

FREEDOM

OCTOBER 19 1963 Vol 24 No 33

'Freedom of discussion is in England little better than the right to say or write anything which a jury consisting of twelve shop-keepers think it expedient should be said or written.

DICEY,
"Law of the Constitution".

**SELLERS WANTED FOR
FREEDOM & ANARCHY,
HYDE PARK, SUNDAYS
AND HAMPSTEAD
ON SATURDAYS**

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

To Russia with . . . ?

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S approval of the sale to Russia of £89million worth of surplus U.S. wheat in our opinion reflects more the seriousness with which the Kennedy administration view the balance of payments crisis than a further "detente" in the East-West power struggle. Indeed we would also suggest that the test ban agreement, which has now been ratified by the three nuclear powers (as well as by a further 100 nations which haven't the know-how any how) came about not because of any concern with fall-out in our children's milk supplies but because of this, at present, all-absorbing, obsessing financial problem of balance of payments, which Kennedy is clearly determined to halt at almost any cost—including withdrawal of some of America's troops in Europe, as well as the curtailment of military "aid".

Needless to say, the Republicans are denouncing the President for allowing the grain deal to go through, and Mr. Nixon, the Republicans' unsuccessful choice at the last Presidential elections, has declared on the radio that it would be "harming the cause of world freedom", on the grounds presumably that if Russia can import foodstuffs, her labour power could be directed to heavy industry and armaments. Judging by the Gallup poll announcement that Mr. Kennedy's "popularity" had receded to its lowest ebb since he took office, it would appear that the American man-in-the-street is as gullible and

fickle as we had imagined, for the Nixon argument can hardly stand up to a moment's thought. Russia's large purchases of grain in Canada (\$500m) as well as in U.S.A. (\$285m) were not conditional on these countries buying an equivalent value of Russian goods, but are being sold for cash—to quote Kennedy at his Press Conference of October 10, "for American dollars or gold, either cash on delivery or normal commerce terms".

For Russia to spend foreign currency or gold on wheat indicates a genuine crop failure (whatever the reasons—political or climatic) or increased consumption, for what hard currencies she disposes of are invariably used to purchase capital goods, machinery, from the "know-how" countries to build up her own industrial potential.

In fact the Russians have admitted an 18 per cent decline in grain supplies available to the Government compared with 1962. Since—according to the *N.Y. Times* Moscow correspondent—government purchases represent approximately 40 per cent of the total harvest, one cannot necessarily assume that the big-scale buying on world markets is the result of a crop failure. Might not the government's deficiency have been caused by the farms and rural areas holding back larger quotas for their own consumption?

★
WHEN Mr. Kennedy told newspapermen that "this transaction advertises to the world as nothing else could the success of free American agriculture" and went on to add that it

"demonstrates our willingness to re-

lieve food shortages, to reduce tensions, and to improve relations with all countries, and it shows that peaceful agreements with the United States which are in the interests of both sides are a far more worthwhile course than a course of isolation and hostility

he revealed that he was no more concerned with the truth than the frustrated Mr. Nixon. The facts speak more loudly than Mr. Kennedy's platitudes. And for the facts we will quote and rely on Mr. Kennedy himself at his Press Conference (Oct. 10) and the statement by his Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville Freeman, two days earlier,

as reported by the United States Information Service.

You and this writer know what we mean when we talk of "relieving food shortage"; we think of mutual aid, of sharing our good fortune with the less fortunate; we think of OXFAM, War on Want and other bodies which rely on human solidarity to provide the necessities of life to those fellow beings who have been deprived of the means to provide for themselves by reason of natural- or man made-disasters. And in the past few weeks what with dams bringing death (instead of life) to whole communities, and the Christians' God of Love blowing some of his most devoted flock off the face of the earth, we have been conscious of the resilience and efficiency of the agencies of the

Continued on page 3

Freedom and Anarchy

It has been found more convenient by all connected with the production of our two publications to publish ANARCHY in future on the first Saturday of each month, and not, as hitherto, on the last. Will our distributors and editorial contributors therefore please note that publishing arrangements to the end of the year will be as follows: issues of FREEDOM will appear on October 26, November 9, 16, 23, 30, December 14, 21, 28. The November number of ANARCHY will be on sale from November 2 and the December issue will appear on December 7th.

ANARCHY 32: OUT NOW is on Crime

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 1/6 on the first Saturday of every month



Text for Today:
**THE BEST BATTLES ARE
ALWAYS WON ON THE
PLAYING FIELDS OF ETON**

KENNEDY RESISTS 40hr WEEK LATER—NOT NOW

AT his recent Press conference, President Kennedy was asked whether a statement he had made in California had been correctly interpreted by some as indicating a change in his opposition to the shorter working week. The President replied:

I am still opposed to it. What I was talking about was that inevitably as the century goes on, in my judgment, as machines increasingly take the place of men, that we will have more leisure, and therefore we should take those steps in the field of conservation, resource development, and recreation, which will prepare us for that period. But that is not talking about today or tomorrow. It would be a great mistake for us to reduce our 40-hour week now. It would affect our competitive position abroad, and I think that the needs of American production are such that we ought to stick with our 40-hour week. I see the time coming, as I was saying, at the end of the century, perhaps sooner than that, when there may be a change in that, but not now.

The fact is, that some industries in America are already working a shorter week, and of course millions of American workers are not working at all.

To realise on what scale human effort and natural resources are being wasted in the American economy readers are referred to Vance Packard's "The Waste Makers" (*Penguin* 4/6). How easily the working week could be drastically reduced if instead of "planned obsolescence", the production of the unnecessary, the emphasis in industrial production were based on needs.

Spanish Miners' Resistance Continues

The Spanish Minister of Information and Tourism, Don Manuel Fraga, has denied that the Asturias miners have been tortured. This was in reply to a letter giving details of these tortures, which was signed by 102 Spanish intellectuals.

In the Minister's reply to Don Jose Benjamin, who headed the list of signatories, he refutes that Rafael Gonzalez died of ill-treatment. According to Fraga, "There never was such a person, nor has any miner died as a result of ill-treatment. He also denies that Silvano Zapico was castrated and that according to records, he hasn't been arrested, and they show no trace of anyone by this name.

The Minister admits that Cicente Baragana has been arrested but denies that his testicles have been burned. Baragana is now in Carabanchel jail in Madrid. Fraga also admits that it is possible that the two miners' wives have had their hair cropped.

In the case of Everardo Castra Perez, whom the 102 signatories said had been driven insane by torture, Fraga gives the lame excuse that he was already mentally deranged. Perez was arrested and imprisoned for painting on walls such slogans as "Franco is an Assassin" and

'Amnesty' Calls for Protest by British Miners

"The People take Revenge".

Although the Franco regime deny these tortures, they nevertheless fear any more letters of this sort for 15 of the signatories have been arrested and six of them charged with spreading illegal propaganda. Of these six, two, who are professors, were at the time writing a thesis on the Italian intervention in Spain during 1936-39.

Financial help for the miners and their families has come from the French miners' unions, who have sent 25,000 NF from their strike fund of last spring, to Toulouse, where the C.N.T., U.G.T. and a students' association are organizing a solidarity fund.

It is difficult to know exactly what is happening in the Asturias area. A message smuggled out was printed in the "Daily Worker". The appeal says, "The Government in Madrid has decided to put an end to the strike next week, and will stop at nothing to achieve this.

An unbridled manhunt is going on throughout the coalfield. At night miners are dragged from their homes and taken to prison. At least 500 miners have been exiled and nobody knows what has happened to them or where they are. The Spanish Government, which has committed itself to honour the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, must put an end to these unwarranted persecutions. From the very beginning our protest has been peaceful and has excluded violence. Act now, for each hour that passes may become our last hour."

One French paper has reported that some miners are now striking for 10 minutes each day in solidarity with arrested miners. But at the moment it is unclear how many mines are involved or to what extent the strike is still being carried on. At a big steel-works, Altos Ornos, in Bilbao, workers are operating a "go-slow", which is believed to be in support of the miners.

The British Appeal for Amnesty in Spain report that there are 41 miners awaiting military trial at the Carabanchel prison. Amnesty have sent a report of these arrests to miners in this country urging them to protest in every way possible.

P.T.

IF my analysis in the last issue of FREEDOM (Oct. 12) is accepted, then there are in Spain three forces—the "Franquist clique", the nobility, Church, Army and State officials; there is the capitalist class; and there are the workers. Rule by terror is a characteristic of feudal régimes, but it is avoided where possible by money-making societies. There can be no doubt that many Spanish workers feel that the next step must be the victory of the middle classes over the feudalists, so that the capitalist Republic may supersede rule by terror and the way be clear for class struggle. This is not necessarily in itself a compromise (it does not mean one is obliged thereby to accept Ministerial posts).

On the other hand, a very few members of the ruling group—not being as blind as the traditional Spanish aristocrat—are also inclined to see in the establishment of a "liberal" (capitalist) government, the way in which feudal interests can be preserved and identified with the rising capitalist class (as was done most successfully of all in England). One might hope that more of them would be terrified off Franco.

One of the weaknesses of the emigré movement has been on the one hand to suggest measures for the boycott of Spain which would lead to the weakening of the capitalist class, yet at the same time to propose "union of all parties" (or, as a concession to the Right rather than awareness of the dangers of the Moscow tie-up, "union of all parties except the Communists"). Thus they never have made up their minds whether the Spanish middle class is an enemy or an ally. This is, of course, a matter which can only be left to the workers within Spain. As mentioned in the last article, Franco has used the image of the "Anti-España" in order to frighten the middle classes which are inevitably bound to seek protection for their wealth in the power that exists.

What is beyond all dispute, however,

BOOKS?

We can supply

ANY book in print. Also out-of-print books searched for—and frequently found! This includes paper-backs, children's books and text books. (Please supply publisher's name if possible).

NEW BOOKS

Call it Sleep H. Roth 30/-
Love Potions through the Ages Harry E. Wedeck 63/-
Nervous People and other Satires Michael Zaschenko 25/-
Eichmann in Jerusalem Hannah Arendt 25/-
Freedom in the Western World H. T. Muller 64/-

SECOND-HAND

Fifty Years' March: the Rise of the Labour Party Francis Williams 6/-; Red Liner Fenner Brockway 5/-; The Payment of Wages (1918) G. D. H. Cole 6/-; The Open Way E. Graham Howe & L. Le Mesurier 4/-; The Bedside Guardian No. 2 (1953) 4/6; Principles of State Interference David G. Ritchie (soiled) 2/6; The Economic Organisation of England: an Outline History Sir William Ashley 3/-; How Came Civilization? Lord Raglan 4/6; Violence and the Labour Movement Robert Hunter 22/6; Private Angelo Eric Linklater 3/-; The Master C. P. Snow 3/6; The Ship of Death and Other Poems D. H. Lawrence 3/6; Races of Man and their Distribution A. C. Haddon 2/6; Three Tales Fedor Dostoevsky 4/-; Coal: a Challenge to the National Conscience (1927) Demant, Mairat, Rickitt, etc. 3/-; The Soviet Impact on the Western World (1947) E. H. Carr 5/-; The Fall of the French Republic (1942) D. N. Pritt 3/-; Method in Thinking Fred Casey 3/-; An Outline of Psychology "Plebs" 3/-; See You in the Morning (worn and shabby) Kenneth Patchen 3/-; Lives of Great Men and Women—Friends of Co-operation Catherine Webb 2/6; Choice: Some New Stories and Prose Sansom, Plomer, Barea, etc. 3/6; The English at War (1914) "Cassandra" 3/-; A Modern Symposium G. Lowes Dickinson 3/6; Selected Papers on Philosophy William James 3/6.

PAMPHLET

The R.S.G.'s 1919-1963
Nicolas Wadter 6d.

Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.—5.30 p.m. daily;
10 a.m.—1 p.m. Thursdays;
10 a.m.—5 p.m. Saturdays).

17a MAXWELL ROAD
FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

Spain and Franco

is that whatever position the Spanish workers adopt to this second group, the money-making bourgeoisie, their unrelenting and most bitter enemy—which has nothing to gain but everything to lose by Franco's passing (unless it has previously been protected by the rise of a constitutional régime)—is the first group. Nor is this group by any means some sort of exclusive possession of the Spanish workers who alone will know how to deal with them. They are in fact a stinking carrion throughout Europe.

The first and only concern of the Spanish nobility being for its own comfort, a boycott directed personally and exclusively against them would, if effective, have speedy results. Many newspapers suggested the campaign against the Queen of Greece was unfair: I think it is probably true that she had little to do with the fact of political prisoners in Greece—but the point is that such a campaign could be and probably was, effective. Civil servants nowadays include the receiving of protests as part of their expense account items. But they want the new game played according to the old rules. They did not want the Greek Queen embarrassed before her hosts. What, for example, has Fabiola of Belgium to do with Spanish political prisoners? Nothing. Yet the circle surrounding Franco would be furious if she were to be embarrassed by protests. The Spanish nobility comes and goes throughout Europe surrounded by luxury and ease. If their presence caused a major international scandal, it would be surprising how even they would find hotels discreetly full whenever they appeared. The movements of former Nazi criminals now shorn of all power—causes a rumpus . . . why should not the movements of active supporters of Franco, in other words, the nobility of Spain? Nothing would embarrass them more than being held responsible for the political prisoners of Spain. Some of them may not even be directly involved. But they have collectively the power to stop the pogroms against Franco's opponents. If the nobility was itself inconvenienced, it would use that power.

I characterised as "pogroms" the un-

relenting persecution of Franco's opponents by his police, in the classical manner adopted by the Tsar and the Sultan against Jews and Christians respectively. This description is exact, the police in fact persecute even former Republicans for their views held years previously. They invent atrocities in order to punish them, in flagrant imitation of the "ritual murder" trials. The aim is to keep the workers in subjection. The workers can only improve their status by struggle against the capitalist class. In fact, the capitalist can make more money when the workers gain a higher standard of living. (This is something shown in the Western world). The workers are kept down not to "increase the profits of the capitalist", whose economic compulsions are the same as elsewhere in the Western world, but as part of the "pogrom" waged against them by the feudalists. In some cases, economic trends have forced the feudalists to give way. The "Fascist labour laws" are neither good nor bad, to be praised or condemned; they are merely part and parcel of this essential clash between capitalist economics and feudal domination. Franco has not given or allowed a higher standard of living. This naturally comes about in a competitive society. The military actions against strikers, the ill-treatment of political prisoners (sometimes selected quite arbitrarily), and the endeavour to lower the standard of living, are all part and parcel of the "pogroms".

How then can we stop the pogroms? Here we can gain light from an unexpected source. A sensation has been caused by a Protestant German, whose play "The Representative", has condemned the Pope for being silent in the pogroms against the Jews. Yet he sets out fairly the Pope's dilemma. Had he spoken against the persecutions, except in the most general and vague terms, Hitler might have increased them. Moreover, he was not at all sure that Hitler was not his ally. The Pope was succeeded by John XXIII—to whom Catholics refer, with some surprise, as a "good man." He was silent, except in the most general and vague terms, about the

pogroms against the Spanish workers, and was not at all in doubt that Franco was an ally.

(It was well within the powers of the Communist Party to obtain the calling-off of this pogrom against the Spanish workers. The Polish or Hungarian governments had only to ask the Church to do it, in return for concessions which in any case they had to make).

The present Pope has only to make the request in order for mercy to be given. It is not cynical to say that, on the whole, the Pope would prefer mercy to be shown where it was not entirely incompatible with the interests of the Church. Unfortunately the release of the prisoners, and the abatement of the pogrom, which would lead to a freer Spain in which there was less room for clerical privilege, might be considered incompatible with the interests of the Church. If, however, the guilt of the Vatican were to confront it wherever it turned, it would be obliged to yield on this issue even if it meant making a "good man" of yet another Pope. No "calls from the Spanish workers" can come on this issue, because it is not always within the courage or understanding of those aspiring to leadership in a so-called Roman Catholic country to antagonise "Catholic opinion". But the fact is that if, wherever the Church turned in its "fraternal quest for unity", it was met with a demand for clemency for the Spanish prisoners and an abatement of the pogrom against the Spanish workers, it would be prepared to sacrifice its interest. The Vatican must never be allowed to forget this skeleton in its closet. For nearly 25 years it has cleverly put off discussion by vague generalities, in the same manner as Pius did when confronted with Hitler's massacres. However, Pius had not backed Hitler from the beginning, nor was Hitler's attachment to, and involvement with, the Vatican in any way to be compared with Franco's. An international campaign now, to ask Paul to act where Pius failed to act, could not be resisted by an organisation currently so sensitive to public opinion as the Vatican.

Finally, the role of the Army. In my view, the various discussions on general policy of the anarchist movement, are reactionary in allowing only the alternatives of "violence" and "non-violence". This is seen above all in Spain. A policy of "violence" is presumably that

of military forays in the Garibaldi tradition. This plays into the hands of the Army which needs such exercise to keep it alive, and which will, if need be, stage incidents such as the murder of the British doctor (as part of the "ritual murder" set-up). On the other hand, "non-violence" would be disastrous in terms of Gandhism and blanket advice to sit down and wait for the lathi charges. There is in fact no way in which a revolutionary movement today can use violence, but it does not follow that the alternative is pacifism.

There is only one thing that can shift the Army officers from their allegiance to Franco, and that is something in which the emigré movement even the constitutionalists could play a large part: namely, the raising of the demand for complete dissolution of the Army and dismissal of the officer class without pension. In no circumstances now will this class ever turn to the workers. But if they felt that they were going to be overtaken by a workers' movement that was going to wipe out professional militarism for its crimes, they would take their chance on constitutional government instead. If the demand for total abolition of the army (which has been a factor since the Spanish-American war) is to gain ground even amongst the constitutionalists, the officer class might feel less secure. As Pio Baroga said, "In war time they run . . . in peace time they shoot the people". They contribute nothing to Spanish life. The Republic preserved them and they turned against it. They can bear with fortitude any campaign provided it is not against themselves personally.

Action against the ruling groups of Spain—the nobility, Church and Army—does not mean that one precludes struggle against the middle classes as such. The class struggle inside Spain is one that is taking place between the working classes and the financial interests. But the national oppression of Spain (which is another way of saying, the pogrom against the workers) comes from outside and above the middle classes. In a sense, Spain is almost like a colonial country. The Franquist hierarchy is as much a national oppressor as any imperial power. General Franco is still "Viceroy for Hitler" though he owes his continued dominance not to German and Italian bayonets any longer, but solely to his own shrewdness.

INTERNATIONALIST.

Anarchist Economics

ONE objection that is frequently brought against anarchism once the more irrational ones have been overcome is that the economic organisation of a complicated, industrially developed society could never be carried on successfully without a central government, with power to impose its decisions.

How for instance, would decisions about the building of roads or railways, or factories that would need several years work before they could begin production be taken in an anarchist society? How would distribution of food between different countries, and international exchange of products be regulated?

These problems do not exist for the more radical "back to nature" anarchists, who would be too busy digging their own compost-grown potatoes and weaving their own clothes, and at a more liberatarian stage, rolling in the clover together to the accompaniment of folk songs, to want to construct factories or railways.

However, most people enjoy the increased possibilities for the enjoyment of life that the developments of the last few centuries have brought, and the advances in the extent to which human beings are able to control and exploit natural resources. The credit for these advances is always claimed by governments or socially powerful elements such as capitalist companies, and any accompanying disadvantages, in the shape of social regimentation, lack of freedom for individual expression are explained away as being inevitable concomitants of a society with a "high standard of living".

This propaganda, the success of which is hardly surprising since it is put out through the entire press and broadcasting systems, the educational establishments to which everyone is subjected and so on, has ensured that very few people are prepared to envisage any kind of social revolution, for fear of losing what they have now.

To begin with, however efficient the present social order may be for the people in power, it is clearly extremely inefficient from the point of view of the majority of the population. These points are appreciable particularly when people are able to get out of the habit,

which is again accepted from school-days upwards, of thinking in terms of financial values, and looking at economics in terms of human effort, and the wealth that is created by it. In a recent discussion it was suggested to the writer that an efficient public transport system would be impossible in an anarchist society, and that the decision about whether to build a tunnel or bridge across the Channel would prove insoluble.

There can hardly be two topics which illustrate more vividly the questions which divide the anarchist view of society from the authoritarian one.

Whatever the merits of crossing the channel by tunnel, bridge, boat or aeroplane are, the one factor that has not been taken into account by the governments, companies and pressure groups that have been studying the question during the last few years has been what the people who are likely to use the communications want. All the considerations have been worked out in terms of profits, financial savings, return on investments and so on.

The public transport system is in a state of general chaos precisely because it is not being planned in the interests of people who need to travel, but because it has been the plaything of competing financial and state interests since the days when the Romans built their roads for the conquering armies.

Suppose decisions about economic planning had to be made by a complicated process of referring to freely grouped associations of people involved in them; and that for instance it was impossible to have a road built unless enough road building workers could be convinced of its value to go out and do it. There may well be difficulties and delays, and unwise decisions would be taken from time to time, but they would be trivial compared with the stupidities and inefficiency of economic planning in our present society, whether it is controlled directly by governments or through private firms.

It is inconceivable for instance, that if economic decisions were taken rationally in a free community, that workers would build two parallel railways between the same cities, as happened in Britain during the industrial revolution; that food needed in one part of the world would be left rotting in another because of the "economic" effects of "giving it away"; or that wealth would be wasted on producing aeroplanes and ships for what is today regarded as national prestige. Yet all these things, productive of waste and poverty, are a built-in part of all the authoritarian economic systems of the world, and the tragedy is that they are accepted as good sense by people who would scoff at the "anarchy" that would follow a libertarian social revolution.

The tasks of anarchists in face of this are twofold. Firstly to overcome the habits of thought that support the present social system. That is to say, to convince people that an industry is not necessarily thriving and useful if it makes vast profits, or even if it pays high wages (the most difficult part!) if it is devoted largely to producing either unnecessary goods, or more usually, bad ones from the point of view of wear and performance. The most important case is the armaments industry which usually does pay good wages, and only occasionally causes unemployment. In fact, the very fact that it is profitable to manufacture shoddy articles and that millions of people find it financially rewarding to do socially useless and personally unrewarding jobs while necessary ones such as public transport suffer from lack of workers, illustrates the futility of capitalist economic theories.

If capitalism is evaluated according to its own set of values, it contains enough "fundamental contradictions". The anarchist challenge to people is to reject this sense of values and to judge a system not in terms of politics, profits, finance or even wages, but in terms of the use of human wealth to produce the kind of things we need for life

and happiness.

The end of authoritarian economics would release so much energy, that there would be room for a few mistakes, still leaving us all better off than at present!

Secondly, anarchists have never set out to lay down a blue print for the future, and although many anarchists have vague ideas about local, regional, industrial and national syndicates and councils, the most important thing is not to say how people will organise a free society, but to have confidence, based on thought and experience that they will be able to find their own way when the situation arises.

However, because of this, the fact that anarchism is not just a plan for the future, but for here and now, and it depends on the development of a different way of thinking and acting in social matters, it is important to develop whatever movements can be developed, towards taking power into the hand of the people, whether in industry, agriculture, education or any other walks of life.

The weakness of the protest movements that have sprung up in the past seven years, welcome though they have been in comparison with the apathy that preceded them, is that they are based solely on a general reaction of horror against the H-bomb, political persecution or famine, which is again an admirable one, but is bound to be superficial if it is not related to a general rejection of the idea that it is fundamentally right for power to lie in the hands of a minority; or that it is impossible for us to get rid of governments because of the supposed chaos that would ensue. For that reason they tend to collapse soon after the problem which brought them into being loses current interest.

What should be the strength of anarchism, although it depends on the efforts of those of us who are anarchists to realise it, is the fact that it does extend to every aspect of life; and its problem lies in arousing people to make out their own scale of human values on which to judge the success or failure of the present system of governmental and authoritarian society, instead of accepting those pushed on them by the very people in power. P.H.

TO RUSSIA WITH . . . ?

Continued from page 1

people to bring comfort and help to the survivors compared with the pusillanimity of governments. Solidarity, mutual aid are human manifestations which have made survival possible over millions of years; government, of recent introduction compared with Man's existence on this planet, is the antithesis of solidarity and mutual aid.

Mr. Kennedy exposes the hypocrisy of the class he represents when he talks of "this transaction" demonstrating "our willingness to relieve food shortages" by the following statements made by him at the same Press conference:

"Basically, the Soviet Union will be treated like any other cash customer in the world market who is willing and able to strike a bargain with private American merchants . . . [our italics]."

This transaction has obvious benefits for the United States . . . [it] will benefit our balance of payments and gold reserves . . . an added feature is the provision that the wheat we sell to the Soviet Union will be carried in available American ships . . . Arrangements will also be made by the Department of Commerce to prevent any single American dealer from receiving an excessive share of these sales. . . .

Wheat, moreover, is our number one surplus today, to the extent of about one million unsold bushels. The sale of around 150 million bushels of wheat would be worth over \$200 million to the American taxpayer in reduced budget expenditures.

Our comments would surely be superfluous. What we would underline, however, is the fact that even when the Russian demand for 4 million tons of surplus American wheat has been satisfied, the United States will still have a surplus of 25 million tons in her costly, improvised, granaries, and the chances are that this surplus will sprout and in due course have to be destroyed. This is bad enough knowing as we, and Mr. Kennedy, know, that there are hundreds of millions of human beings in the world who are hungry. But it is also quite clear that the American Administration headed by Mr. Kennedy is "concerned to relieve food shortages" only so long as those affected can actually pay "at the world price, which is the only way it can be sold" (the italicised words are Kennedy's very own).

★

HOW does the Kenedy Administration deal with the nagging problem of hungry millions on the one hand, and millions of tons of food surpluses which cannot be given to them, on the other? They seek to cut the financial losses for the American tax-payer; to appease the tax-payer is more rewarding in terms of votes, than feeding the hungry millions in terms of gratitude (after all, doesn't experience teach that those ungrateful underdeveloped countries in due course bite the hand that fed them and vote for "the enemy" at the U.N.?).

So, for years both the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations have been desperately trying to streamline food production in the United States to satisfy home and overseas demand that can be paid for irrespective of need. This attitude leads to "double-talk" and policies which ignore the crying needs of a humanity, half of which, through not fault of its own, has neither the means

nor the possibilities, of providing for itself, though the means do exist in fact to satisfy these needs. United States far from providing an example of the "success of free American agriculture", is a living example of the failure of the capitalist system to make the best use of natural resources to serve human needs.

Only last week the U.S. Agriculture Secretary, Mr. Orville Freeman, in a public statement, suggested that the United States should "retire" 50 million acres from cropland within the next 20 years. The agricultural "revolution"—he told the American Bankers' Association

had made it possible "to produce food and fibre for every person in this country . . . and export each year over \$5,000m. worth of farm products commercially and through the Food for Peace . . . on the smallest acreage in 50 years and with the smallest labour force in a hundred years."

But so long as there are millions of hungry people, agricultural productivity has meaning only in so far as it is linked to an actual and substantial increase in food production. The Kennedy government's aim, however, is to produce less foodstuffs on fewer acres than at present, converting the "surplus" cropland to other uses "such as industrial development and recreational facilities" which according to this twisted way of thinking are considered "more productive and profitable uses". Thus farmers and rural associations, according to the Agricultural Secretary, are being granted loans

to develop outdoor recreation facilities on former cropland to provide fishing, swimming, camping, hunting, farm vacations and other leisure opportunities; new industrial and commercial enterprises have created 52,000 new jobs in rural areas in the past 30 months; sponsors of 42 watershed projects in 23 states have received tentative approval for public recreation areas within their projects; new 30-year low-cost loans are available for land under adjustment.

Let their be no misunderstanding. We anarchists are not opposed to leisure and the development of those amenities which will make it possible for us to enjoy our leisure hours to the full. But so long as there are people going hungry in the world because there is not sufficient food to go round, then, in our opinion, every acre of cropland must be used to grow food. This, we submit, is common sense and elementary humanity. A country such as the United States which, in spite of its "Indian" birth rate, is, from the point of view of land utilisation, an under-developed country, far from "advertising to the world, as nothing else could, the success of free American agriculture" reveals the class structure and the wastefulness of the capitalist system which more than outweighs the efficiency of modern, scientific methods of production.

"Man does not live by bread alone", we agree; but more than half mankind cannot live a full life, or even think of leisure, when it is permanently short of "bread". And in the circumstances those politicians who pose as the champions of mankind and, in the same breath, talk of "retiring" 50 million acres of cropland, or of "relieving food shortages" only for those who are "able" to pay—by their very words expose themselves as the humbugs and charlatans we anarchists always thought them to be.

A sick, old Prime Minister announced his intention of laying down the leadership of the Conservative Party. Younger men announced their availability for taking up the position. Lord Hailsham announced his intention of becoming Quintin Hogg, it is presumed that Lord Home will become Alexander Frederick Home, Mr. Butler will stay Mr. Butler. *Newsweek's* often clouded periscope disclosed on September 9th that Another English Cabinet resignation will take place soon. Though the announcement may state "for personal reasons" it will actually be because of information unearthed by Lord Dunning in his post-mortem on the Profumo affair". . . .

IN INDIA astrologers were called in recently to assist ministers in Government re-shuffles and they have protested about the Government's changing of the dates of festivals. The *Guardian* protested about the forecasting of Mr. Macmillan's successor by measuring the amount of applause given for speeches. Mr. Henry Brooke got one vote in a *New Daily* poll of its readership to find out the party leader. . . .

MR. HENRY BROOKE said that *vis-a-vis* the judiciary he was not an umpire but a 'long-stop'. Mr. Alexander Korneicuk and Wanda Wasilewskii, his wife, of the World Peace Council were refused permission to enter Britain. Mr. Yuri Gagarin's plane was allowed, at the last minute to refuel in Britain en route to Mexico. Complaints were made that people charged with parking offences were being arrested with warrants and, in some cases, detained in police stations. Complaints were made that London magistrates' courts were jammed with cases and a case in which Mr. Gerald Gardiner was appearing will be unable to be heard until January. Mr. Henry Brooke resisted an appeal to restore birching and said "Do not imagine for one moment the wave of crime and delinquency can be hurled back by laws and government alone". Mr. Marples announced the introduction of penalties



for the careless opening of car doors. It was held in the Court of Criminal Appeal that a judge "who finds it necessary to pass a deterrent sentence on a convicted person is not obliged to consider the possibility of a sentence consonant with an attempt to reform the prisoner. Such a consideration would defeat the object of a deterrent sentence, which is to make an example of the offender, to deter other persons from committing a crime which is both serious and rife in the community". . . .

POLICEMEN IN Louisiana used electric cattle-prodding poles to evict Negro teenagers from a church. Tear-gas bombs were hurled through the windows where the demonstrators had taken refuge. This was a protest against the suspension of thirty-five school pupils. The sion of thirty-five school pupils. . . .

A POLICE-CONSTABLE in Peterlee, County Durham was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on seven charges of theft, office breaking, shop breaking and garage breaking and asked for twenty-three other cases to be taken into consideration. Two Metropolitan police constables appeared at court on summonses concerning the theft of clothing, a wireless set, and two gas candles from West End shops. In Georgetown, British Guiana a coroner's jury found

that two policemen were criminally concerned with the death of a 19-year-old English soldier during unrest in the general strike. (This was initially blamed by the English newspapers on the strikers). A former East German guard who had fled to the West was tried for killing an East German refugee before he fled. He received 250 marks and a medal. He had encountered difficulties in his military career since his bad spelling had prevented him from rising about the rank of staff-corporal. . . .

AN INTERPRETER with a Chinese scientific delegation in Japan has asked for political asylum at the Russian embassy in Tokio. The *Peking Review* prints an attack on the attack on Stalin. "The Communist Party of China has always held that when comrade Khrushchev completely negated Stalin on the pretext of 'combatting the personality cult' he was quite wrong and had ulterior motives". . . . "Stalin defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the fight against various forms of opportunism, against the Enemies of Leninism, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and other bourgeois agents". The *Peking Review* quotes Krushchov (as they call him) on June 6th, 1937: "Our party will mercilessly crush the band of traitors and betrayers, and wipe out all the Trotskyist-Right dregs . . . The guarantee of this is the unshakable leadership of our Central Committee, the unshakable leadership of our leader Comrade Stalin . . . We shall totally annihilate our enemies—to the last man—and scatter their ashes to the winds." In *Izvestia*, Yelena Stasova said that the battle against Chinese leadership "must be waged with all the implacability and consistency with which Lenin and the whole party conducted it in the period of the struggle against Trotskyism". . . .

AMERICAN AND Russian scientists have observed bright flashes on Mars, says the *Daily Mail*, followed by the mushroom-shaped clouds that are characteristic of atomic bomb explosions.

JON QUIXOTE.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

Busmen Take Action

For years now busmen have been poorly paid and only by working overtime have they been able to take home a living wage. Because the basic wages are so low, drivers £12 12s. 6d. and conductors £12 2s. 6d. per week, London Transport have been unable to attract the necessary number of busmen to provide London with an adequate service.

The result of this has been a reduction in bus services, which has meant a loss in passengers, who, fed up with long waits at bus-stops, have found alternative means of transport. This in turn leads to a further reduction and so a vicious circle has been created by the London Transport Board. The Board is unwilling to pay a decent wage and would rather, in fact insists on its right, to employ men for 16 hours overtime each week. If basic hours only were worked then we would be able to see the chaotic state of the transport system.

Busmen have had a raw deal and are often blamed by the public for things for which they are not responsible. Passengers angered by cuts in schedules and increases in fares usually put the blame on the busmen. With the introduction by London Transport of the new winter schedules, further cuts in services will result. Although these new schedules have been accepted by the officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union, there is widespread dissatisfaction and discontent about them among

THERE'S REALLY NO CHOICE

"No, it must be very pleasant to be free from all this doubt and pressure," insisted Major Danby. "I think I'd like to live like a vegetable and make no important decisions."

"What kind of vegetable, Danby?" [asked Yossarian].

"A cucumber or a carrot."

"What kind of cucumber? A good one or a bad one?"

"Oh, a good one, of course."

"They'd cut you off in your prime and slice you up for a salad."

Major Danby's face fell. "A poor one, then."

"They'd let you rot and use you for fertilizer to help the good ones grow."

"I guess I don't want to live like a vegetable, then," said Major Danby with a smile of sad resignation.

From "Catch 22" by Joseph Heller (page 436). Publisher, Jonathan Cape.

the rank and file.

This has led to a vote being taken for strike action at Highgate garage. The decision, it seems, was taken when the union secretary at the garage, Mr. Fitzpatrick, was away at the Labour Party conference, and when he returned, another vote was taken at which this decision was reversed. The secretary said, "The management's policy is to divide and conquer, and as a result any action that is taken must be united. For one garage to stop work would be completely hopeless and as this subject affects the whole fleet, a top-level decision must be taken."

Industrial correspondents of the national press have described Mr. Fitzpatrick as a "moderate" and even though he calls action on the part of one garage hopeless, it is still a step in the right direction if these new schedules are to be withdrawn. As for top-level discussions, it seems that these have been taken by the union leaders without consulting the rank and file members.

At some garages, Southall, Hanwell and Shepherds Bush included, overtime bans are in operation and Edgware, Hanwell, Cricklewood and Hendon, called a 24-hour strike on Saturday. They were followed by Fulwell garage, who called a 24-hour strike on Sunday and further depots are banning overtime. If a decent wage is to be won, then action must be taken, but public transport workers are in a difficult position, for this form of stoppage immediately antagonises the passengers. This is a sorry state of affairs, but that is how it is, and London Transport will use this to attack the strikers.

Dalston garage has proposed that the union should put in for an immediate increase of 30/- and if it is to be won then public support is vital. Passengers affected by strike action don't usually see why they should suffer, even though in the long run due to the payment of higher wages, the bus services would be improved. Busmen lack the necessary means to point this out and therefore the passengers only get the Transport Board's view, backed up by the national press.

The answer lies in running the buses as usual but not taking any fares. This has been said in *FREEDOM* many many times and has even been proposed by some comrades, who work on the buses, at their branch meetings. If this took place then the busmen would not be alienating the public and would still be

hitting at the Board. Then it would be up to London Transport either to concede to demands or to lock out the busmen. In this case, it would then be London Transport who would be directly responsible for there being no buses.

The T. & G.W.U. would never take this form of action but it could be organised by the rank and file. Controlled and run by the busmen, it would be a strong weapon in their struggle against the London Transport Board and bring benefit to users of this transport. P.T.

COUNTER REVOLUTION AT KING'S CROSS

[From a Correspondent]

THOSE enthusiasts who thought that the days of the steam locomotive were numbered and that it would soon only be seen in museums, will be glad to hear that about 20 steam locomotives will be returning to King's Cross Station this weekend. The coal is already there!

Under Beeching's modernisation plans, the steam locos at "the Cross" were pensioned off. The Loco shed was closed, stripped of all moveables ready to be pulled down. The 500 men who worked there were transferred to other jobs or retired according to age, and the nearby offices were given over to a different department. All the stations were spring cleaned and smartened up to conform to the clean, efficient image of British Railways given by the diesel locomotives, but unfortunately the diesels can't stand up to the work!

The clock is going back and everyone is working to counter-revolutionise the Loco shed. The stations of course will return to their previous state with little difficulty.

TURN AGAIN, DJ

The mystery of how all-night radio announcers manage to stay awake and never miss a commercial has been settled. Most stations have installed a new electrical device by which a bell automatically rings if the announcer hasn't spoken several seconds after a record has stopped spinning.

The owners of radio stations hope that in this way they will avoid a repetition of a recent occurrence in the U.S.A. Anxious listeners there, rang police following an ominous silence from their local 24-hour station. The police broke in and found the announcer asleep on the turntable.

