

FREEDOM

AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d.

NOVEMBER 28 1964 Vol 25 No 37

'All modes of government are failures. Despotism is unjust to everybody, including the despot, who was probably made for better things.'

OSCAR WILDE

Mujeres Libres!

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Who will wage war on Poverty?

WHEN Mrs. Barbara Castle, Minister of Overseas Development in the Labour Government spoke at the Ministerial session of the Colombo Plan Conference in London last week, she said that future historians would see as the great problem of our generation "the growing gap between the rich and poor countries which becomes more repugnant to the moral sense of humanity with each decade that passes", one has no reason to believe that she was not expressing a view held by a growing number of people in the so-called rich-countries, and that were these countries to tackle the problem along radical lines there would be more praise than opposition for their actions.

The main stumbling blocks to such radical aid are many. In the first place it seems impossible for governments to divorce their thinking about aid from political opportunism, and from long term financial considerations. As William Clark, Director of the Overseas Development Institute points out in last Sunday's *Observer*

Though aid from the West has doubled in five years, it has hardly made a dent in world poverty. The reason is that far too little attention has been paid to the supposed objective—development. Aid has been given for cold-war purposes, for trade promotion purposes, to consolidate Commonwealth (or inter-American) relations; it has been spent by the recipients to keep a shaky Government in power, to bolster the self-confidence of new and tiny nations by prestige projects, above all it has been spent ineffectively because of hastily, ill-drawn plans.

It is of great significance too, that "development and economic growth, based on sound agricultural progress, has too often been neglected" and the blame, in Mr. Clark's

opinion "can be widely distributed amongst givers and receivers."

Before we go on to ask how this state of affairs can be changed within the existing capitalist structure of both the have and have-not countries, we must observe the magnitude of the problem. *The American Economic Report* (published by the United States Information Service in London) in its November issue quotes figures compiled by the government's Economic Research De-

partment which indicate that about two-thirds of the world's people live in countries "where the average diets are nutritionally inadequate". Now if, as Mr. Clark maintains, the emphasis in the policies of the have countries should be "not so much on giving 1 per cent. of national income, but rather on achieving 5 per cent. growth rates amongst the poorer nations", and this might well be the right approach, the major obstacle to its realisation is surely

The nine day work-to-rule by motormen (train drivers) on the south-eastern section of the Southern Region showed the effectiveness of this type of action. It brought about long delays for passengers, but according to the *Evening Standard*, the people affected by these disruptions were on the whole in agreement with the drivers. "They had to take some action" was the general view.

The dispute arose over a claim for a bonus of £3/3-. The Union, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, has been trying to negotiate a bonus scheme with the British Railways Board for three years now and it is still in procedure, awaiting some higher level management meeting. Little wonder that these motormen decided to take action for themselves. Added to this is the fact that other railway workers already receive bonus payments. It seems that this region has suffered

Motormen's Work-to-Rule

under Beeching's Plan. A cut of 1,000 in staff has been made and this has led to a tightening up in routines and timings which has cut out "spare time". Where other railwaymen work overtime to bring up wages, drivers are restricted through the need for safety precautions.

Most of the drivers belong to A.S.L.E.F. although some are in the National Union of Railwaymen. Throughout the dispute, the union leaders have not come out with any strong attacks on the drivers, but in the union's present day role in a capitalist society as the pacifier of workers, it has nevertheless urged a return to normal working. Although the drivers have now accepted this recommendation, there

one of food. Without an immediate improved, and sustained, diet millions of workers in these countries just lack the strength to work more efficiently.

To say that gifts or long term loans of food should be made to these countries is easier said than done. According to the Report above mentioned, the expected world food deficit in 1970 is set at the equivalent of: "54 million metric tons of grain, 6.5 million tons of non-fat dry milk, 3.2 million tons of soygrits (or other protein from beans and peas) and 3.1 million tons of vegetable oils". It is not so much the cost of these goods, which is put at \$6,800m. (and which is only a little more than the British

Government's annual expenditure on "Defence") but the fact that the food will just not be there even if the money to buy it is!

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THE *Guardian* in its editorial comment on the Conference misses the point when it writes: "There needs to be more concentration on improving farming techniques in these countries. A nation cannot industrialize on an empty stomach", for it is equally true that neither can farming techniques be improved by land workers with empty stomachs. It is this vicious circle, above all, that needs to be broken if the working people of these countries are to improve their own lot.

The Industrialisation programmes with which the capitalist salesmen of the Western Powers are pushing countries like India to saddle their

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INDUSTRIAL NOTES

Mr. Gunter stepped in, for if this action had continued, motormen from other regions might have joined in.

It seems to me that because of the special circumstances, "working the most intensified service in the world", these men have probably felt that they should take action, but as this is a "national issue", it is the concern not only of motormen in other regions, but of all railwaymen. More talks are promised but in the meantime, every effort should be made to involve the other motormen. If negotiations are unsatisfactory, then further action should be taken by all the men affected by the bonus issue.

There is a strong likelihood of other issues being brought up by the B.R. Board during these negotiations. These are concerned with what is ridiculously called "ways of raising drivers' productivity". The Board, no doubt, would like to see the elimination of firemen where double-manning still operates. The question has already been raised, but so far has been rejected by the unions. If the Board do succeed, during further negotiations, in getting the unions to agree to this in exchange for the bonus, it would be a great advantage to the Board but a sad loss for the train crews.

Any such moves for this type of deal should be resisted by the rank and file members. The claims should be granted in full, with no strings attached. Action taken by motormen on all sections can ensure this and support from other railwaymen would really show the Board that they are not going to put up with any further delays on this national pay claim. P.T.

WILSON . . .

WE hold no special brief for the Wilson government, but we shall be observing with interest its progress during the 100 days in which it hopes to do many things, not so much for what it does but what the powerful forces in the background do in order to upset its chances. For let us be quite clear that if Parliament and the Government propose it is World Finance that disposes. Since taking office the Wilson government has been fighting a battle of finance, and the latest threat to the £ sterling by heavy withdrawals cannot be seen other than as a conspiracy by International Finance to make quite clear

to Wilson that he is expected to play the game according to the rules or be driven out by a colossal collapse of the pound which they are obviously in a position to engineer. The raising of the Bank Rate to 7 per cent. has apparently had something like the desired effect of slowing down the withdrawals, but this could be but a temporary measure. There is presumably a limit to which the bank rate could be raised without bankrupting the internal finances of the country.

Mr. Wilson has the choice of soon being defeated by High Finance if

he toys with it or of possibly being defeated just the same, but in a blaze of glory, if he and his colleagues had the courage to launch an open attack on the International money lenders, seeking as his allies the millions of people in this country who are from birth to death virtually in pawn to them.

We somehow don't think Mr. Wilson's cabinet have the kind of revolutionary spirit that is required to launch such a missile into the enemy's camp. But there is no question that it would make things hum a bit if they did!

. . . ANOTHER KENNEDY ?

THE announcement by Mr. Wilson that no further arms are to be exported to South Africa from this country is to be welcomed. The fact that the order by South Africa for Buccaneer Aircraft is going to be reviewed is also worth a little applause because Dr. Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, has threatened to disallow British use of the Simonstown naval base in South Africa if the Buccaneer order is not fulfilled.

The outcry from the Conservatives and from the capitalist press was to be expected. Where a conflict arises between principle and business the capitalist is not usually strong in his actual support of principle (as opposed to verbal outpourings). What must be emphasised, of course, is that the South African arms embargo is a very limited achievement for the anti-apartheid movement.

Unless European nations accept United Nations advice not to supply arms to South Africa then Dr. Verwoerd is only faced with the trouble of directing his orders for arms to France or West Germany. France, I believe, has a plane

similar to the Buccaneer which she would readily sell. Also as Verwoerd has said himself, the South African whites, if they need a supply of arms to put down internal rebellion, can provide their own supply.

One needs to mention therefore that the arms embargo is too late and too limited. It is to be welcomed because it shows that the movement towards an economic boycott of South Africa is still worthy of consideration. With strong pressure from the British people, coupled with action by workers "black-ing" South African goods, the Government might be forced to live up to the multi-racialism it espouses.

On reflection, therefore, the comment that Wilson is becoming another Kennedy—with all the sinister implications this comment holds—is rather too cynical even for this observer. It is however reasonable to inquire what is to become of those arms not being sent to South Africa. I can hardly believe they will be used to destroy a threatening scourge of leprosy. J.W.

FRANCO'S PEACE

MADRID, NOVEMBER 17. Spain's public order court today sentenced Bernardo Mateos (37), a mechanic, to 16 years' imprisonment following several trials involving alleged secret Communist cells in Cartagena, Lorca, Alicante, and Valencia. He was accused of being secretary-general of the outlawed Communist Party in Cartagena. Sixteen other Cartagena men accused of illegal propaganda, eight of them tried in their absence, were given sentences from two years to four years. (Reuters).

MADRID, NOVEMBER 18. Allegations of torture by police were made when 37 men and a woman went on trial today on charges connected with strikes in the Asturian coalfields, Northern Spain, last year.

The woman, Constantina Peret-Martinez, aged 40, said police shaved off her hair while she was detained in Oviedo. All but two of the defendants

said in reply to questions by defence lawyers that they were maltreated during interrogation.

One man, Horatio Fernandez Iguanzo, for whom the prosecution is demanding a 26-year sentence is being tried in his absence. All those before the Court, pleaded not guilty. (Reuters).

MADRID, NOVEMBER 19. Señor Daniel Lacalle, son of Spain's Air Minister, General José Lacalle, will appear for trial before a Madrid court on December 2, charged with illegal association and illegal propaganda, official sources said here today.

Señor Lacalle, an aviation engineer, was detained on April 28 after police had raided an alleged Communist centre in Madrid. He is still held in prison and faces a maximum sentence of 25 years. He is being tried with 12 other people. (Reuters).

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OUT NEXT WEEK, DISCUSSES

Anarchism AND THE Historians

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 2s. on the first Saturday of every month

FREEDOM

November 28 1964 Vol 25 No 37

WHO WILL FIGHT POVERTY?

Continued from page 1

economies for decades to come, obviously raise the standards of living of limited sections of the workers by offering them higher wages than on the land, as well as creating possibilities for a new class of managers, technicians, salesmen and so on. It does not solve the problem of food shortages, except in the financial sense that industrialisation provides more money with which to buy food. But that is assuming the food is available. A writer in the *Sunday Times* quotes the figures for production of food grains in India as having risen to 55 million tons in 1961 but that production "has remained at about that level since". Bearing in mind the annual population growth of over 8 million (partly accounted for by the rise in life expectancy from 27 in 1947 to 46 now) and that higher incomes has meant greater demand for more and better food, the failure of Indian agriculture to expand during the past three years must have repercussions not only in India but outside, for it means that what supplies it can buy from America and Canada will not be available for other countries in much greater need in that they are for various insurmountable reasons at present unable to produce all the food they need.

Obviously the poor countries need all the things that we take for granted in the "rich" countries. Of course they need industrialisation if it is geared to speeding up the production of the basic necessities of life so that they become available to all the people in these countries in the shortest possible time. There are two ways of tackling this problem. Mr. Clark in the paragraph quoted above has pointed to the wrong way. The question is whether the right way is possible at government level so long as the political and financial set-ups in the giving (or lending?) and receiving, nations are what they are.

If not, and we suspect they are not—Mr. Wilson's opening speech at the *Guardian* was that of an accountant rather than that of a socialist—then it were time that other people than governments tackled the problem as a direct one between people of the have and have-not countries. After all the finance and the personnel that would be at the disposal of governments don't come to them from outer space; we the people create the wealth and provide the personnel which governments manipulate; why don't we learn to use our resources ourselves?

(The pretensions of government were illustrated so well only last week when it was stated that for the Kennedy Memorial Appeal for £1 million "the government would match pound for pound what was contributed by the public"—out of the Cabinet Ministers' increased salaries, or out of the taxpayers' pockets, willy nilly?)

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WHEN one comes to examine the possibilities of such direct action one is assailed by a kind of pessimism, for the question that comes to mind is: "What in fact have we done in our own country about the problem of the poor?" Ask anybody this question and they will almost invariably agree that as a community we have done very little for the old, the sick and the lonely-poor in our midst. Their demands are much more on our

attention—that is our time, than on our money, and as a community we have both to spare; as individuals it often means the complete sacrifice of one generation to another which, as a community, we should not tolerate for one minute.

As anarchists we should launch the idea that *solidarity* starts at home in order to be on strong ground to argue that because the world is our "home" we must also play our part in helping the people of the poor countries to raise themselves out of their situation of despair.

Why are we, as anarchists cynical of the intentions of the American or British governments so far as the have-not countries are concerned if not because of the cheese-paring way they tackle the material problems of the poor in our midst?

Similarly we should be the first to understand the problems that could be created for large numbers of workers, as wage earners, by a policy of unrestricted immigration, without, for one moment, overlooking the urgent, vital problems that oblige the immigrant workers to quit the familiar surroundings to which they are probably deeply attached. And one can, we hope, do this without earning the charge of being either racialists or nationalists. It is surely obvious that but for the availability of an unlimited supply of labour power from other countries to fill jobs which were too badly paid to attract the number of workers needed, those jobs would today command much higher rates of pay than they do. For the boss class, and the professionals, Immigration is if anything an asset: cheap fodder for the unskilled jobs, for the public services as well as for domestic service. For a large number of native workers they appear as a threat to their living standards so long as they do not succeed in understanding or see the possibility of establishing a community of interests and a need to offer a united front to their bosses.

But we would deserve to be considered naive if we thought for one moment that in the present state of human emancipation, a queue of immigrants (Irish, Spanish or Italian no less than West Indian or Pakistani) outnumbering the jobs available by say three to one, would feel inclined to unite to maintain the wage rates (though in fact this would be their best tactic if only they felt linked by solidarity as victims of the same enemy).

But if anarchists seek to be effective in their propaganda they must understand the rational as well as the irrational bases of arguments and attitudes among workers with which they may disagree. Otherwise there can be no real contact, and for them we will appear to be talking in abstractions.

For this reason we fear that our desire, as anarchists to establish a community of understanding and interest between the people of this country and the hungry nations of the world can only result in symbolic rather than real action; that is, until we show ourselves ready and able to confront the real problems on our own doorsteps. And until we do something along the lines we have outlined we must stand by and leave the initiative to the politicians, who, as we were pointing out earlier on, are doing no more than threatening to be "lavish" with the resources which are the product of our labour as wage-earners, and without, as Mr. Clark wrote, "hardly making a dent in world poverty."

SIR FRANK SOSKICE claimed that 31,000 immigrants had evaded the Commonwealth Immigrants Act by staying on, even though only admitted as visitors, and thereby evading the control. The government decided that immigration control under the Act must go on but the Commonwealth should be brought into the arrangements. There is also going to be legislation to prevent anti-colour discrimination in public places and a study of ways in which the Government can help countries sending immigrants. Mr. Ben Parkin pointed out in the debate that London Transport's recruiting of men from Barbadoes was "one of the wickedest things this country has ever done . . . You are taking the young and active men to this country. What are they going to get in return is a steady flow of elderly, experienced Tube drivers". . . .

THE EGYPTIANS were detected deporting a spy from Italy amongst their diplomatic baggage. An East German who emigrated to the West was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment by the West for deceiving a girl friend to the East and switching her passport to his waiting wife who he then took to the West. The Judge commented: "We understand the deed—but we cannot pardon it". . . .

THE WEST GERMANS were privileged to import the prose works of Prince Charles, the 16-year-old Prince of Wales. The *Daily Mirror* claims that it was offered the publication rights but it rejected them because it "has never been guilty, as far as we are aware, of prying into people's private grief. It will certainly not become guilty of prying into the joy of a schoolboy." The *Express*, less priggish or more wildly threshing for circulation, published extracts of essays on 'Class-consciousness', 'The Press and Radio', and 'On a Desert Island'. The Prince (summarizing Lecky) said: "A political system in which the upper classes frequently contest elections has the advantage that the country is protected from speculators only interested in their personal fortunes and who have no interest in the country." On democracy, the Prince writes: "Only if every adult has the right to vote can one say that democracy has been fully realised. Unfortunately the tendency today is to vote for a certain party and not for individual members. For instance in an English constituency a Labour man could be a magnificent candidate and the Tory candidate most undesirable." Finally says the *Express*, "The Press, writes Charles, might do a great deal of harm in the way it criticises various people and thus embarrasses them. But, he goes on, 'The Press, radio, and television protect the people from the Government in many

OUT OF THIS WORLD

ways, by letting them know what is going on maybe behind their backs in some cases." The *Mirror* more coyly says: "If his views on the Press are as stated, they are certainly a step forward from the views of the Duke of Edinburgh. Prince Charles should have a word with his dad. In fact the young Prince's reputed views on newspapers entitle him to a free copy of the *Daily Mirror* for the rest of his life". . . .

MRS. HAROLD WILSON at her press conference to the Ladies of the Press, in reply to a question "Which newspaper do you read?" replied adroitly, "I read them all", the questioner then asked "Do you look at one of the smaller ones first?" [*The Sketch* and *The Mirror* are small]. "Yes—you don't get the marmalade on the small one so often." "What do you read first?" "The leader page, and then the horoscopes." Mrs. Wilson was asked, "In spite of your preference for the simple life is there one really extravagant thing you would like, now it is possible?" Mrs. Wilson, according to the *Guardian*, hardly hesitated. "Yes," she said, "I would like to wear a tiara . . . and a friend is going to lend me one which I hope to wear soon." "But couldn't you have one of your own now?" "Oh no. They cost a great deal. £200 perhaps." Mr. Wilson said in the House of Commons that "The Government do not consider that in the present economic circumstances it would be appropriate for Ministerial salaries to be raised to the level recommended." He accepted an increase of £4,000 per year rather than £8,500 per year. His salary will now be £14,000 per year starting April 1st next. The Bank Rate was increased. More than 7,000 people were jailed for debt last year. Seven times the 1953 total. The cost of keeping debtors in jail was £100,000. Hungry and desperate after being without work for a fortnight, an unemployed man stole £1 2s. 0d. from a man who had befriended him and given him a night's lodging. The detective said the accused had a bad record and

said he did this to prevent himself committing a more serious offence. He wanted a fixed address so that he could draw National Assistance . . . He was remanded in custody at West London for a week. . . .

MR. ALFRED HINDS, late of several of Her Majesty's prisons moved the motion at London University averring that he had no confidence in British justice. He gave as instances of abuses perpetrated regularly by the plain-clothes police. "The stick-up", that is the arrangement of a crime by the criminal police in order to secure an arrest. The "T.I.C.", that is, "taken into consideration" that is it was agreed with the police by criminals that, to clear up crime statistics, additional cases would be "taken into consideration" at their trial and in consideration of this the police would not press for severe penalties. He also instanced 'verbals', that is, the method the police adopted by insinuating criminal slang into reports of conversations with accused men it was calculated to suggest to a jury that the man had a criminal record since he used criminal slang. No real criminal would dream of making such remarks as "It's a fair cop, guv". Nevertheless, Mr. Hinds conceded that the police were an 'unfortunate necessity' and the motion was lost. Mr. Michael Foot claims in a foreword to a new CND anthology that if it had not been for CND "Detective-Sergeant Challenor would still have been accepted as a credit to the force". . . .

C.N.D. ITSELF, it seems, only survived a three-days conference with a split in the executive, by postponing until Whitsun a decision about the future of the movement. "We are," said a delegate, "in Limbo. If we can't make up our minds now which way we're going, we never will." It was felt by Mr. George Clark that a new political situation might be created when Mr. Wilson returned from Washington. However he is not expected to ban the bomb although he did ban the shipment of arms to South Africa, after Verwoerd challenged him and months after the United States and Sweden did so. Dr. Verwoerd said Mr. Wilson's statement was 'inconclusive' and he would wait and see. . . .

MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation said "I can prove that Martin Luther King is the most notorious liar in the country". Mr. King said "Mr. Hoover was a man faltering under the awesome burdens, complexities, and responsibilities of his office. I have nothing but sympathy for this man who has served his country so well." Dr. King is on his way to collect the Nobel Peace Prize.

JON QUIXOTE.

ROUND THE GALLERIES

A PERENNIAL ploy of the culture-conscious literati is the place of the artist within this or that society and no one rises happier to the hook than the painter. The stream of printed pulp from the expanding and collapsing publishing houses long ago damned the writer as the creature of his belly or his conscience while the fact that economically, poetry is worthless, has saved the good, bad or indifferent poet from the role of singing carrion.

But, like postage stamps, paintings can by clever manipulation come to possess a value as a form of international currency in that though they may be aesthetically worthless an international coterie of dealers can and will guarantee that their artificial values will transcend frontiers and on the myth that trivia with a high price tag is no longer trivia many a sad hack of the brush has looked at his own purple daubings, believing that by the mere act of publicly proclaiming that he is an artist, he has divorced himself from the world of the horny-handed and moved a little nearer to the Godhead. If I should sound a little bitter it is that this day I witnessed Frankenstein's film *The Train*, based on Rose Valland's book *Le Front de l'Art* in which a number of incidents are said to actually have taken place. There within this film we watch the German military enter the Louvre and without even a signed permission proceed to pack and remove various contemporary paintings. The camera plays on the names of Braque and Renoir, etc., stencilled on the sides of the packing cases, while the film audience sweat it out in a cold anger as the Teutonic philistines rape the West of its cultural heritage. The wickedness of this film lies in the acceptance that

French working men and women should be asked and agree to lose their lives in an attempt to stop these canvases being shipped off to Germany.

We are shown time and time again simple men of simple faith and simple minds being slaughtered like dogs to stop the transfer of these paintings while at least one unfortunate promises himself that one day he too will go to Paris to give for this packaged beauty and then he dies for culture.

Five minutes spent in a simple analysis of the situation should have shown that if the Germans had won this war they would take their loot when and how they pleased, while if they lost, the victors would automatically reclaim the various art treasures, as they did, while to suggest as the film does that the Germans would sell the paintings to further their war efforts in the last months of the war must display a deliberate misunderstanding for no society isolated by war from the rest of the world could find a market for a Renoir or even a Mickey Mouse postcard and yet it is said that men and women died because of this!

The same day that I watched this film I later walked into the sales rooms of Southeby & Co. in Bond Street. Here is the graveyard of the arts when they have no value but the financial value that the pawing dealers place upon them. There through the empty rooms one can wander on to be disturbed by an occasional small-time dealer fingering the cheaper prints and watercolours and scribbling his profit margin in his small note book while there on the walls of grey and brown sacking hang the culture for which these French men and women died. I wrote down the names as I

planned by each canvas: Renoir, Klee, Vlaminck, Yves Tanguy, Pablo Picasso, Javlenky, Kandinsky, Feininger, Pollock, Braque, Schwitters, Dubuffet, Miro, Wols, the list unfolded and I disturbed no one, for no one was interested. On an appointed day they would be auctioned off and shipped God knows where and do you or anyone else really care? If our National Art Collectionse pour out their governmental charity to buy a single one of these canvases we shall be told that the Nation has added to its cultural treasure-house yet one could have stood on Southeby's on that cold winter's afternoon and literally pissed over the painting of one's choice without the single attendant bothering to turn away from his major job of selling threepenny sales catalogues to an occasional prospective buyer for without the big drum of the Bond Street art-huckster to whip up interest, without the sycophantic art critic ready to scream that here is beauty revealed, without an educational system that teaches everything but the rejection of false official values men and women will always be subservient to the tainted and self-deceiving prophets.

If one had to choose between the destruction of every canvas within the National Gallery or shortening the life of a State-convinced man by ten minutes, then there should be no hesitation in the choice for if one hesitates it is to lose faith in our very selves and to believe that we can no longer advance beyond these dead talents enshrined within their State tombs, for the life of an individual can never be of less value than the painted canvas, the carved marble or the chiselled stone. A minor military incident in 1945, an American film and an empty London sales room all interweave the evil belief that the living must be sacrificed to the material, for the gun and the cheque are but the same means to a sterile end.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

