the Join Ford Shop Stewards Committee. This gives the inside story of Fords and the long, hard struggle which has taken place there. This story is not widely known amongst the general public or even to the average trade unionist. In every dispute, the national press prints only the employer's side of the story. This pamphlet, called *What's Wrong at Fords?*, is an attempt to combat this one-sided view.

Ford's, at the moment are introducing new methods of production, and with the further rationalisation of capitalism,

Speed-up and Victimisation at Ford's

human beings are being treated more and more like units in this production system. This process is taking place in all industries, but has been accelerated by the prospect of strong competition if this country enters the Common Market. This competition will be fierce whether we become a member or not.

The car industry has probably gone further in its introduction of these new methods, but nevertheless it is taking place in all industries. The speed-up of the production lines which accompanies these methods has led to many disputes at Fords. The struggle there against this inhuman process is the struggle of every worker.

Fords Management is notorious for its opposition to any organisation of the workers both here and in America, and the determination of the men to get recognition of their unions has given rise to a hard and often violent struggle. Fords have employed their own "Servicemen" and hired strong-arm men to break any attempts by the men towards this end.

Whenever men have taken a stand against bad conditions or demanded more pay, the newspapers have helped Fords in breaking the strikes. They have branded the strikers as trouble-makers and agitators without looking into the cause of the disputes.

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†See ANARCHY 12 (*Who are the Anarchists?*) in which the reading habits of 358 natives who answered our questionnaire showed that 269 read the *Guardian*, *Times* or *Chronicle* and 116 the so-called "popular press"; that 220 read the *Observer* and only 92 the Rest—of the Sunday Press which was limited to three publications: *Sunday Times* (38), *Reynolds News* (34), *Sunday Express* (20).

'Nothing doing' said Mr. K-THEN!

AT the time of the Cuba "crisis" the American government rejected the Russian suggestion that in return for her withdrawal of missiles in Cuba the American government would reciprocate by withdrawing her missiles in Turkey. Nothing doing, said Mr. Kennedy. Withdraw your missiles from Cuba... or else, Russia's Mr. K. complied. And those who take every word uttered by the two-Kays literally, breathed again, and emerged from their shelters and hide-outs to fight another day.

The months have passed; Castro has released the prisoners he captured—when Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion misfired—in return for medical aid and other odds and ends; de Gaulle understandably is trying to keep Britain out of the European septet—knowing full well that Britain wants to join as first fiddle; Katanga's Tshombe knows when the dice are loaded; and comrade Khrushchev opens the door on "inspection" just when Mr. Kennedy's Anglo-French Allies are most troublesome.

With so much going on it is hardly surprising that the British Press has almost ignored the fact that Mr. Ken-

nedy has approached the Turkish government on the subject of removing his Jupiter missile bases and that the Turkish government "has responded favourably".

We now understand, according to the *New York Times* (Jan. 21) that the removal of these missile bases as well as those in Italy had been "under consideration here [Washington] some time before the crisis last fell over the emplacement of Soviet missiles in Cuba". But of course no action could be taken which might suggest that Mr. Kennedy was giving way to the demands of his Russian counterpart. The *N.Y. Times* tells us that, in fact "the United States has been trying to replace the outdated Jupiter missiles in Turkey and Italy since September 1961". The replacements, we should point out will be not land based missiles but the very latest in nuclear strategy: Mediterranean-based Polaris missile submarines.

It all sounds very fishy to us. If the Jupiter missiles were outdated more than two years ago, why only a few months ago was Mr. Khrushchev so anxious that they should be removed, and Mr. Kennedy that they should be retained?

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THE CITY MOURNS

HUGH GAITSKELL, leader of the Labour Party died at the age of 57. His father was in the Indian Civil Service, he failed to win a scholarship to Winchester or Oxford but went there anyway. He was a driver for undergraduates working for the strikers in 1926. His tutor, G. D. H. Cole, inspired him to give up his ambition for a golfing blue, and his reading of Proust and D. H. Lawrence and he went to Nottingham to work for the Workers' Educational Association, in 1933 he was adopted as Labour candidate in Chatham and stayed regularly with a working-class family. His candidacy was interrupted by a year in Austria on a Rockefeller Fellowship. He helped to smuggle Social-Democrats out of the country, but was defeated in the 1935 General Election. In 1937 he married "a strong-willed woman" who played an important part in his career. In 1936, he was appointed head of the Department of Political Economy at University College, but failed to get a professorship. In 1940 he became private secretary to Hugh Dalton, who was Minister of Economic Warfare in the coalition government. He was elected in 1945 and in his first speech he paid a tribute to civil servants (of which he had been one), for "their complete integrity, their capacity for unlimited hard work, and a very high degree of intelligence." In 1947 he became Parliamentary Secretary to Emmanuel Shinwell at the Ministry of Fuel and Power. There was a fuel crisis, Shinwell was dismissed, and Gaitskell succeeded him, boosting British morale by saying that he found it unnecessary to have more than one bath a week. In 1950, after a reshuffle, he became Minister of State for Economic Affairs (a junior appointment) which seemed like a demotion. Nevertheless in 1950 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer in succession to 'Austerity' Cripps. He devalued sterling and introduced Health Service charges which caused the resignation of Aneurin Bevan as Health Minister. Bevan jibed at him as a "dissatisfied calculating machine". After the retirement of Attlee, Morrison accused him of hanging on to office

in order that Gaitskell would be elected leader. On August 2nd, 1956, Gaitskell condemned Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal and approved the precautionary measures taken by the Conservative government, but he felt that no action should be taken without United Nations approval. His endorsement of the Government was cheered by Conservative back-benchers. When Suez back-fired, he begged for Conservative support to overthrow Sir Anthony Eden. The Tories did not split. In 1959, Mr. Gaitskell rallied the party for the General Election. "His dignity in the face of defeat was particularly praised". After defeat, he preached a policy of "revisionism" to bring the Party up-to-date. He wanted to re-write Clause four, which explained the party's aims on nationalization, this blew up such a storm that he had to "retract from his first position, doing so gracefully". The Labour Party Conference of 1960 passed a resolution in favour of unilateral disarmament against the executive. This defeat for his policy, like all his others, turned into moral victory when he promised "to fight, fight, and fight again" for his support of the Bomb. He organized a pressure group within the party and at Blackpool he reversed the policy. He successfully evaded challenge on the issue of the Common Market by leaving the door open, but in 1962 he was described by the *Washington Post* as "a fearful, foot-dragging Little England isolationist". He described the CND and its supporters as "peanuts". The *Guardian* obituarist says, "There is no doubt that he was an ambitious man, but he achieved his successes without compromising himself and no one in British political life can have been concerned . . . in getting the record perfectly straight". Ballroom dancing was one of his recreations. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. The Financial columnist of *The Evening Standard*, William Davis had a more restrained and realist obituary for Gaitskell. "As Chancellor . . . he was attacked with a rare bitterness. There were even suggestions that, as a Winchester and Oxford man, he was a traitor to his class" . . . "Stock markets on Monday are bound to open higher. This may seem a callous tribute but the City is a place which puts money before sentiment. Whatever the individual's personal feelings, share prices cannot help reflect the fact that Labour's chances of winning the next election—so bright until now—have at one stroke been greatly reduced." The column is headed "The City Mourns a Moderate" . . .

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We mourn these

HELEN ALLEGRANZA (34) who was welfare officer of the Committee of 100; Mrs. Michaels, wife of a former editor of FREEDOM and an active worker in the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* group; Mrs. Annike Bjorklund, an artist and wife of the former editor of the Swedish anarchist paper *Brand* died. Death must come to all but the passing of some is more of an occasion for mourning Helen Allegranza had been imprisoned for eight months for organizing the Wethersfield demonstration; she protested at the time that her offence was the same as the other five imprisoned but with obnoxious old-world courtesy she ("being a mere woman") had received a lighter sentence. This she served in Holloway, had gone on hunger-strike and had been given 28-days solitary confinement. It is impossible to go through such an experience without bearing some scars, and Helen Allegranza was already sick. The wives of our two comrades had lived full and useful lives too, so we can rather "mourn the apathetic throng that see the world's great wrong and dare not speak."

JON QUIXOTE.

SPANISH FESTIVAL

The CNT and FJL are holding a Spanish Festival in aid of the young students recently arrested in Spain. This will be held at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square, London, W.1., Sunday, February 10th from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. The entertainment will include Spanish regional dancing with a guitarist, two Chaplin films and a flamenco trio. Admission 4/-, Children 2/-.



THE second Anarchist Ball, held last Friday, was a staggering success. The support was tremendous; tickets were sold out in a very short while, and however many people were there . . . well the regulation maximum for the hall was five hundred, but there were near enough a thousand there (or they all came around twice). It was generally agreed that the maximum was

Anarchism in the Press

The current issue of the *Twentieth Century* quarterly (6/6) is devoted to "Morals" and contains a number of interesting articles. FREEDOM readers will in particular be interested in a short piece by A. S. Neill, and a long, uncompromising article by John Hewetson on "Birth Control, Sexual Morality and Abortion".

In last week's *New Society* Colin MacInnes devotes his weekly feature to the subject of "Anarchy". As in his other contributions on the subject, Colin MacInnes attempts an objective evaluation of the anarchist ideas—a very successful way, incidentally of presenting anarchism to a non-anarchist public, and even his own objections—that anarchism presupposes the fundamental goodness of mankind—does not detract from the force of the positive arguments he puts forward. Incidentally one of these days someone must produce evidence to show that in fact anarchists do not believe in the fundamental goodness of mankind as the basis for their anarchist ideas!

In last week's *Socialist Leader*, F. A. Ridley, that self-styled "Marxist Anarchist"—in that he maintains one should adopt the good points from Marx and Bakunin and drop the rest—writes a long article on Bakunin, based on a pamphlet on the subject written by Guy Aldred some time ago. Comrade Ridley and others will be interested to know that the Institute of Social History in Amsterdam has undertaken the task of editing the complete works, including letters, of Bakunin. The first volume has already appeared (publisher Brill) and a further two volumes will be appearing this year. In all there should be at least 15 volumes.

wildly exceeded. The point is that we were all staggered. Anarchists rarely have the experience of success, in terms of achieving support in large numbers that is. We tend to think that while we may be absolutely right in what we want, nobody else thinks so. It was for these sort of reasons that the organisers of the ball could not possibly have foreseen that large numbers would turn up, or the effect that this may have. It is true the most optimistic of us were convinced that some people would, in fact, arrive and that surely all our friends would bring their friends and rally round . . . after all they all had a good time last year, so someone would be there . . . and so on.

What did happen therefore came as terrific surprise, with the result that our resources were taxed to the extreme. As stated, we sold out of tickets at the beginning, but people kept arriving, and we certainly didn't turn them away! Our refreshment bar well and truly sold out as well, the licenced bar (unfortunately bar taking were not ours), did well for the first time since before Christmas, and the hall officials described it as a record crowd to support their functions. And the cloakrooms were completely inadequate to cope with such large numbers, particularly the men's cloakroom, which was tiny and ill-equipped.

Of course, one must not confuse a commercial success, for that it certainly was, with an ideological success. However, through social occasions of this kind, not only can we raise some money for the movement, but it is also true that people who may never had any direct contact with anarchists before can meet in relaxed circumstances, and possibly become interested in our ideas. We have evidence that this happened with last year's ball; we can only hope that this year, with about twice as many there, twice as many (at least) were attracted enough to remain with us as active supporters during the long months between balls!

There were quite a few representatives of the Press present, and those we were aware of certainly seemed to be enjoying themselves, so it is rather surprising that as we go to press, only one garbled sneer has appeared, in the *Daily Express*. It contains three blatant lies in about two inches of space, and the report was written by someone so patiently not 'with it' that he could say, amongst other crap . . .

" . . . the band, badly briefed, struck up with God Save the Queen after the last waltz . . . "

Entertainment at the Ball was provided by George Melly, with Mick Mulligan's Band and Sydney Carter, Bob Davenport, Red Nerk (who organised the cabaret) Redd Sullivan, Wally Whyton, with ad hoc assistance from others. To them all, many thanks.

Firstly, anyone hearing Mick Mulligan's band playing the national anthem must know that he gives it a somewhat anarchistic interpretation . . . and secondly . . . the last waltz, THE LAST WALTZ . . . perhaps Mulligan should sue for libel as well as us . . . Still, one can't expect Hickey to know . . . And according to him, we turned people away who weren't wearing ties!

But in years to come, when we look back on the good old balls we used to have, perhaps we could recall the glorious occasion when we had the Press on its knees in our cloakroom—"There they were," we could say, "grovelling on the floor, bedraggled and whimpering; we had them by the short hairs." It was a historic moment as the mighty voice of the Press was heard, hoarse and cracked, whimpering 'my overcoat, my overcoat' . . .

A Financial Statement on the ball will appear in next week's FREEDOM.

LOST PROPERTY

We know that property is robbery but we are in favour of the eventual abolition of the institution of property not the random transfer of items of property. Therefore we shall be glad if any comrade or non-comrade at the Anarchist Ball finds himself erroneously in possession of garments that fit the following descriptions:—

Beret, String Gloves; Grey Coat with fluffy lining; Black Cashmere scarf; fawn knitted triangle; Dark grey raincoat with detachable quilted lining, scarf, gloves; Brown 'Crombie' Coat (Double Breasted).

We will be glad if he or she will bring them to the Bookshop, and or any other garments he or she may have acquired in error. Please also let us know if you lost anything, as one or two items have turned up. We apologise for the confusion caused by the overwhelming success of the ball. L.F.A.

THE PRESS? IT STINKS!

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The weakness of an otherwise reasonable argument surely arises when the Attorney-General confuses, or more accurately, equates, "common sense" with the citizen's duty to "assist in the processes of law in discovery of truth". Mr. Clough argues that the truth can only be established by trustworthy informants in government service. And not only did Mr. Clough protect their identity on principle but recognise that in doing so he also was safeguarding his interests as a journalist who depended on confidential information.

The importance of Mr. Clough's argument is the allegation that the Truth cannot be ascertained through official channels. Yet the Tribunal, appointed by official channels, has recourse to the High Court, to oblige Mr. Clough, by threats of imprisonment, to disclose the sources of his information. He argues that by betraying his trust he dissuades others from making disclosures to the Press that serve the public good as well as his career as a journalist. What he is suggesting is that what they could say to him and expect to be publicised would be suppressed if repeated to their superiors. Indeed, to quote Mr. Clough when he appeared before the Lord Chief Justice: "We rely on confidential sources for a great deal of our information". The L.C.J. as if he hadn't heard Mr. C's *cris de coeur* declared:

"How can you bring that general principle [the journalist's professional secret so far as his sources of information are concerned] to play when the supreme authority of the State, Parliament, has said that this matter is of urgent public importance? These inquiries have to be made, and there must be emergencies in the interests of the State, where private interests, professional interests and all interests must be subordinated".

What utter nonsense! International Jurists, among them eminent Britishers, used just the contrary arguments in order to hang and imprison the greater and lesser Nazi "war criminals"! Then they ruled that legality did not exonerate the individual from deciding for himself between right and wrong. In other words individual conscience counted more than the Law. Of course we are the first to agree! But why then all this sanctimonious guff by the Lord Chief Justice and the Attorney-General about the "supreme authority of the State"? Democracy, which all these legal and political autocrats profess, is government by the people, yet here we have a Tribunal which has powers to hear evidence *in camera* and which instead of condemning the government for withholding facts, prosecutes those citizens who declare to the world that to keep the public informed they have to resort to subterfuges. As a matter of fact, confirmation of this most undemocratic situation is provided by the annual report from correspondents of the Associated Press who declared that:

Censorship still places formidable obstacles in the way of the flow of news, both within countries and across international borders.

While recognising that the American, British and Canadian Press "remained free because it could print whatever news it could obtain", it reports that complaints in the United States were heard of "management of news". These were applied "specially to officials who

leaked information or parcelled it out in a manner to suit Government objectives" (NY Times Dec. 31). Add to this the individual newspaper's own censorship determined by editorial, proprietorial or purely commercial interests, and it is not surprising that what the reader ultimately reads may well be as remote from the facts as the newspaper owner's interest in providing the public with reliable information.

★

WHAT is a Free Press, and what do we expect of it? Within the context of the society we live in, a free press should seek to present a balanced and accurate summary of events, as well as provide a forum for the ventilation of ideas. Because a free press would neither depend on millionaires nor advertisers to subsidize it, it would grow and depend on the support it received. Today in a competitive, profit-seeking world, much effort is wasted by every newspaper seeking to establish its own exclusive organisation. In a non-competitive world, news gathering would be a co-operative effort, politically neutral, and *opinion* would be based on facts as well as infused by libertarian ideas. Today the Press demands "immunity" because the flow of information is impeded by all kinds of individual interests which conflict with the public interest allegedly served by the Press. We deny that the gutter Press serves the Public Interest. That same Press, those same journalists, are demanding that strike leaders should be deported or black listed, that movements such as the Committee of 100 should be proscribed, their leading members prosecuted. Two of the journalists appearing before the Tribunal were at pains to point out all they had done to acquaint the police and Home Office with the information they had gleaned.

★

WE defend Mr. Clough when as an individual he declared to the Lord Chief Justice and his Tribe that their threats of punishment could not make him reveal the names of his confidential sources, and we hope, for the sake of human dignity, that he will resist the ten days' respite they have cunningly granted him to "reverse his decision". We only regret that his sacrifice will be recorded as one notable episode in the "struggle for the freedom of the Press", which it is not.

And if we have not made ourselves clear so far, let us add a comment to last Sunday's *Observer* on "Conflict of Rights":

No one would deny that the tribunal has a right to demand any information that it needs to pursue its enquiries, but journalists, at any rate, will feel that Mr. Clough had an equal right to refuse to break a rule on which much news gathering is based.

namely that if you recognise a tribunal's "right to demand any information" then your sympathies for the journalist's rights are purely academic as well as insincere. Because we passionately believe in the freedom of the Press, we oppose the Tribunal—that is we oppose the methods by which they hope to establish the truth—and feel unable to defend those who may be its victims. However much we may respect their loyalty, to our minds journalism (as a profession today), STINKS!

FORD'S SPEED-UP AND VICTIMISE

Continued from page 1

Dagenham's first strike occurred in 1933, when the management cut the wages by 6d. per hour, and 7,000 men walked out in protest. The pamphlet quotes from the *Star* evening paper. "The confusion was so great owing to the mass picketing with flying-squads, mounted police, firemen with hoses, barricades, buses, and cars jamming the entrance that company chairman Sir Percival Perry had to close the factory."

The strike ended with a 3d. reduction instead of 6d., but without any recognition of the unions by the management.

With the outbreak of the war in 1939, it became even harder to organise at Fords. Members of the organising committee were called into the Forces and men were dispersed to other factories. Even with these difficulties, shop stewards organised a sit-down strike in 1944 which resulted in a T.U.C. agreement with Fords. This agreement still did not recognise the shop stewards and immediately after, as the pamphlet goes in to say, "Albert Sweetman, the convenor, was sacked for making a phone call to his trade union official".

Shop Stewards were finally recognised in March 1946, but only after 11,000 workers had been out on strike for more pay. During a dispute, the Company had threatened a lock-out. With this victory came many improvements, all of which were won by the men at the factory and included "an annual wage claim, and a 10-minute tea-break. Overtime and shift rates and the statutory holiday payment were not agreed upon until 1948."

Although Fords now recognise the trade unions, they continue to victimise the shop stewards, picking on small trivial things. One steward was sacked for returning to work in his own time, in order to see another steward, who was working a night shift. Another steward was sacked for sitting down to drink his tea. Union leaders have played their part in this victimisation. A leading steward, Johnny McLoughlin, was sacked and the A.E.U. leaders ignored ballot votes of members, who had decided in favour of strike action.

The image of Ford workers always out on strike has been deliberately fostered by the company. In fact if one believes them, you would think that they were on the verge of bankruptcy. The pamphlet points out that "Taking for example a six-week period which the company complains of, the total man-hours lost through strikes were 109½ hours, out of approximately 16 million hours worked—or 7.8 second per man. Including lost overtime, the total hours not worked were 5,452. Compare this with the average time lost through certified sickness of 378,000 hours for such a six week period".

Often when a new system of work is introduced, the stewards and the unions are not consulted. For instance, when a new model is being made, time estimates are laid down by the company, but these often prove to be too short and there is continual pressure to get the job done within these new times.

The pamphlet goes on to say "The company increases the work load on

line work by the following methods:—

1. Gradual increase of the line speed with more cars going down per hour without any increase in the labour force.
2. Breaking up an operation previously done by one man into five or six parts, giving each part as additional work to another man on the line, thus eliminating one man.
3. Using the fluctuation of car sales to force men to do more work. For instance, if 100 men were producing 100 cars and the number required dropped to 90, then 10 men would be taken off. However when the schedule went up to 100 jobs again, only 7 men would be put back. Thus 97 men would be doing work previously performed by 100. With the schedule of vehicles fluctuating daily this device has led to many clashes."

Although all this often leads to more work by the individual, there is no increase in wages. It is a continual battle for more and more production, by less and less men. The gross wage for a basic 40-hour week is about £15-£16.

Similar conditions prevail at Fords in America, where there has been continual speed-up of assembly lines leading to many disputes. Walter Reuther, the President of the United Automobile Workers' Union, spoke of these disputes saying "The struggle of these early days centred largely on the callous demands of the employers for inhuman continual speed-up which sapped the workers' energy and strength. The courage of the sit-downers won through to victory over an industry that had driven workers to the breaking point of physical endurance."

This will be the pattern of capitalist production. Even with trade or industrial unions, this process has continued. Although Reuther says that he will fight for a normal work pace and Cousins and Carron say they will not tolerate victimisation, the process still continues.

Fords are an international company and at their factory in Cologne, the speed-up of the line is worse than here. "It is so bad in fact that Germans are reluctant to work in the plant and much of the labour is Spanish, Italian, and Greek. These people from low living-standard areas, are brought in to do the job in conditions the German will not tolerate."

The pamphlet continues, "This internal competition can only be stopped by establishing effective international contacts between all Ford workers to ensure that they are not used against each other. The slogan should be—An injury to one worker is an injury to all workers—British, American or German."

This is the background to the victimisation of the 17 men who have now been sacked. The incident which sparked off the whole affair was the dismissal of Bro. Francis, who was sacked for holding a lunch time meeting. These meetings are a common occurrence at which the stewards report back to the men in their section the results of talks with the management.

Five days before this particular meet-

ing occurred, the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee, had agreed to a 10/- per week rise, but with certain strings attached, one of which was the right to discipline the men. The text of the F.N.J.N.C. statement is as follows—"The Trade Union recognise the right of the company to exercise such measures as are expressed within the agreements against employees who fail to comply with the conditions of their employment by taking unconstitutional action. They have stated, however, and the Company has acknowledged, that the Trade Unions shall not be required to share the responsibility of Management in taking action against employees who breach Agreements. The Trade Unions, however, reserve the right to examine such cases."

This gave the management a free hand to do just what it wanted, and they proceeded to try to increase the number of doors assembled per man in each shift from 35 to 39. In an effort to achieve this, they started by cutting the size of the gang on the operation from nine to eight men, but at the same time keeping the speed of the production line unchanged. The men protested but it was agreed to give the idea a trial.

It proved impossible to work this new system and the whole assembly line was held up. Extra men had to be put on the job to stop the blockage. After two days of working like this, the management stated that three of the eight men on the gang were "leading resistance" to the scheme and these were replaced. Immediately the gang stopped work and the three men were brought back. An hour later the same thing occurred, and an agreement between Bro. Francis and the superintendent in an effort to get this thing sorted out was quashed by the production manager, and the three men were again replaced.

Further talks with the management proved fruitless and even with the three new men, the gang was unable to keep up production. The company threatened to shut down the line. Every suggestion put to the management by the convenor in an effort to solve the problem was turned down, and the company refused to follow the normal procedure in a dispute.

It was the result of these discussions with the management, that led Bro. Francis to call the meeting in order to inform the men in his section of the situation in this dispute. Later on, together with Bro. Haplin, the plant convenor, he was called to the office of the plant manager, and sacked.

Bro. Francis and the other 16 are now unemployed and the others who were reinstated had to sign a statement pledging good behaviour. Is this pattern to be repeated again and again? The union officials have stood aside and even openly helped in the policy of speed-up and victimisation.

The solution to this state of affairs lies solely in the hands of the workers. They must achieve complete control of production. There must be international contacts and links with other car workers in this country, for their strength lies in their solidarity.

P.T.

LETTER

Francis Ellingham and Technological Progress

DEAR COMRADES,

Poor Francis Ellingham has taken a beating from everybody! No doubt he has asked for it. Yet there is something sinister in the technical developments which he attacks. The frightening thing about technological progress is that it lays itself open to abuse so readily. Scientists and technologists seem either to be reactionary conformists who do not mind their discoveries being used to blow up cities and so forth, or else they are "permanent protesters" who hold up their hands in horror, write letters and appeals to statesmen, hold conferences and pass resolutions, etc., just like the anarchists or the Committee of 100. In other words they are helpless before the things

they themselves have made, or helped to make. As helpless as we laymen are.

The horrifying thing about human history is that, while men invent machines and create social institutions, once these things have been put into operation they acquire a power of their own. The saying, "the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath", would never have been coined, were it not for this fantastic human tendency.

The same applies to technical devices. The mere fact that the ability to create them exists is enough to bring them into being, and once they are in being the temptation to use them is too strong to be resisted. I suppose the men engaged on splitting the atom could not have foreseen the consequences, yet surely they must have had at least an inkling . . . ? And, after all, they were not children. They knew the sort of world they were living in. Yet I suppose if taken up on it they would have said, "If we don't do it somebody else will." Which is difficult to answer.

I think that probably Chuangtse had already some glimpse of what lay before mankind all those thousands of years ago. As appears from other passages in his writings he knew of the defores-

tation that was already taking place in parts of China. He really had no solution, nor does it seem to me has Francis Ellingham, nor have I. If we lived in a free society things would be different of course, but we don't, we live in a society where a veneer of social democracy covers mere barbarism. Yet these inventions, "cunning devices", keep coming, almost forcing themselves into being, as it were. The latest horror is a listening device, called "The Snooper", now on sale in America (of course!), which can pick up a conversation a hundred yards away. Useful to bird-watchers? Of course that is the excuse. And in a free society it would no doubt be used for picking up the mating call of the Lesser Speckled Woodchuck, but the free society is a long way off. In the meantime blackmailers, police spies and secret agents will love it.

Man seems helpless before his own cleverness. Either he is too clever or not clever enough. He can put men into space but cannot carry out a real social revolution. My belief is that he will destroy himself, either by blowing himself up or by becoming a robot.

Yours fraternally,
London, Jan. 20. ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

NOW AVAILABLE AGAIN

BAKUNIN
Marxism, Freedom & the State 5s.HEWETSON
Sexual Freedom for the Young 6d.

Help!

DEAR FRIENDS,
Re. J.K.R.'s letter "Anarchist Principles" (FREEDOM Jan. 19th).
Could J.K.R. (or anyone else for that matter) please give more information on:
(1). Speaking about "self-governing communities" J.K.R. says "Many successful approaches to this type of organisation are being made at present." Could we please know which, and where these are?
(2). Could we learn more from J.K.R. on what "worthwhile steps can be taken now towards the creation of such a society" (i.e. "a free society").

Information would be particularly appreciated on the specific nature of these steps, and their relationship to effectiveness (how much?) here and now — on his 14 items.
Very worthwhile too would be any recent examples of Anarchist ideas applied in practice and in how people lived their lives—as most of what I read in FREEDOM seems to be rather abstract theory, moral exhortations (both explicit and implicit), and futuristic imagination.
I would be happy if J.K.R. (or anybody) would answer—to help on these points.
Yours fraternally,
ALAN SWIFT.
London, Jan 21.

Anarchist Principles
DEAR FRIENDS,
Another 'cry from the heart' for a short statement of the principles of anarchism, this time from J.K.R.
The endless discussion on the subject is futile because anarchy, surely, defies definition—and is a waste of what could be valuable space.
Surely, again, the anarchist stand is not 'evangelical' and we can only hope to persuade others by example—as opposed to politicians, who promise the earth, but take damned good care to preserve its fruits mainly for themselves and their cohorts. Fundamentally, we seek as much 'freedom' as a sense of responsibility towards others will allow. We strive continually to enlarge the

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

freedoms, concurrently advising others of the probable adverse results of action which constricts the freedoms. This postulates a self-knowledge and self-discipline beyond the ability of most of us but we should all strive to achieve a high degree of consideration for others. As so few possess these qualities in a sufficiency to enable us to co-exist without some form of 'government' at present, we must accept the best we can get in the management of corporate affairs whilst working towards the 'withering away of the state.'
If anarchists recognise their true position and spend their surplus energy in efforts to bring about the 'withering away', instead of the continual bickering which ruins the value of FREEDOM, the day will come the more quickly.

Productivity and the mass society
DEAR SIR,
But was Chuang Tzu right? So asks Brian Leslie (FREEDOM 5/1/63) as if I'd never given any reason for supposing so! In my original letter, however, I argued that the main trends of European history since the industrial revolution bear out the wisdom of Chuang Tzu's words: "He who uses machines will soon have the heart of a machine. He who has the heart of a machine has lost all certainties of the spirit. He who has lost the certainties of the spirit must needs sin against the meaning of life." I would ask all my critics to consider that argument more closely.
Modern anarchism, like Marxism, originated largely as a protest against the economic exploitation of the working people under nineteenth century capitalism—exploitation which, as well as impoverishing them materially, stunted their minds and spirits. But that form of capitalism would have been impossible, but for the introduction of coal as a fuel, the development of the steam-engine, and the discovery of new methods of smelting iron. It is theoretically possible, I admit, that those "cunning devices" (as Chuang Tzu would have called them) might not have led to nineteenth century capitalism. Had they come into an anarchist world (instead of one where capitalism, in its commercial and financial forms, was already established), industrial capitalism might never have arisen, and the new technology might have been utilised, to a very limited extent, in some other way. Without capitalism, however, there could have been no great accumulation of wealth in the hands of a capitalist class, nor, consequently, any large-scale capital investment. (Nothing could have been done on a large scale by anarchist communities, which I envisage as no bigger than small towns and completely independent politically—and, as far as possible, economically). But without large scale investment the railways, for example, could never have been built, and the new technology would not have led to the formation of a mass-society, with mass-communications and mass-production. Nor, therefore, would it have led to that great increase in productivity which was the characteristic feature of the age before 1914.
The lesson of history seems to be that the invention of the steam-engine, etc., plus the desire of a privileged class to raise productivity (the workers had no such desire and even resisted the new technology), led to the creation of modern capitalism, with all its social, political, moral and spiritual evils. Without the new technology, on the other hand, and without the wealthy classes impulse to raise productivity, modern capitalism would have been impossible, as things were. And had the new technology been born into an anarchist world, where no wealthy class existed, the massive capital investment needed to achieve high productivity would not have been forthcoming; even if it had been, the anarchist communities would have lost their political and economic independence through the creation of a vast industrial complex and a mass-society. The conclusion I draw is that high productivity and anarchy, at least in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were mutually in-

I am not an 'armchair' anarchist. I have advocated 'freedom with responsibility' to such effect that 'the establishment' has not provided me with regular employment since August 1957, because—I believe, although I cannot prove it, so subtle is 'authority'—my adherence to principle raised the hackles of freemason, 'God-fearing' Tories and 'brotherly' Socialists alike.
I have, now, learned to live without those non-essentials—the 'telly', the car, and so on—and, consequently have less to worry about and more time for what I consider to be the essentials!! It's a fight for existence, but it's worth it!
Southampton, Jan. 19. B. CECIL BEVIS.

Indoctrination
DEAR COMRADES,
I agree wholeheartedly with the remarks of Mr. Beams (FREEDOM 12.1.63) concerning the religious indoctrination of children and would like to draw your attention to what is surely an ever more evil indoctrination of the young. At many schools, including the one which I attend, membership of a cadet corps is compulsory for all those whose parents do not expressly oppose his military training. The boy is given absolutely no say in the matter, even when he has reached the sixth form and what is surely a reasonable degree of intellectual maturity.
Since the cadets are conscripted by

forms rather than by age, it is not uncommon to see boys of twelve or thirteen dressed up in military uniform and encouraged in violence fantasies by the authorities. The training these boys receive is such that it would be forbidden by law if they had Colin Jordan and not the Queen for their figurehead. It consists of square-bashing, instruction in army ritual and the use of lethal weapons. Somehow this is supposed to produce the qualities of leadership and initiative, to say nothing of a traditional English sense of fair play, but as I see it, it does nothing but provide a completely unproductive outlet for energies that would be better employed in some kind of creative activity, and breed N.C.O.s whose motto seems to be "They gave me hell when I was only a cadet and now it's my turn."
Yours faithfully,
Romford, Jan. 18. GEORGE SIMMERS.

Bouquet—but
DEAR EDITORS,
I would like to express my appreciation of some recent editorials which, I think, have been excellent. Also, may I welcome the contributions on Labour conditions by "P.T.", with one reservation—to write at length about the low pay of Power Station workers without telling readers what they actually get in their pay packets is a serious omission.
Best wishes,
Slough, Jan 19. ERNIE CROSSWELL.

this controversy will be familiar with their arguments. Anybody who has followed the present letter will see why I must reject them.
High productivity means mass-production, which means mass-consumption, which means a mass-society, which is the complete antithesis of everything anarchism stands for. Automation makes no difference to these elementary facts. A mass is a highly regimented and disciplined population, millions strong, conditioned to behave in whatever way the machinery of mass-production demands. It cannot be composed of anarchists—of live, fully adult men and women, with personalities of their own. It necessitates conformity, a widespread sense of individual impotence, and an élite of professional persuaders and manipulators — everything, in short, which any anarchist worthy of the name detests. All the evidence is that the bigger the economic and social unit, the less freedom there is for the individual. That is why anarchist communities would have to be as small and independent as possible. But small, independent units would possess neither the capital resources nor the mass-market essential for high productivity. Automation and advancing technology are driving us in precisely the opposite direction—towards larger and larger units, towards ever greater concentrations of power. I conclude that Chuang Tzu will prove as right in the future as he has proved in the past.
My critics call me "romantic" and represent me as wanting to claw my livelihood from the soil with my bare hands. But they are the romantics. It is they who live in a cloud-cuckoo-town where capitalists instal the equipment to build an anarchist society, where mass-production is carried on without masses, and where all the economic, social and political pressures of modern technology are miraculously reversed. As for the question of livelihood, nothing in this letter necessarily means that anarchists should subsist like troglodytes. What I do mean is that an anarchist world would neither have, nor wish to have, anything like "high productivity" as we know it. That is what my critics refuse to face, and that is what we must face.
I realize that many difficult questions can be asked. Would anarchist communities have at least some degree of technological development? Surely—but if so, where do we draw the line between what is permissible and what is not? Is no application of scientific thought to production permissible according to Chuang Tzu? Or was he exaggerating to emphasize his point? As Brian Leslie sums up the difficulties, just what is natural to man? I have no cut and dried answers to such questions. I do believe, however, that man has a definite nature, which we ignore or violate at our peril. We discover this nature empirically, by trial and error. And one of our more serious errors seems to be the pursuit of high productivity. I suggest, therefore, that our first need is to realize that error. Where precisely such a realization would lead mankind, who can say—till we get there? Meanwhile, it would be something to stop travelling in the wrong direction.
Yours faithfully,
Bristol 7, Jan. 24 FRANCIS ELLINGHAM.

compatible, and that Chuang Tzu's warnings against machinery and the impulse to raise productivity have been more than justified by events. The "advanced" nations of Western Europe greatly increased their productivity before 1914, but they had to pay for this by developing the monstrous evil of modern industrial capitalism. They were then shattered, de-civilized, and permanently weakened by two terrible wars (caused largely by that same capitalism), whose unprecedented destructiveness was purely a result of the new technology. Finally that masterpiece of high productivity, the H-bomb (it produces more deaths more quickly and cheaply than any previous weapon), is now poised to wipe Western Europe off the map. Incidentally, could anybody without the heart of a machine support the "nuclear deterrent"? And is not reliance upon such weapons the ultimate sin against the meaning of life?
So much for the consequences of raising productivity in the past. What of the future (if there is any)?
Some of my critics believe that automation will transform the whole picture, making some kind of anarchist society (with high productivity) possible or even inevitable. Readers who have followed

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