

'To change the master is not to be free.'

JOSE MARTI

In this Issue:

Controversy on 'the People in the Streets' -P2

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THE Labour Party leaders are understandably worried lest the proposed strike called by the National Union of Railwaymen for next week damages the Party's chances of winning the next general elections. In a desperate bid to recoup its (electoral) popularity the Government is seeking any kind of excuse to confuse the issues, and above all to create a quite false image of the Labour Party as the mouthpiece of extremists in the Unions, and of those who, by advocating a defence policy without the H-Bomb, wish to reduce this country to the position of a minor Power. Undoubtedly the Tory election managers will welcome the NUR strike next week, and will seek to use the inconvenience to which the travelling public has been subjected, for electoral ends. In Churchill's message to the Primrose League, the Member for Woodford (who a day or two earlier had announced his retirement from the House where he has not uttered a single word since 1955) points out that "until lately it has been a source of national strength that all three parties, while supporting the Western Alliance, have seen the need for Britain to have a nuclear armoury ultimately under our own national control" and goes on to warn the country that "to abandon

Take Over the Railways!

that policy now would be to embark on a course holding great perils . . ." And after references to "the mercy of Providence" and that if we abandon the H-bomb now we shall not have a second chance, for we will "abandon it for ever" he concludes:

This is one of the great issues the country will have to decide this year or next. I know that all of you, who realise how much is at stake, will do all that is in your power to see that the country takes the right decision.

In other words: Vote Tory! Only a politically moronic electorate could surely be swayed one way or the other by such ham-handed propaganda. On the other hand Mr. George Brown's appeal to the railwaymen to call off the strike and allow the Beeching plan to be thrashed out politically—"let us make that political case in a political way, in the political forum of the nation"—was hardly less ham-handed. It is true that the future pattern of public transport is a question of direct interest to each one of us. But it is equally a fact that the railway workers are prim-

arily interested in their future livelihoods—and this is purely an economic issue. As anarchists we consider the political and economic as indivisible, and because we do, we are opposed to capitalist, and all authoritarian, systems. But so long as the workers' organisations look upon their members simply as wage earners and accept as permanent the social and economic structure of capitalist society, not only will workers in every industry be divided among themselves (job differentials) but equally important, their just demands will not be received with the sympathy they deserve from the public, but resented as yet another "imposition". How often one hears the remark: "holding the public up

to ransom" when workers, especially in public services and "key" industries, strike for more pay. Of course one could point out to that indignant public that they too are prepared to act in the same way when their sectional interests are involved.

★

IN a capitalist society no one has the right to work. The Trades Unions exist to secure the best conditions they can for their members. But they have no legal powers to oblige a factory owner, for instance, to keep his factory going and employ workers, if he doesn't think it worth his while to do so. As we have often pointed out the Trades

Unions are most militant when trade is booming and impotent during "slumps". And the reason is not far to seek. It is the old capitalist law of "supply and demand". When the bosses are competing for labour they will offer even more than the Unions demand so far as rates and conditions are concerned. When they are competing for markets the boot is on the other foot, and there's little the Unions can do. The "Welfare State" is purely an Insurance scheme, the existence of which underlines the job insecurity, as well as the maldistribution of the national wealth for most of us, in a capitalist society.

It is obvious, surely, that the economic pattern of society will not be changed until the workers demand the right to determine what they produce and how they dispose of it. This requires political action. In other words, Trades Unionism is the machinery by which organised labour seeks to secure as large a slice as it can of the economic cake it has produced but which is owned by the employers of labour. The revolutionary and political approach, as anarchists understand it, would be for the workers to declare that since they produce the economic cake, they have a right to

Continued on page 3

ONE OUT—ALL OUT!

Public Transport should be a social service. That is to say, the community should provide for itself a service calculated to meet its needs not one whose existence and size depends solely on the profit-motive. However, the powers-that-be in our present society have decided to chuck human needs out of the window and apply their sacred profit-motive to the railway system. To this end they have employed £24,000 a year hatchet-man, Dr. Beeching, who far from producing a 'master plan' has only done what any bloody fool could do given the same mandate. If a line doesn't pay—chop it!

As far as industrial wages are concerned, all transport is the "Cinderella". The Employers, the Government, are the hardest nut to crack and are prepared to go to any lengths to get their way.

The bus-strike in 1958 was a classic example—busmen could have stayed out until they rotted. If on May 14 tube trains and buses run, then the railwaymen can have token strikes 'until the cows come home' and get nowhere. It's no good the busmen screaming "tube men get more than us", or the railwaymen moaning "the busmen and tube men both get more than we do"—the struggle is the same for all.

How do we, the travelling sardines, come out of this? Quite bluntly, grasping the shitty end of the stick. The public's immediate reaction is to blame the bloke on the job. However, the interests of the general public and

transport workers are the same, and what the powers-that-be intend giving is contrary to all our interests. The public needs a service and transport workers are prepared to provide same, given the opportunity. The three-day stoppage will cause some inconvenience but nothing like the permanent inconvenience and loss of livelihood for many workers that will be caused by the Beeching cuts.

Marples claims that redundancy will not be so great due to natural wastage, retirements, etc. Even if this is true, on his own figures there will be thousands fewer jobs available when the 'plan' has eventually been implemented.

You won't 'have it so good' on the dole. Industry will not go to depressed areas if they find that they have to shift their goods by hand-cart.

Look at the Labour Party? What a hope! Wilson doesn't want a strike, it might damage his election chances.

Only Transport workers themselves can achieve success—leaders went out with Joan of Arc.

The key word in this whole affair is SOLIDARITY. Solidarity between commuters (passengers to you) and all transport workers.

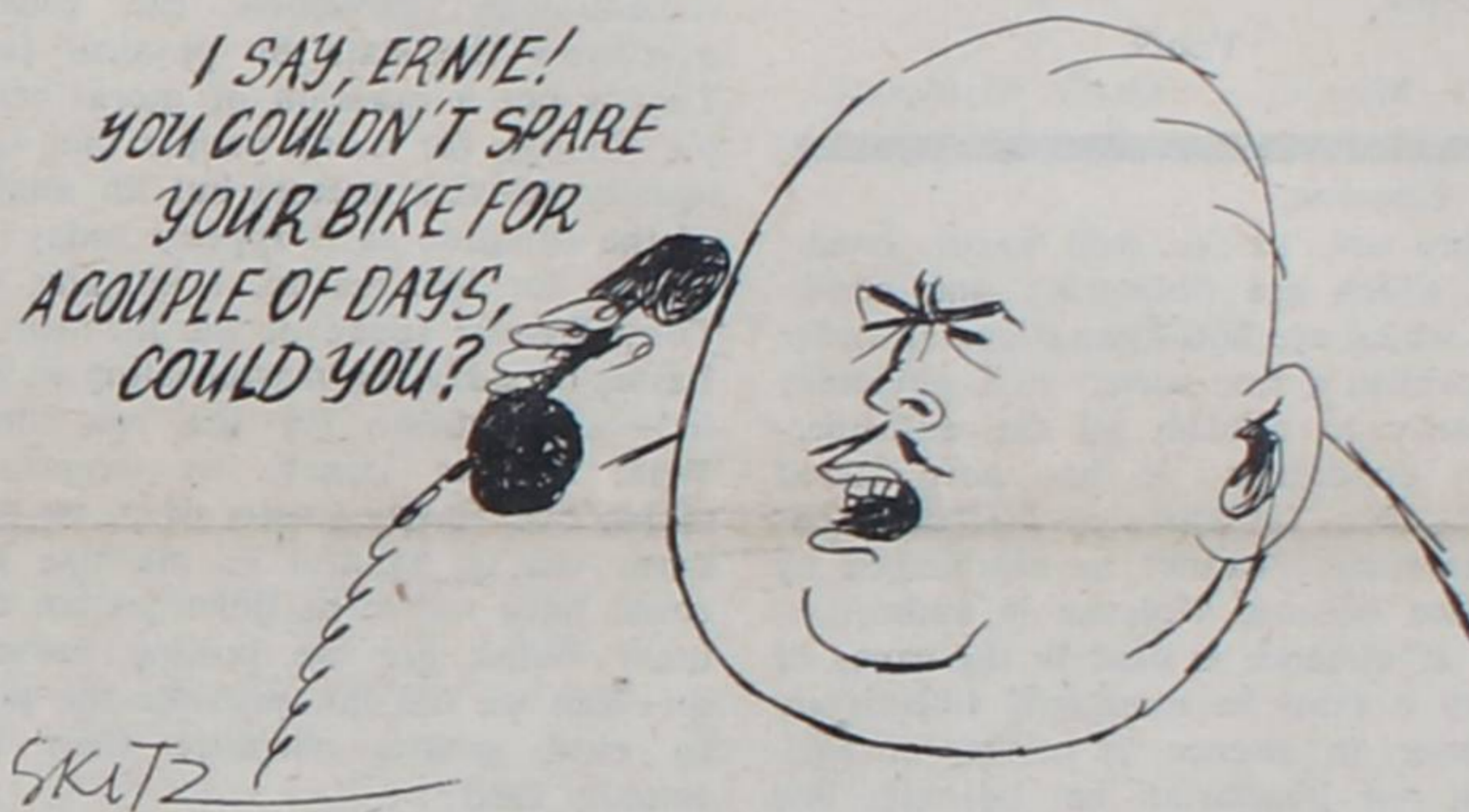
May 14, 15, 16, ALL OUT

Railwaymen, tubemen, busmen, coach drivers—the lot! Public sympathy and support is vital. While fully supporting the May 14th and 16th action as a necessary first step, remember that *this alone will not halt the closures.*

Constant struggle must be maintained and intensified through guerilla strikes, work to rule, and taking no fares and similar action—until the Beeching Plan is scrapped.

Don't strike-break by working overtime or abnormal hours (shifts, etc.). Make sure that this strike hits your boss as well.

(Leaflet published by: The London Federation of Anarchists and the Syndicalist Workers' Federation.)



German Metalworkers' Strike

Metal-workers in Germany are out on strike for a pay rise of 8%. A 3½% increase which was offered by the employers has been turned down by the unions.

The Metal-workers Union called out their members last Monday at the Mercedes-Benz car works near Stuttgart and the electrical firms of Bosch & Brown and Boveri & Co. They were followed by workers in other areas and the strike seems set to spread with the eventual involvement of nearly two million workers. The employers have countered the-strike with a "lock-out". This state of affairs has shaken things in Germany which has had several years of peaceful labour relations.

Over the last two years, German workers have gained substantial pay awards and are now, and rightly so, claiming a higher wage out of the huge profits made during Germany's economic recovery. The employers seem determined to resist. Herbert von Hüllen, the leader of the Employers' Association, has rallied support from firms with the cry of "United we stand, divided we fall".

The workers of the North Rhine-Westphalia area have been threatened by the employers with a "lock-out" if they take strike action. Strike action in this area was to have started on Monday but the union leaders have decided to postpone it, presumably because of the talks scheduled to begin on that day between Dr. Erhard, the union leaders, and the employers.

The strike and the employers' "lock-out" are directly affecting the production of some car manufacturers and others will very shortly be threatened. Fords, Volkswagen and Opel factories are running short of parts. Fords said on April 30th that they had only enough

supplies to last them eight days.

Efforts have been made by Government leaders in the strike-affected regions, to try to bring about a settlement but their efforts have met with no success. In the face of the failure of these local efforts, the Government has now decided to take a hand. The Minister of Economics and Dr. Adenauer's proposed successor, Dr. Erhard, has asked representatives of the employers and of the Metal-workers Union to meet him in Bonn on Monday. The German

INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

government clearly does not wish to see this stoppage spread and become a long struggle between employers and unions. The unions for their part, have accepted the government's invitation to meet them.

What can the bloke on strike expect to get from this meeting? This government "get-together" formula has become the pattern for so many compromises both in this country and abroad. Here, at the Fords Dagenham factory, we have seen government intervention in an effort to prevent direct action with the result that the 17 victimised men are still out of a job. In France also, the miners' union leaders betrayed their members and went back to work with only half of their demands won.

This pattern of events is all too familiar to the rank and file union member. During strike action the union leaders try to control and limit the dispute. Often strikers wish to take more radical action, but the union officials resist and frustrate the workers' attempts. At all times the officials will

try to prevent any efforts by the workers themselves, to win demands. Their role is one of control, which leads to the eventual compromise and betrayal of the workers' struggle against the state and the employers.

Even before this strike in Germany began, the Metalworkers' Union leader, Otto Brenner, indicated that an offer of 6% would bring a settlement of the dispute. What say has the rank and file in all this? He is not consulted. The leaders get round the table with the bosses and that is that—Back to work with only a small part of the wage demand won.

These attempts by union leaders have to be prevented and rank and file strength must be built up in order to combat these. Only with this strength and control can the metalworkers' struggle in Germany be won. Some of the placards of the pickets have made it quite plain, "What the people make they own."

17 STILL OUT AT FORDS

Since the Court of Inquiry set up to investigate the case of the 17 men who were victimised by Fords, no real progress has been made by the unions to get these men reinstated. Fords have stopped paying them the £11 per week *ex-gratia* payment and instead, these men are now receiving money from the victimisation fund and the shop stewards fund. Those who belong to the Transport and General Workers' Union are also getting dispute benefit. Without this support from their workmates, these 17 men would be suffering great hardship. By this time, no doubt, employers have them well and truly black-listed.

Continued on page 4

ANARCHY 27

NOW ON SALE, IS ON YOUTH

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FREEDOM

May 11 1963 Vol 23 No 15

TAKE OVER THE RAILWAYS!

Continued from page 1
decide how it shall be distributed. Such an approach presupposes that all shall have equal access to the means of production to provide for their needs. (This writer will explain, on another occasion, why in spite of the foregoing, he is in practice an advocate of communist- and not individualist-- anarchism!)

NOW the N.U.R. are fully entitled to stage their strike but by the same token the A.S.L.E.F. and other railway workers are entitled not to join them, and one would even add, the travelling public should not be expected to support them, for what are the issues at stake?

The Beeching plan is, in a word, a crude attempt to make the railway system financially solvent by closing down all those services which by an equally crude financial yardstick can be shown to be operating at a loss. The implementation of this plan will, apart from depriving a section of the public of a service, result in thousands of railway employees losing their jobs.

If we lived in a world in which each of us was our brother's keeper, the issues calling for public reaction are clear enough. But we don't live in . . . an anarchist world! Consequently sympathy over the fate of a group of our fellow beings is tempered by the divergent and conflicting interests of the rest. (1) It is not difficult to understand the ASLEF's reluctance to join the NUR. The fact that the former, which limits its membership to engine drivers, firemen (aspirant drivers) and signalmen, that is skilled workers, hopes that the Beeching plan will, by making the railways more efficient (financially) ensure higher remuneration for the key men which it represents, would indicate that it seeks its improvements at the expense of the so-called "unskilled" workers. (2) While a minority of travellers will sympathise with the NUR because in fighting for their jobs they are willy nilly fighting to keep open the branch lines used by this minority (though it should be made clear that the NUR are not fighting to keep the services going but of keeping their jobs) a majority will be thinking that to keep the railway system as it is will mean that they will have to pay higher fares and (3) this fear of one section of the community having to subsidise another will be manifest among the millions of car-owners (most of whom spend more time polishing their status-symbol than using it) who probably would argue that all railways should be scrapped and converted into motorways! (4) One must not overlook the fact that hardships for the railway workers will be offset by "gains" for workers directly or indirectly engaged in road transport.

The gloomy picture we present of a divided people can only be ignored if one is content to repeat the slogans of solidarity, mutual aid, etc., and leave it at that. But if one has more than an intellectual interest in the social struggle one must be prepared to recognise the futility of next week's railway strike. To our minds there can be no solidarity where there is no identity of interests; and there can be identity of interests among the working people only when they reject all

economic differentials and social privileges.

BUT in the meantime what can the railway workers do to prevent the Beeching axe from falling. Apart from electing a Labour government next time (which says that it would prune the railways and not axe them), there is little the NUR can do with its present approach except call a strike in an attempt to get Beeching to ease the operation of the redundancy scheme. It is abundantly clear that the NUR is not concerned with Beeching's closures of these services so long as its members get "a fair deal". If the NUR believed in the ideas of workers' control, and the provision of a service to satisfy the public need, the Beeching plan would have been a golden opportunity to put into effect a workers' take-over of these unprofitable lines and show how it is possible to provide service even when the need is limited. There was ample time for the railway workers and the railway users and potential users to get together to ascertain the needs and plan what services would be required to satisfy these needs. The financial aspect so far as running costs are concerned could also have been ascertained (to our minds the railwaymen were entitled to take-over the lines and equipment without any payment since it is the government's intention to scrap these lines in any case, and they cannot have it both ways!) and explained to the users. Clearly some lines would carry sufficient traffic to justify full-time workers, but there would be others where only part-time workers would be sufficient, in which case it would possibly be necessary for such workers to obtain alternative employment as near at hand as possible to the railway.

There is probably still time to make the attempt at least on some of the lines threatened with the Beeching axe. And if the NUR workers who are, after all prepared to lose three days' pay, were instead to work those three days and give their pay to a fund for this purpose, they would launch their take-over with probably more than £1 million, a sum which would allow them to reach the public direct and wage their battle to keep the lines open where the need warrants it. This is, to our minds, the only practical action, which will draw the people closer together, and which incidentally, can be carried out here and now and not after the revolution. But it is the kind of action which is a definite step in the direction of workers' control, responsibility and the libertarian social revolution. And because of this it will not be accepted by the government without a struggle. Indeed we have no doubt that if the railwaymen were to show the kind of initiative we outline the government would revise its plans post-haste. And in that case we hope that the workers would have the sense and responsibility not to give in, but press forward with even more determination their demand to control the services in which they are engaged.

Beeching contemptuously stated at a Press conference that public protests last about six days and then peter out, and that this would be the case over the branch lines. It is a challenge which railway workers and users should take up. Beeching and the government must be made to eat their words.

ACCORDING to which page of the *Daily Telegraph* one reads, the tactless plebeian Mr. Marples said about the closure of the land and sea route from Stranraer to Larne, either "Northern Ireland have no need to worry that they won't be consulted before it is closed" or "So there is no need to worry. There will be no consultation before it is closed down". Either way, Mr. Marples earned the prize of Mr. T. G. D. ("Tam") Galbraith for his Joint Parliamentary Secretary. A game of musical chairs sent Mr. Charles Orr-Ewing back to industry. The member for Woodford conceded that since his last speech was in 1955, and another election is imminent, they had better choose a new candidate for the constituency. He sent a message to the Primrose League annual meeting warning of 'great perils' if Britain gave up her independent nuclear deterrent. "These deadly weapons are safer in our hands than in any other." Mr. Macmillan was seen to be taking a collection during the week-end party conclave at Chequers, it turned out to be in aid of the ancient churches of Buckinghamshire and not for any other relics. A Dublin mail-van robbery was carried out by six men, one of whom wore a mask cast in the features of Mr. Macmillan. . . .

A GREEK newspaper advocating that the Greek royal visit to this country be cancelled, carried the banner headline, "Keep away from these homosexuals"—*et tu Plato!* This spleen was occasioned by the release of the news that Queen Frederika Louise of Hanover (and of the Bund Deutscher Mädchen) was kicked (*Mirror*), assaulted, molested, chased, or otherwise incommoded (according to what paper one reads or which agency one gets the news from), on making an unguarded trip from Claridges. She was approached by Mrs. Betty Ambietolos. The Queen replied that she did not speak to strangers. Mrs. Ambietolos who was protesting about the imprisonment of her husband in Greece for sixteen years, persisted, with the result that the Queen fled, pursued, if not by real furies, by the Furies of Greek legend. She entered a *cul-de-sac* as all monarchs are apt to do and sought sanctuary with a stranger. The stranger, being a democratic American, was not put out by the explanation "I am the Queen of Greece", and gave her refuge and whisky. . . .

"PARIS-MATCH" keeping up the reputation of the World press for reliability and veracity, reported Peggy Duff-as saying of the Aldermaston march, *Cette année, nous avons pensé qu'il fallait faire mieux que d'habitude, frapper l'opinion . . . Avec nos tracts et nos pancartes, nous avons décidé de faire un détour. Par la base secrète 'R.S.G.6*

AROUND THE GALLERIES

WE are indebted to Mr. Sazo Idemitsu for loaning these paintings by Gibon Sengai to the Arts Council that that most materialist of organisations may exhibit them at their headquarters at 4 St. James Square, S.W.1. Grateful in that they add a needed touch of humour to the humourless exponents of instant Zen as expounded in the coffee houses of the West. Zen, that abbreviation of the Japanese word *zenna*, derives from the Sanskrit *dhyāna* meaning meditation, tranquillization, concentration or merely keeping the mind on one subject and as such was a spiritual discipline first started in India's Vedic Age which when adopted by the Buddhists spread throughout the East. *Vinaya*, *Dhyāna* and *Prajñā* are the three fingers of Buddhist spiritual training and Daisetz Suzuki has defined *Vinaya* as the observation of the rules of conduct as laid down by Buddha, *Dhyāna* the art of self-concentration and *Prajñā* the awakening of the innermost sense that lies at the basis of our sense-intellect as it functions. Zen places its emphasis on *prajñā* which gives the wisdom aspect of Reality but for all that *prajñā* is valueless without *karunā* which is but the name for compassion and love.

Karunā is the means by which the disciple of Zen seeks *prajñā* and it is the only path that leads to the final Emptiness that is Fullness and the Fullness that is Emptiness; not in the after-life of the christian teaching will it be found; not with the cold and reasoning intellect will these doors be opened; neither conceptually nor abstractly must it be sought but literally at this very moment in time and space. Sengai's *upāya* or method of demonstrating his *karunā* to help him find *prajñā* are these



justement." This, I am credibly informed means that she and the CND decided to make a detour to "R.S.S.G.6". The police are still on the track of the original pamphlet which continues to beget its kind and a pamphlet on R.S.G.4 which is said to be in Brooklands Avenue, Cambridge. The Committee of 100 group sightseeing there tried to take photographs. Three young men from the contractors said it was a public lavatory, and they had instructions not to let anyone take photographs. "Why can't we take photos of a public lavatory?" the Committee of 100 asked, "It has special pans". "Can we use it?" they asked. "No, the drainage is not working yet." Damage done to R.S.G.6. on Easter Saturday was estimated at £2 and the estimated cost of the work of setting up Regional Seats of Government was £1,600,000. . . .

THE SECRETARY of State for Scotland Chamber of Trade Conference thought that the Chamber's public relations section should be doing more to guard shopkeepers who gave good service "against all the slurs and all the protection that consumers seem to want from us wicked folk". A canned baby cereal examined by *Which* was revealed to contain 75% water. . . .

THE SECRETARY of State for Scotland refused to order an enquiry into the case of a Borstal boy who was said to have been kept in solitary confinement in an underground cell for 21 days. Two detectives at Sheffield were fined £75 and £50 respectively for inflicting grievous bodily harm on two men being questioned at C.I.D. headquarters about alleged store-breaking. The chairman of the Bench said there had been a deliberate and excessive use of violence. Authority had been abused. A rhinoceros whip and a cosh were used. One man was hit with the cosh for fourteen minutes. Another was hit on the back, buttocks and arms. The defending

counsel said "They are human and were tired after working long hours. They didn't stop at restraining the men, but laid into them. They gave them what some may think these men possibly deserved. They went far, too far." A CND marcher took out a summons against a policeman for assault at a Kensington police-station. He alleged that after CND symbols and "RSG6" were written in the dust on a coach carrying a load of policemen, a man was arrested for insulting behaviour. He protested and was arrested also, and grabbed and thrown into the coach. Someone thumped and kicked him. On being charged he refused to give his name and was allegedly smacked on the face. He said that when he remained silent a sergeant entered the charge room and said, "Enough of this. Give them the full treatment." He was struck again. Simultaneously he was punched hard in the stomach and doubled up. Lord Goddard, former Lord Chief Justice said on addressing members of Somerset and Bath Magistrates Association, "I think it an awful pity that the stocks cannot be used for the Teddy Boy, whom nothing cures as quickly as ridicule. The stocks have never been abolished even if the Acts concerning them have been altered." Too much attention was being paid to the prisoner and not to the victim. "Short sentences are a misfortune, but many crimes only carry short sentences. You must harden your hearts at times. These people who plan the coshings, and the robbers of payrolls, it is no good talking to them about reformation. They live by crime." The duty of the criminal law, Lord Goddard said, was to punish, "reformation of the prisoner is not your business." . . .

LADY DARTMOUTH told the Royal Society of Health Congress at Eastbourne that as a child she was beaten when naughty. She maintained that discipline was vital. She could not remember why she was beaten but it was for all kinds of naughtiness including being late, or dirty, and not doing her work. She was never naughty the same way again. . . .

THE UNITED STATES Supreme Court ruled unanimously that racial segregation in courtrooms was unconstitutional. "State-compelled segregation in a court of justice is a manifest violation of the State's duty to deny no one the equal protection of its laws." 1,400 negro demonstrators, including many children, were arrested in Birmingham, Alabama. High-pressure hoses were used to disperse the crowds of demonstrators, and police dogs were set upon them. The Police-Commissioner (who has recently

Continued on page 4

templating the most banal of trivialities; men who after years of contemplation found that the quintessence of their secret wisdom was the ancient commonplaces of the market-place, for in renouncing their fellow men they renounced the springs of knowledge, and in segregating themselves from the common touch they closed the doors upon the very love and compassion that they sought. This, Sengai must have realized when, at the age of 62, he walked out of the silent temple of Shōfukuji back into the dusty, dirty, squalling stream of life. Yet his paintings have little artistic value for, at their stylised worst they are inferior versions of the 18th century Tosa school with its human figures dehumanized into pretty patterns at one with the background while at his best he owes an obvious debt to certain aspects of the 17th century Kanō school with its own blend of Thurberish loose drawing and slow humour. Of the poems, many of them of less than a dozen words apiece, Suzuki's catalogue is invaluable though I feel that Dr. Blyth who aided him has endeavoured to read into them more than their frail frame will bear as with Sengai's painting of two bamboos with the painter's own caption "Thickly growing bamboos, each standing/Singly, on the hill of Tai-shan" to which Dr. Blyth must add the needless comment that perhaps Sengai means that everybody must live an individual and at the same time a social life, to which one can only ask that maybe Sengai just wanted to paint some bamboos and to hell with philosophy. Yet for all that Sengai was a man for all ages. A monk who could write: "Kill! Kill!"

Not only the cat,
But the leaders of both parties,
Including Wang the Old Master
Himself."

was wasted on his chosen company.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

