Anarchist Weekly 43

APRIL 10 1965 Vol. 26 No. 11

Southern Africa

-THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

THE PATTERN of events in South Africa and Rhodesia confirms the impression recorded earlier that the right-wing oligarchy in Southern Africa has consolidated its position of late. In South Africa Dr. Verwoerd's Nationalist Government is even stronger after the provincial elections there. The rather pathetic 'opposition' in South Africa—in the constitutional sense—has shown itself to be completely incapable of opposing Dr. Verwoerd and the rich, small-minded South African whites have opted for the neo-fascist Afrikaaner rule which gives them the security they crave for.

Stanley Uys' reporting from Cape Town in the Observer (28.3.65) writes that 'Any hopes that the Nationalist Government can be defeated or weakened at the polls in the ordinary course of electioneering—that is barring major factors external to political campaigning-must be abandoned now'. The road to revolution is thus clearly seen to be the only practical course for those who oppose the evil of apartheid—that the scene for a conflict without mercy is being set is confirmed by the political murder of the European terrorist John Harris. Appeals humanity and mercy to be shown to John Harris by the South African Government were ignored by President Swart. Harris, who placed a bomb in a Johannesburg railway station which killed an elderly woman, was but 24 years of age. His act was foolish and ill-advised, but so was the action of the South African Government in murdering him.

In Rhodesia, Mr. Smith surprised several people by calling a snap election for May 7, which will probably follow the pattern of the South African elections, by destroying the aspirations of those who support the 'opposition' Rhodesia Party. According to the Daily Telegraph correspondent in Salisbury (1.4.65), the election has been called in order to obtain a two-thirds majority in Parliament for the governing Rhodesian Front. The way is then open for

Greatness consists in bringing all manner of mischief on mankind, and goodness in removing it from them. HENRY FIELDING.

Jonathan Wild (1743).

ANARCHISTS & THE COMMITTEE **OF 100**

Discovering Malatesta

NOW ON SALE

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 2s. on the first Saturday of every month Mr. Smith to alter the constitution towards the apartheid set-up the Rhodesian Front supporters desire.

It is likely that Mr. Smith will win an overwhelming victory in the polls, with the required two-thirds majority easily obtained. It is considered by some commentators that this would result in the extreme elements in the Rhodesian Front forcing a unilateral declaration of independence with or without Ian Smith as Premier. One hopes this is the case.

The Daily Telegraph (1.4.65) editorially writes, 'The duty of Britain is to prevent outside influences, including Commonwealth extremists, from provoking a still worse situation in Rhodesia'. Yet Mr. Iain McLeod, writing in the Telegraph supplement (12.3.65) remarked to the contrary that 'We should jointly (Britain and Rhodesia) invite the services in a goodwill mission of Commonwealth statesmen from the old and the new Commonwealth, for this dangerous situation (in Rhodesia) is a challenge and a threat to the Commonwealth. With the help of this Commonwealth mission we should begin to work towards a conference'.

That Mr. McLeod is not half as from every corner of the world for clever as some people think (though one would hardly refer to him as a cretin) is emphasised in the article already referred to in the Telegraph supplement, for he comes out with the argument that Rhodesians will not declare independence because they would then be isolated from the world. 'A position of such isolation,' he claims, 'could only drive her closer to South Africa, and it is by no means clear that Dr. Verwoerd would welcome this. After all the South African ratio of white to non-white is about one to four; in Rhodesia it is nearer one to sixteen.

It is however very clear from a recent trade agreement between South Africa and Rhodesia that Dr. Verwoerd has realised the importance of Rhodesia as a buffer state between South Africa and 'the Black North'. The Financial Times (16.12.64) commented that 'The agreement is as much a political as an economic document. South Africa is now freely admitting it has a vested interest in Rhodesia's economic viability.

. . Ever since the Rhodesian Front came to power the emphasis has been on closer links with the rich, strong and forthright White supremacist South, and the pact will strengthen Mr. Ian Smith's hand poitically. The pact also brings nearer to reality Dr. Verwoerd's scheme for a Southern and Central African Common Market, bringing in Portuguese Mozambique and Angola, Rhodesia, and any Black states who feel inclined to join'.

This writer does not think the Rhodesian whites have any fear of being isolated from South Africa as a result of a unilateral declaration of independence; the above comment surely makes hay of McLeod's contention that Verwoerd has no welcome for Rhodesia. Yet, I still hope that the Rhodesian Front will declare independence unilaterally because of the reaction it would create within the Commonwealth. The Daily Telegraph wants Britain to prevent 'Commonwealth extremists' provoking a still worse situation in Rhodesia. Mr. McLeod wants to send these same 'extremists' along with old Commonwealth statesmen to Rhodesia itself on 'a goodwill mission'. There might be some point in asking the young Commonwealth countries what they would like to do. It might also be possible to inquire of the Labour Government what it might do. For myself, I thought I'd find out in advance what the Labour Government might do by reading the Telegraph and Iain McLeod.

If you Can't Beat'em-Burn'em

FOREIGN POLICY IS the subject every politician has at his finger tips, and British politicians are no exception.

Last Friday Foreign Affairs were debated in the Westminster gasworks. As was to be expected, Vietnam was the topic highest on the

foreign affairs agenda.

Michael Stewart, the Foreign Secretary opened the debate by referring back to 1954 and the settlesounded like a US Embassy handout, being read by an official seconded from the American State Department. His speech was warmly supported by Sir Alec Douglas-Home. Viscount Lambton was more overwhelming in his praise. He pointed out that when Mr. Ernest Bevin was Foreign Secretary he won such constant applause from the Conservative benches that Conservative Members were asked in private not to applaud him in the House of Commons. He went on to say that it took Ernie Bevin a year to win this affection (my italics) but the present Foreign Secretary had won the same 'affection' in an

FASLANE INVADED, SABOTAGED

N THE NIGHT of March 27 and 28 we broke into Faslane -a Polaris Base near Garelochead. We then immobilised a truck and pneumatic compressor which

works the cement silo. We removed 50-100 wooden levels (this means the whole of the new road will have to be replanned).

Our purpose was to halt or to slow down building of the new road for as long as possible and to be as much of a nuisance to the building of the base as possible. We will continue to do this for as long as we can.

> Yours, SCOTS AGAINST WAR.

ALL OUT FOR RETURN TO FASLANE

THE SCOTTISH COMMITTEE of 100 have cancelled their Holy Loch project on June 5. Instead they are holding a 'Faslane Come-All-Ye' on June 26. Attempts will be made, through the medium of the Factory for Peace, to 'get at' the workers on the site. The Committee have offered one worker from the site a job in the factory. They also intend to try some 'public relations' in Clydebank, Dumbarton and Helensburgh, by showing films and canvassing.

CND Easter March

THETHER you are marching or not we need sellers for FREEDOM and Anarchy en route and in Trafalgar Square. Please get in touch with Freedom Bookshop for supplies or pick them up at 10 Gilbert Place, Thursday, April 15, 6 p.m.-8.30 p.m. or watch out for suppliers near the anarchist banner. March starts Easter Saturday 9.30 a.m. at H.Q. British Bomber Command, Walter's Ash, Nap Hill, nr. High Wycombe. Sunday from Ruislip, Monday from Acton with a short rally in Trafalgar Square.

afternoon. The 'on Member for Fulham had a Tory ball. Psuedo left wing Labour MPs put their spoke in throughout the debate, so that it sounded like North and South Vietnam politicians arguing the toss. The word 'Freedom' was kicked around by Right, Left and Centre, nowadays this word is used more frequently than yes and no, but with far less sincerity.

The Prime Minister wound up the ment in Vietnam. His whole speech debate by reaffirming the Government's support for American policy. The Government has anxieties about certain developments within this war but, according to Mr. Wilson, it's far better to have an off the cuff chat with the Americans about these points than wash dirty linen in public. One wonders what murderous schemes are cooked up under the cloak of secret diplomacy.

> If anything came out of the Foreign Affairs debate it was proof of the fact that Tory and Labour are one on Foreign policy with the Liberals flirting to the left. S. East Asia has become a training ground for troops, and the people are guinea pigs for new types of weapons. The Vietnamese are expendable in the name of face saving ideology, and the progress of scientific warfare.

> Russia and China are up to their necks in the 'courting' of North Vietnam, how much is bluff and how much is 'for real' is matter for conjecture. Both have claimed

they have volunteers for N. Vietnam. Both wish to claim leadership of the Communist world and will use N. Vietnam to pursue these their own mistakes if they have to. claims irrespective of the tragedy of prolonging the war. Russia will not join Britain as co-chairman and

invite all powers to state their views

until America withdraws its troops. This is a pretty safe bet for the Soviet Union, it still keeps her in the 'courting stakes' on a par with

America will not talk until the Vietcong disarm, which has as much chance as a 'snowball in hell'. The Pentagon are well in command and President Johnson is their Charlie McCarthy. General Maxwell Taylor, US envoy to Saigon, told reporters, 'There's nothing and nobody to negotiate with. We don't have to take new or dramatic action against the Vietcong—we've just got to do better what we've been doing there.'

In Newsweek (5.4.65), they point out that the effect of gas was disappointing from a military point of view, it blew away. The Pentagon have at their disposal gases that paralyse the nerves, derange the liver, sear the lungs, cause convulsions, blisters or headaches. If the wind is dodgy, friend or foe are affected alike.

American policy is to bring N. Vietnam to its knees and force them to come crawling. Frankly I don't think this will ever happen. Asia is fertile soil for Russian and Chinese Communism, the Vietnamese peasants are not interested in Western Coca Cola, Russian Marxist Leninism or China's People's Liberation effort, they are interested in existing to live. Vietcong are the peasants and workers, the ordinary people—so, there are Communist cadres amongst them, they are the minority. The majority want the Yanks out, to be left alone to make Some day the East and West must wake up to this fact or face the dire consequences.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Government Hits Small Farmers

THE GOVERNMENT'S Farm Price Review is coming in for a great deal of criticism. One can expect this from the Tories, but their own record in this field is not very good, although they managed to step it up last year prior to the election.

Most people have the impression that farmers are doing very well, but paying their workers a very low wage. Of course this is partly true, but I think that there is another side to the picture. In Sussex, which is the centre of the revolt over the milk prices, the average size of the farms is around 90 acres, but according to present day economics of farming, about 300 acres seems to be the viable unit.

Unlike other types of farming, a dairy farm needs a seven day week, adding further expense to the farmer who only owns a small unit. He faces the dilemma of expansion in order to be able to carry on or packing it in. Quite often he is willing to carry on seven day working on his own for a very little return, so the Government's new review was a bitter disappointment to him.

It seems to me that the Government's

idea is bigger farm units. Farming is now termed 'an industry' and the methods used are becoming more like those used in the manufacturing of cars than in the growing of food or feeding livestock. If there are larger and therefore more viable farms, then these are in a better economic position to be able to afford the capital outlay for equipment and buildings for the modern farming methods. Do we want our foodstuffs produced on factorylike lines? For this seems to be the implication.

Militant action by the farmers certainly seems to be one way to try to defeat the government, but welcome as this may be, it appears that they not only face opposition from the Government, but also from the powerful farmers who own large farms and who no doubt will eventually swallow up some of the smaller units.

The formation of co-operatives between the smaller farmers might help for in this way certain costs could be shared. They would also form an alternative to the ever increasing trend towards factory farming' and at the same time enable the small farmer to survive. P.T.

SHERIFF!

OUR COMRADE Alan Albon recently received at his ranch a missive reading: 'Sheriff's Office. By virtue of a precept directed from the Sheriff of the County of — I hereby SUMMON you to attend at the ensuing ASSIZE to be holden at THE COUNTY HALL --in the said County on Monday, April 5, 1965 at 10.15 o'clock in the Forenoon precisely, there to serve on the JURY and until you shall be duly discharged.'

Cowboy comrade Albon replied, 'With reference to Jury Summons dated March 15 couched in terms as anachronistic as the institution which you represent. would refer you to previous correspondence with you in which my attitude to Jury Service is clearly stated.

'If you persist in coercing me to attend I must give notice that nothing, I repeat, nothing will induce me to find any person guilty.

'Furthermore since my previous correspondence my situation has changed, I now relief milk for several farmers which necessitates reliability, unless of course the sheriff would like to take my place, during my absence for an unspecified period in Court.

'In addition I would hardly have thought from your point of view that a person who on several occasions has deliberately broken the law and is now bound over is suitable for jury service.'

J.R.

Over to you Sheriff!

Books!

NEW BOOKS

Yes From No-Man's Land Bernard Kops 25/-

First Steps to Disarmament (ed.) E. Luard 42/-

George Orwell Edward M. Thomas 5/-Five Plays: Comedies and Tragi-F. Garcia Lorca 30/-Comedies The Leper and Other Stories

M. Djilas 21/-Meet My Maker the Mad Molecule J. P. Donleavy 18/-

REPRINTSAND CHEAP EDITIONS It Will Be a Lovely Day

Heinrich Heine 5/-Krapp's Last Tape and Embers Samuel Beckett 4/6

SECOND-HAND

An Unhurried View of Erotica, Ralph Ginzburg 15/-; Community and Environment, E. A. Gutkind 6/-; Academic Freedom Under the Soviet Regime, A Symposium 5/-; The Ethics of Free Thought, Karl Pearson 7/6; Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power, Paul Blanshard 10/-; Our Present Philosophy of Life, Montgomery Belgion 7/6; Seven Fallen Pillars, Jon Kimche 7/6; Latin America: World in Revolution, Carleton Beals 12/6; Voltaire and the Calas Case, Edna Nixon 6/-; The Nature of Capitalist Crisis (1935), John Strachey 6/6; Crimes Discreetly Veiled, F. J. P. Veale 7/6; James Maxton: the Beloved Rebel, John McNair 6/-; A Conspiracy of Silence, Alex Weissberg 12/6; Crime and Insanity, W. C. Sullivan 6/-; The Rise and Fall of Nazi Germany, T. L. Jarman 10/-; The Patriot Chiefs, Alvin M. Josephy 12/6; The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Henri Noguères 12/6; Art and Industry, Herbert Read 6/-; Marxism Past and Present, R. N. Carew Hunt 7/6; Heavens on Earth, Mark Holloway 5/-; The Inquisition of the Middle Ages (abridged), Henry Charles Lea 12/6; Pioneers of American Freedom, Rudolf Rocker 15/-; The American Sexual Tragedy, Albert Ellis 7/6.

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

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity

Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano

Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters

Vol 7 1957: Year One-Sputnik Era

Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair

Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public

Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street

Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching

Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6 The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/6 post free.

E. MALATESTA Anarchy Paper 1/-

PROUDHON

What is Property? cloth 42/-

ALEXANDER BERKMAN ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6

HERBERT READ Poetry & Anarchism paper 2/6

ALEX COMFORT Delinquency 6d.

PAUL ELTZBACHER Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21/-

RUDOLF ROCKER Nationalism and Culture cloth 21/-

CHARLES MARTIN Towards a Free Society 2/6

20HN HEWETSON

1-Health, Poverty and the State toth 2/6 paper 1/-

VOLINE

Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6 The Unknown Revolution (Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21) cloth 12/6

E. A. GUTKIND The Expanding Environment (illustrated) boards 8/6

GEORGE BARRETT The First Person (Selections) 2/6

The ABG of Slum Living

CLUM DWELLING IS the most expensive form of housing, I said in a previous article, and received the following letter: 'How can you justify this remark? Who would live in the slums if it

were cheaper to live in a luxury hotel?'

The cheapest of all housing in London is the 'grace and favour residence', which costs nothing, or a purely nominal rent in some cases. If the Queen graciously favours you, you can have a very attractive suite in Hampton Court or one or other of the palaces and State residences. Such accommodation is reserved for members of the Establishment, old Palace servants, refugee royalty and so on. Nevertheless they live much cheaper than anyone else.

The next cheapest way of living in London except in one's own house, is to belong to a family that has lived continuously in the same controlled premises since before the first world war and retains full possession. I know some streets where very nice houses are occupied at five shillings a week rent (i.e. one twentieth of the normal). The landlords keep these houses in beautiful repair. But as the blocks are sold and re-sold at increasing profit, this is not landlord philanthropy. (The most miserable and slightly the dearest type of housing was built by philanthropists with a view to ameliorating the condition of the industrious classes' in the reign of Victoria.) Failing that, though houses still controlled on a pre-1939 basis—increasingly becoming decontrolled-afford some chance of not working solely for the landlord, by far the cheaper method is to have bought one's own house. The price is continually going up, so that whatever one paid for it five, ten, twenty, forty years ago, one

READY APRIL

Malatesta: His Life and Ideas

V. RICHARDS

309 pages and 16 pages of illustrations. Cloth 21s. Paper 10s. 6d. Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

Special rates to FREEDOM readers ordering now direct from Freedom Press: Cloth 17/6 and paper 8/6 post

can get far more for it today, and still have lived all those years rent free. Hence the more money you had to start with, the more you can make—in housing as with everything else. Someone who bought a £500 house in the '20s may now retire with a very full sock, having sold his house for five times the value and having had a lifetime of rent-free housing.

It follows that the middle-classes always pay less than the working-classes for their houses, and this is one reason why they always complain of rates—they have so little other outlay of which to complain. Why do people live in the slums and pay high rents when they can live rent-free and make money by living in the pleasanter suburbs? Not because they want to or can afford to; solely because the criterion is the possession of

One can live in a reasonably good hotel today for £15 or £20 per week, more or less in the bracket of a well-to-do traveller. But it is impossible to go out and rent a house in the slums under this figure. One can usually manage by buying a mortgage on a broken down property to pay something like this figure, or

possibly more. It would be cheaper to move into the London Hilton, but for the fact that the management would want cash and would not allow sub-letting. The money has to come from sub-tenants. But as there is really insufficient space to take tenants, there is overcrowding and squeezing of tenants. Why invent a word and call it Rachmanism?—this is landlordism today.

It seems to me the matter is so simple that one is unable to understand why people choose to complicate the matter by talking of the 'immigrant' or 'colour' problem. Because of emigration usually of the skilled worker, there has been a degree of immigration to make up labour shortage, especially of the unskilled worker. There has been competition for the bottom rung of the ladder. The immigrant has been forced to go into the slums where he becomes a factor in the overcrowding and squeezing of tenants. Those who say 'this is not an economic problem', would not know an economic problem if it came round and slapped them on the back and treated them to a double whiskey.

A.M.

WAVE OF terror has started in Catalonia and other Spanish provinces following many demonstrations which have taken place demanding Freedom of Association and Free Trade Unions. Money is urgently needed to help many families who have already been badly hit by the Franco police, and the Workers Trade Union Alliance (ASO) of Spain urgently calls on all democratic people to help the victims and the struggle against the regime.

An appeal for help from inside Spain has reached us. The anxious call came at a moment when workers and students have been demonstra- Gardens, London, W.10. ting for better conditions and Free

Trade Unions. Many workers have been arrested during the past weeks in Catalonia and Madrid, and there is a possibility that many more will be detained in the days to come.

The appeal came from the Workers Trade Union Alliance (ASO), whose members are young and old militants of the CNT, UGT and other organisations of Spain. We feel certain that you will be most anxious to aid the oppressed Spanish people at this critical moment in their history.

Please be generous by sending your donation to the Secretary, at the address below, or to the Treasurer, J. Cabanas, 42 Dalgarno

A. Roa, Secretary. 210 Bravington Road, London, W.9.

Of the Weak and the Strong

A NARCHISTS are often accused of being quite irresponsible in their social criticisms because they have no real alternatives to suggest in the present state of society. For instance, anarchists, or most of them, would advocate the total destruction of the prison system, but they tend to be rather vague as to what they would advocate here and now as a practical alternative. There may be a number of hardy anarchists who would take no action at all if they found, say, that their flats had been burgled and all their clothes and other personal possessions stolen, but I suggest that they are in a minority. think that many anarchists would take practical steps, via the police, to recover their property, and if some thief went to prison as a result-well it would be just too bad for him-he took an occupational risk and copped out. But although most anarchists would not be too tender minded about the fate of petty thieves, I think that the anarchist who imagines that imprisonment is in any way 'just', or does the villain any 'good' must be a very unusual type.

The usual anarchist line is that in a 'free society' there would be no burglary because the economic and social set-up would be such that no one would take to burglary as a way of life, and this is an assumption which involves a degree of social psychology more sophisticated than that of the Marxists. The Marxists have taken the view that robbers rob for economic reasons, and given a fair economic system they would no longer have the need to rob. This was almost completely plausible in the 19th century when most thievery was the result of extreme economic privation. The poor had very strong motives indeed for turning to robbery to make a tolerable standard of life for themselves, and the mystery is why the majority of the poor remained so abjectly honest. Now we are seeing in this country the phenomenon of a comparatively cushioned economic system in which hunger and acute physical privation are rare, but the crime rate does not decline. The moralists rub their hands with glee and say that all this robbery and violence is the result of sheer 'greed' and 'pampering'. In a sense they are right. But if we are going to use 'greed' as the label covering the motivation of well-fed young thugs who rob banks, then 'greed' is the motive which impels school teachers to campaign for higher salaries, and out of 'greed' do respectable gentlemen seek sound and profitable investments for their money. True, the young thugs want the money to live a flash life, whereas the school teachers want the money to pay the mortgage of a desirable residence, and the sound investors want the money to . . . but if the desire for money is 'greed' then we are all greedy.

Here I detect the supercilious tut-tutting of the new socialistcapitalist apologists. 'What we complain about is that the young thugs are not prepared to do anything useful for their money. School teachers do useful and underpaid work, and investors at least direct capital into sound economic ventures.' This way of thinking does, in fact, offer no criticism of 'greed'

as a fundamental motive, but makes the proviso that you have to offer something to society before you are entitled under the rules to satisfy your greed. This point of view was, I believe, developed long ago by O. Henry's 'Gentle Grafter', who claimed that he always liked to give his victims something when he fleeced them. But who is to set a value on the something a man gives to society? It may be that he gives the fantastic amount of hard physical work and boring chores that an agricultural labourer gives all his working life. It may be that his something is a talent for singing pop sengs, or for doing scientific research, or for knowing whether there will be a bull or a bear on the market. How shall society reward him 'justly'?

The utilitarian philosophers and economists tried to show that society, that is, the general consensus of all our wishes, rewarded according to the laws of supply and demand. Later, the working masses tumbled to the idea that their labour power was, in fact, a commodity like coal or timber to be bought and sold in the market. If coal was scarce it was fetching a better price and so. . . . But when the workers organized to raise the price of their labour they were adding something to their property. At first they had only a simple property: the ability to work, now they added another property, the power to intimidate.

To intimidate. What a dreadful word, and hardly appropriate to the decently-conducted world of collective bargaining (or is it?). Yet it was only by copying the landowners and the owners of factories that the workers obtained more than the bare pittance that is granted to beasts of burden. The landowners were owners of the land precisely because they and their distant forefathers had borne the arms or commanded the armed men which made the land their property. The factory owners, coming later, took advantage of the whole legal organization of violence to transform a rural country into a predominantly industrial one which was their property. The industrial workers, coming last of all, used the crudest of violence and intimidation to make labour power a collective property that could not be bought or sold too cheaply. Now that Trade Unionism has the protection of the law, 'intimidation' is too gross a word to describe what goes on. What we have can be described more politely as 'a balance of power among elites'. The odd bits of crude intimidation which occur are alleged to be confined to unofficial strikes, workshop squabbles and all the sort of thing that the TUC frowns upon.

The simple picture of society offering material rewards for some special service that an individual offers, is therefore hardly a true one. When the workers had simply their power of backbreaking work to offer, they were starved and despised. When they used properly organized tactics of intimidation, 'society' began to reward them more liberally.

To be continued

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirshfield, 4 Albert St., London, N.W.1.

London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2 (near Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m. All welcome

SUNDAYS

APR 11 John Pilgrim Working Class Authoritarianism APR 18 No meeting

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary N.H.A.G., Flat 3, Colville House, London, W.11. Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at above address.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Details of meetings from Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23. BRISTOL FEDERATION. Regular fortnightly meetings. Details from John Coveney, 1 Richmond Park Road, Clifton, Bristol, 8.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact V. Madge, Newnham College. DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Mike Mallet, 20 South George Street, Dundee. Meetings Saturdays 2.30 p.m.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence Secretary: Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Meetings every alternate Monday at above 7.30 p.m. GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence: Joe Embleton, top Left,

11 Baliol Street, Glasgow. Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER GROUP. Fortnightly meetings held. For information contact Alan Barlow, 25a Duffield Road, Irlam o' the Heights, Salford, 6.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION. Enquiries: Vincent Johnson's, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting Sunday, April 11, 2.30 p.m. at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.

SOUTH WALES. Irregular meetings held. Enquire Peter H. Morgan, 15 Pursefield Place, Roath, Cardiff.

PROPOSED GROUPS

EDGWARE-ELSTREE and District. Planning discussion meetings and activities. Contact Colin Seal, 8 Oakwood Drive, Edgware or Anthony Frewin, 31 Burghley Avenue, Boreham Wood.

THANET. For information contact Peter Davey, 14 Fitzmary Avenue, Westbrook, Margate, Kent.

NOTTINGHAM. Anyone interested contact Peter Bowden, Flat 2, 11 Rectory Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham. SOUTH BEDS., NORTH HERTS., HITCHIN, LETCHWORTH, BIGGLES-WADE, BEDFORD. Anyone interested forming a group contact Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

SURREY. Ways and Means meeting. Discussion 7.30 p.m. Thursday April 1, 1965. Chris Torrance, 63 North Street, Carshalton, Surrey. (Please ring three times.) NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Close to W. Suffolk, S.E. Cambs. and N.E. Herts. Contact Robert Barltrop, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden.

HULL & YORKSHIRE (East Riding). Anyone interested in forming anarchist group contact R. A. Baker, 6 The Oval, Chestnut Avenue, Willerby, E. Yorks. Phone: Hull 58543.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Rd., S.W.6 (off King's Rd.), 8 p.m. Last Thursday in month: At George

Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2. 2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Rooum's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

3rd Saturday of each month at Sid and Pat Parker's, 2 Orsett Terrace (off Gloucester Terrace), Paddington, W.2, 8 p.m. (Please ring second bell from top.)

All property and the property of the party o

Legal Robbery

CTOP THIEF! Stop thief! is the cry of the one robbed when a pickpocket steals a wallet and makes off on being discovered. As the taking of property from one who is presumably the lawful owner is illegal it is dubbed immoral and the term is 'theft'. If the robbed person is a working man he will find on pay night a sum deducted from his wage packet which is termed income tax. Now if an anarchist points out to him that this is robbery, does he cry 'Stop thief'? No. He replies, 'That's the law'. So the individual appropriation of money on the one hand, is theft: the government's appropriation on the other, is law. There is no difference in principle, but merely in terms.

In the former case, the individual feels that his interests have been stamped upon. In the latter he feels that although he may or may not be able to afford the loss, he cannot morally oppose it (at least openly), because what is legal, is moral to his mind.

Since every government in the world today sanctions the right of a section of society to serve out wages to the mass of the people, then every government is guilty of playing ball with the thieves of the people—the more skilful pickpockets.

Observe the tools and machines that the workers use at present. Are they not the means of creating more wealth than we could ever consume? That is considering the number of hours worked at present, and considering the number of 'kept men' there are, e.g. the nonproducers and socially useless workers, that is socially useless in their present type of toil. Observe the wages received. Aren't most people just capable of purchasing enough to keep body and soul together? If this is so, where does the surplus of produced goods mysteriously go to? Why, into the pockets of the

legal thieves of course. Obviously no one could be asked to work these days to produce goods and then receive only a fraction of them in

return, the robbery would be too barefaced. It therefore has to be masked by serving out so much money, which when turned into goods, produces the same result. It's legalised robbery.

Robbery legalised is more important to these pickpockets than the actual robbery itself. It is not exploitation—as some people call it—which is at the base of many individual and social ills: it is the fact that exploitation is able to exist, and it exists through the strong arm of the legalised machinery of government.

Without this strong arm the people might dare to take what they need. So the servants of government are well paid; judges, lawyers, police, etc. But these servants, the government, the pickpockets really have a power which is only illusory.

Their power is merely the sum total of the power which the people in general have yielded to them. The strength of the 'people' is the multiplication of the individuals comprising it.

If the individual decides to take back his power, he weakens the 'people' But since the people have only bleated like sheep to shepherds, it does not matter. What matters is the contribution towards a new 'people', a people not of sheep but of real men and women, who will hold on to their own power; who will know that liberty and wealth cannot be achieved by bleating, but by taking and holding.

If one had the power to give liberty, then one would have the power to take it back again. Liberty must be taken, by those who have the courage to take it, but one cannot have the courage where the power of the pickpockets is held sacred. This sacred cow must be destroyed. Until that day comes, the individuals who are not subservient to this cow may create the embryo of a union of men and women which will send the 'pickpockets' into the museums of antiquity.

BOBBY LYNN.

Was Dog a Christian ? -Sunday Gitizen

THREE WOMEN Civil Defence Workers in York emerged from 48 hours in 'fallout room' with tales of hallucinations. One said she felt she was 'being watched', another felt that things were brushing against her, the third imagined that the sandbags of the shelter were about to fall on her. . . .

THE TORTURES IN Vietnam continued, by a rope round the neck in the Mirror; by a punch-up and a knife at the throat in the Express; by pressure on the throat in Peace News; by submersion in water in the Sunday Telegraph; napalm raids continued and it was revealed that non-lethal, temporary disabling types of tear gas had been used by the South Vietnamese against the Vietcong. Mr. Robert S. McNamara, the US Defence Secretary, said that both the police forces and military forces having responsibility for the maintenance of law and order are equipped with these riot control 'agents'. The Federal Laboratories Inc. in Pennsylvania supplied three types of gas. 'DM is a "pepper-like" irritant which causes irritation of the eyes and mucous membrane, viscous discharge from the nose which is similar to that caused by a cold — sneezing, coughing, headache, tightness in the chest, and nausea and vomiting. On the average DM incapacitates for periods from half an hour to two hours. CN is a lachrymatory agent which is also an irritant to the upper respiratory passages and it may also cause irritation to the skin. On the average it incapacitates for approximately three minutes. CS is a more recently developed lachrymatory agent which causes more severe irritation to the eyes, nose, and respiratory tract, and its use is usually accompanied by pains in the chest, choking, and violent

coughing. Concentration of the agent leads to nausea and vomiting. On the average it incapacitates for from five to fifteen minutes.' The Press Officer of the US Defence Department said (to quote US Information Service handout): 'The United States does not consider the use of nauseous gases a violation of the terms of a 1925 protocol on gas warfare, which the United States never ratified. The use of tear gas, at least in instances of the type (in South Vietnam) which I have stated, is not contrary to international law and practice. . . This was the consensus of the Department of State,' he added. Tear gas has been used, it was admitted, by the British in Cyprus, Singapore and British Guiana. . . .

WASHINGTON, MEANWHILE, saw Vietnam situation as unchanged and still dangerous. Two deaths from bubonic plague and ten cases of cholera were reported from Saigon and a bomb blew up outside the American Embassy killing 14 (including two Americans) and injuring more than 100. . . .

DICK GREGORY, THE NEGRO comedian, speaking of the shooting of Mrs. Liuzzo on the Alabama march, said she did not die for nothing. 'It's made a big difference to our cause. Our people have been killed all along-nobody reacted. Even a church wasn't sacred. Now they have killed something really sacred — a white woman. It's like Russia suddenly attacking America.' Four members of the Ku Klux Klan were arrested on charges of 'conspiring to violate the civil rights of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo'. President Johnson denounced the Ku Klux Klan and the House Committee on un-American activities decided to get in on the act

and investigate the Klan and for good measure and so as to be fair, to investigate the Black Muslims also. . . .

VARIOUS MILITARISTIC GROUPS in Italy have petitioned the state prosecutor to indict a parish priest for having insulted the nation and its war dead by coming out in favour of conscientious objection. He had written: 'It was in 1922 that the fatherland should have been defended against fascism. But the army did not defend it. If you priests had educated us to let our conscience be our guide and not to blindly obey, how many lives would have been saved? But the fatherland fell to the handful of Fascist gangsters, who violated every human and divine law and filled our mouths with the word "fatherland"and you priests have had that sacred word on your lips ever since.'

WHILST SOME SPANISH university faculties were closed down, some concessions were made to student demands. In Portugal the Dean of a University was attacked by students. Fifty people were killed, 69 injured and 188 arrested in riots in Casablanca which started by students protesting at a Government order cutting secondary education by one year for some students in order to provide more classroom places. Fourteen people were subsequently executed by a firing squad for plotting the overthrow of the regime. John Harris was executed in South Africa for his part in a bomb plot. . . .

THE SOUTH AFRICAN President, Mr. Charles Swart, had a temporary blackout during a speech. Major-General John J. Hester, commanding officer of the US 17th Air Force, sustained severe brain injuries when his parachute failed to open properly at Weisbaden in West Germany. . . .

CONTROVERSY BROKE OUT at Chobham, Surrey, on whether a cross should be placed on the grave of Rupert, a Labrador dog. Damage was done to a £90 cross placed on the grave of a Great Dane, so a questionnaire was put up. 15 people said the cross should not go up. 24 said 'Yes'. Its owner said, 'A dog can be just as much a Christian as some humans. Rupert comes from a Christian family.' But the Vicar said, 'A dog cannot be a Christian unless it has been baptised. That is the deciding factor, and as I cannot believe that any clergyman would baptise a dog, I must side with the objectors. Putting a cross on a dog's grave is as silly as putting angels on a human's. They are all different species. Just how stupid can animal lovers get?'

JON QUIXOTE.

Pick of the New Paperbacks

T LEAST 150 paperbacks are published every month and 95% are tripe. Some recent exceptions are listed below.

'The Little Pot Boiler' by Spike Milligan (Tandem 3/6), is a must for those who like Milligan's type of zany Goon humour. It has many esoteric illustrations.

Two novels that take an intelligent look at human relationships by talented American writers are 'Another Country' by James Baldwin (Corgi 5/-) and 'Barbary Shore' by Norman Mailer (Four Square 3/6). Baldwin's novel is the best written piece of fiction that has appeared in paperback so far this year.

'Lambda I and Other Stories' (Penguin 3/6 is an entertaining collection of SF selected from New World Science Fiction.

Finally, I beg technological-Utopians to read 'The World in 1984' (Penguin 2 Vols. 4/- each). Over one hundred leading figures, from various walks of life, mainly scientists and technologists reveal what the world will be like in less than twenty years time. And their views are fact and not conjecture for the transformation they are describing has already begun. We are promised lots more people, bureaucracy, cars, motorways,

speed, noise, vacuous subtopia, etc. It is frankly admitted that such things as privacy, the countryside and culture (other than 'pop' culture) have had it.

The book gives vivid and authoritative confirmation to the view that in the anthill future the only forms of anarchism possible outside of pure theory will be small groups 'contracting out' and individualism. The sheer massiveness of human masses will render mass solutions inoperable.

IF YOU DO NOT HAVE A SUBSCRIPTION

you are probably being supplied by one of our devoted comrades or friendly newsagents. But there is a very small number of distributors who fail to pay us for sales. IF YOUR SOURCE OF SUPPLY DRIES UP, DON'T THINK WE HAVE EXPIRED. KEEP OUR ADDRESS AND WRITE FOR A SUBSCRIPTION.

Price 2s. (2s. 3d. or 30c. by post)

1 year (12 issues) 25s. (U.S. \$3.50)

1 year 40s. (\$6), 6 months 20s. (\$3)

BY AIR MAIL: 1 year 47s. (\$7)

3 months 10s. 6d. (\$1.50)

2 COPIES OF EACH:

Appears first Saturday of each month.

JOINT SUB. FREEDOM/ANARCHY:

1 year 63s. (\$9), 6 months 31s. 6d. (\$4.50)

I suppose.

Dear Comrades,

abandonment of atrocious forms of physical punishment, burning, branding, mutilation, etc. This is progress of a kind There need be no argument based on anthropological theories to show that European society has become more barbaric during the course of this century,

particularly since the 30's. Nowadays the

torturing of prisoners (as in Vietnam) is

I think R.S.O. has misunderstood me

slightly. I was using the "stages of

social development" argument to illus-

trate that each change or advance of

oppression and cruelty, and introduces

new ones. Industrialism makes slavery

and serfdom obsolete. The technical re-

sources industrialism makes available to

build elaborate prisons, leads to the

technology does away with old forms of

The Automation Revolution

taken for granted. In the last century such actions aroused vigorous protests. The slaughter of the Jews by Hitler and the obliteration of whole cities by the Allied air forces were in the tradition of ancient conquerors, like the Assyrians. The last time such horrors had been perpetrated in Western Europe on such a

scale had been during the Thirty Years

Just after the war a sadistic gangster story called 'No Orchids for Miss Blandish' roused quite a furore. Nowadays gruesome stories of secret agents written by Ian Fleming and his imitators have become quite respectable. There was a few years ago a minor St. Bartholomew's Day massacre (of Algerians) by the Parisian police, though nobody seems to have been greatly distressed by it, except the victims.

Technical progress perhaps cannot be stopped. The popular phrase, 'you can't stop progress', may well be right in this respect. But social progress can be stopped all too easily.

I don't think that R.S.O. has answered my question at all. It was, 'Why, in view of man's past record, should automation make all that much difference? Why shouldn't it introduce new forms of oppression to replace the old?'

Anarchists may indeed work out ways of making socially valuable use of automation. I am sure they will. I am all for it. But I am pretty sure that it won't make a bit of difference, because the anarchists are too few in numbers to make their influence felt.

Instead the immense powers of automation will be handed on a plate to people who believe in the justifiability of torture, germ warfare, genocide and the complete suppression of all individual choice. All these things are characteristic, even germ warfare is ancient, of barbaric societies. If this is not history repeating itself it comes near enough to

The tradition of Western Europe is that

ultimately everything comes back to the individual. At least this has been so since the Renaissance and the Reformation. This tradition has always been threatened of course, but now it is being

I have no doubt that the anarchists as individuals; and even as a movement, will survive somehow. But I doubt very much if the society they will survive into will be so very different from that of Rome in her period of decadence.

'Bread and circuses' will probably be provided for the masses, now redundant because of automation. No doubt this is a grim thought. Preaching, I agree, is a bore. I don't think there is a lot that can be done about it, and I have given up preaching. Let those who think they can somehow get control of the Automation Revolution do their best. I shall be content if I survive in a condition of relative personal freedom, without being brainwashed, put in a concentration camp or otherwise maltreated.

> Yours fraternally, ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

PRESS FUND

FINANCIAL STATEMENT WEEKS 12 & 13, APRIL 3, 1965 Expenses: 13 weeks at £70 Income: Sales and Subs.:

SURPLUS

£910

£936

Farnham: M.B. 5/-; New Jersey: T.K. 18/5; London, E.7: S.T. 5/-; Elgin: R.M. 5/-; Wisconsin: W.D. 8/-; Hove: T.B. £1; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Harlow: J.M. 5/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-; Surbiton: P.C. 10/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* £1; Worcestershire: T.H. 2/6; New York: M.M. £1 4s. 6d.; London: S.P. 2/6; Miami: R.M. 19/6; Vancouver: J.R. 10/-; Eccles: A.G. £1; N. Vancouver: W.P. £2 3s.; New Rochelle: F.D. 15/2; New York: S.G. £1 11s. 6d.; Hong Kong: M.S. 2/6; Glastonbury: D.P. 10/-; Sale: D.M. 5/-; Lexington: F.C. £1 9s. 5d.; Oxford: T.O. 5/-; Berkeley: A.G. 14/-; Vermont: E.L. £1 8s.; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Oregon: R.H. £1 14s. 6d.; Smethwick: E.W. 10/-; Entebbe: B. 10/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Surrey: F.B. 5/-; London, N.W.3: D.R. 9/10; London, N.W.6: C.F. 10/-; Twickenham: P.R. 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Keele: J.S. 3/6; London, S.E.5: R.O. 2/-.

TOTAL £22 18 10 Previously Acknowledged £316 13 5

> 1965 Total to Date £339 12 3

Gift of Books: London: N.W.; Cheltenham: L.G.W. *Denotes regular contributors

Contact Column

Work Wanted. Student librarian wants profitable work from April 12 to 24 in London area. Write Jim Burkitt, 87 Shepherds Lane, Leeds, 7. London Accommodation. Couple and

rooms, North London. Box 8. Pen Pal Wanted. Sixteen-year-old male anarchist wants young pen-pal active in ban-the-bomb movement. Reed Shetler, 320 Smith Avenue, Morgantown, West Virginia 26505, USA.

son (two years) seek 2/3 unfurnished

Books in French. Several hundred French books, partly paperbacks, Maupassant, Zola, Anatole France, etc. Also a large number of excellent text books. What offers? Please write to Pax House, 17 Melville Road,

Hove, 2. Bronia, Mac and Cat (N.H.A.G.). Want a furnished (unfurnished) or semifurnished flat near Fulham or Paddington. Any offers or suggestions. Phone: McDonald, BAY 1306. Evenings.

Solidarity Meeting. Friday, April 9, 8 p.m., at General Picton, Caledonian Road, N.1. Tony Clift on 'Should' Revolutionaries Work In (For?) the Labour Party?'

Agony. Will C.W. (Taunton) please ring Weston Zoyland 240 some week-end? Agony. Will Vikki Kirkness late of Hull get in touch with Mrs. C. B. Saville,

Hull. Confidences respected. Porton. Support for Porton Germ Warfare Picket. All those interested please contact Richard Harvey, 6 Folkestone Road, Salisbury, Wilts.

Intelligent, tolerant lady required to look after two Anglo-Indian boys 31 and 4½ and house—good accommodation provided. Write Gill, 204 Stafford Street, Walsall, Staffs.

Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review. A fortnightly anarchist journal of art and literature wants contributions-drawings and so on. Address 283 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

MAKE SURE OF YOUR ANARCHIST JOURNALS BY SUBSCRIBING! Freedom WEEKLY Anarchy MONTHLY

BY POST:

Price 4d. Every Saturday except the first in each month. (40 issues per year.) BY POST:

1 year (40 issues) 20s. (U.S. \$3) 6 months (20 issues) 10s. (\$1.50) 3 months (10 issues) 5s. (75c.)

And the second second second second

SPECIAL RATE FOR 2 COPIES: 1 year (40 issues) 30s. (U.S. \$4.50) 6 months (20 issues) 15s. (\$2.25) BY AIR MAIL:

1 year (40 issues) 45s. (U.S. \$7) FREEDOM by AIR MAIL, ANARCHY by SURFACE: 1 year 65s. (\$9.50)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed A/c Payee and addressed to the

publishers:

Freedom Press

17a MAXWELL ROAD, LONDON, S.W.6Phone: RENown 3736

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1. Published by Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

Overtime ban by Exhibition Workers This ban on overtime is of course native sources of employment. Such For Workers' Control and the properties of workers and the properties of the Exhibition Industry. Overtime bun by

EXHIBITION HALL WORKERS are operating an unofficial ban on all overtime working in an effort to force the employers to concede their demands for 10s. an hour for craftsmen and 9s. 6d. for labourers. Their unions have recently, through the National Joint Council, negotiated pay increases giving craftsmen 8s. 6d. per hour and labourers industry expressed their disgust at these recent increases and said they were not enough, considering the profits that the contractors are making in the industry. (See FREE-DOM, January 30, 1965.) They are also demanding a three week holiday with full pay, a severance pay scheme and an adequate sickness pay scheme.

It seems that the past dissentions between craftsmen and labourers have now been overcome and they are united in their struggle. Through their own stewards' organisation, the Exhibition Stewards Co-ordinating Committee, a campaign of action has been organised.

INDUSTRY RELIES ON OVERTIME

The exhibition industry, because it has to keep to a tight schedule of opening dates, relies very much on overtime, and by banning overtime, workers can affect this schedule, in fact even throw it all out of gear, hitting the employers harder in fact than they can by all out withdrawal of labour, as the employers have safeguarded against this eventuality by insurance coverage.

not just an attack on the employers, but also a revolt against what the The executives of the unions were well aware of what the rank and file wanted, the stewards having given them the full details of the feelings redundant and it is the membership who are in control.

EMPLOYERS' APPEAL

The employers fully recognise this and they look upon the probable delayed opening of the International Engineering Exhibition at Earls Court and Olympia with some Their organisation, the National Association of Exhibition Contractors have sent each one of their workers a letter. In this they say that they support the National Joint Councils 'because they believe that they are doing a very fair job of work in the field of industrial relations'.

In another paragraph the letter attempts to undermine the solidarity which the operatives have shown so far in this dispute. They say that 'On many occasions during past years operatives have been misled into following the advice and leadership of a small number of workmen whose interest is not really in the Exhibition Industry. This is clear from the statements which have been put out to the effect that

native sources of employment. Such elements in the Exhibition Industry can, therefore, best be described as unions have deemed fit to negotiate. disruptive.' Further on the letter says, 'Past history also shows clearly that operatives have never gained anything at all from unofficial action of this kind. However long a ban of the men. The unions chose to on overtime may be imposed the ignore this, accepting what crumbs employers will not budge and intend 7s. 9d. At a meeting at Hammer- were handed out. Now, with an to uphold in every way the full smith Town Hall, workers in the organisation at rank and file level, authority of the two National Joint the union leaders have been made Councils and the Working Rule Agreements for the Exhibition Industry.'

RANK AND FILE ORGANISATION GETS RESULTS

The reason why the exhibition workers enjoy a higher basic wage rate than men doing similar work on building sites, is that through their own unofficial efforts their industry is 100% unionised. Time and time again it is the organisation on the job that has gained improved conditions. In the past the unions have conceded to the employers on points like notice of dismissal, giving them (the employers) the right to sack men at two hours notice on any day, all for extra coppers.

These are some of the reasons for the type of action that is taking place now. The unions do not represent the men in the industry, in fact if the present solidarity can be maintained and further strengthened, I can see no reason why the union leadership cannot be by-passed altogether. After all it operatives have in any event alter- is the strength of the organisation and the solidarity of the men that can win the demands. There is no need to get round the table with the bosses. The employers hope 'that commonsense will prevail and that normal working will be resumed' and say that until this happens they will halt the talks on the Sickness and Accident Scheme. But the employers are in for a shock, for judging by a chat I had with a steward, the exhibition workers feel that the most 'commonsense' thing he can do is to continue the overtime ban. They will express this view by sending their individual letters back to the employers, without stamps.

P.T.

Breakthrough

CCOTTISH PLUMBERS ARE once again showing the way for the whole of the building industry, for they have just gained a 10% increase. In 1962 they were the first group in the industry to get a 40 hour week. Later, other building workers in Scotland achieved this, but it still has to be gained in England and Wales.

APRIL 10 1965 Vol. 26 No. 11

In 1962 the Plumbers' Employers Federation was criticised for this agreement and the first job of the National Incomes Commission, set up by the Tories, was to investigate this agreement and pronounced it as being against 'the national interest'. Well it seems that although the Labour Government has done away with the NIC, they still do not like the extent of this pay rise. In fact Mr. Brown has intervened, and had a chat with the employers asking why they gave in to this demand.

MODERNISING THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

It is certainly ironical that this should happen and it shows just how much the Government is for the working man. Far from supporting his efforts to gain a substantial pay increase, they came out against it with just as much vehemence as the Tories. One cannot expect them to do any different and those people who think and believe they should are labouring under an illusion. It is plain to see that the Labour Party has no intention of abolishing capitalism. Any reforms it brings in (welcome as some may be) only modernise the social structure of our society to meet the present day needs of a capitalist system.

An example of this is the Redundancy Payment Bill, or more bluntly 'a bit of a hand-shake when you're sacked'. This hand-shake has been described as 'generous' on the whole, it works out at a week's pay for every year of employment with the firm. Better than nothing maybe, but the very fact of having a scheme

of this sort admits the right of an employer to sack a man when his skill is perhaps not wanted any more. It makes the individual a mere unit to be dispensed with when not needed.

If the Labour Government is prepared to smooth the path for a better competitive position for British goods in the world markets, then it will attack any agreements which go beyond the accepted norm of 4%. We know that the building industry is hardly an exporter of goods, but they nevertheless think that this agreement can have some effect in this field. After all it is not a very good example to set for workers in other industries. Mr. Gunter, the Minister of Labour, has also expressed the view to the union leaders that the Government would like a 7% increase in production.

NO MORE TIE-UPS

At the moment the building employers have 'never had it so good' with profits breaking all records. For instance output has gone up by 11% in the last year with hardly any increase in the labour force. So it seems that the employers can well afford to pay a 10% increase not only in Scotland for the plumbers, but for the whole industry.

With the present three-year agreement for England and Wales ending in November, it is essential that another tie-up is not negotiated next time. There is already considerable opposition being expressed through union branches to this type of agreement, for it has tied down wages while output and profits have increased. Demands like those of the London-based unofficial Joint Sites Committee, who are asking for a 1s. 6d. per hour increase, a 40 hour week, three weeks holiday with full pay, and sick pay on a realistic basis compared with the cost of living, are ones which make sense. For as the profits show, the employers can pay and the building worker is fully entitled to the substantial increase. P.T.

LETTER

A FTER A THREE weeks' struggle the British United Airways dispute is over. ASSET was the first union to reach an agreement and to sign a three year deal, but the members did not return to work until the other six unions had reached an agreement.

The unions have agreed to drop their insistence on parity with State airlines in exchange for substantial wage increases over three years plus a shortening of hours. A labourer's present rate of £12 8s. goes up immediately to £13 6s. 3d., to £14 13s. next March, £24 4s. in 1967. All workers on 42 hour week will be cut to 40 hours from May.

Gatwick shop stewards claimed that the settlement was quite a victory. From the very beginning of the dispute solidarity began to build up and the 'sympathetic strike' began to have an effect right up to the time of the conclusion of the agreement. Of course, if the lads had asked nicely in the first place they would have got it without a struggle according

to our Cambridge Don. 18 WEEK STRUGGLE

After 18 weeks in dispute the first 12 of the 80 on strike at Fairview Caravans are to return to work. Over a period of a couple of months all will be reinstated including the nine shop stewards and branch officials whose dismissal sparked off the strike.

In terms of solidarity the strike was well supported, railwaymen, seamen and dockers blacked goods going out. Supplies coming in were also stopped. The company estimated that the 'blacking' of its goods cost them in the region of £200,000. When the last man is finally back at work the dispute will have been won. It is to their credit that the workers stood firm in support of their victimized mates.

SOLIDARITY WAS ABSENT

Some say that yesterday's newspapers are well out of date. Nevertheless I refer to the voice of Labour or is it Tory? No Labour or is it Liberal? Depends which way the wind is blowing Daily Mirror (18.3.65). Its middle page double spread was almost entirely devoted to the sixteen month Denby Strike in Yorkshire, the strike that no one wanted

to know, including the TUC and the Minister of Labour. The banner headlines of the Mirror's spread was 'The astounding balance sheet of the strike that failed'. Denby's claim that despite the lengthy dispute the share of the year's profit increased. Mr. Sharp, the General Secretary of the Dyers' union, claims that the reason for the increased profit was that the firm took on only the most profitable lines. Obviously the longer the dispute went on the more skilled the blacklegs became. The penultimate paragraph of the article headed 'Defeat' states: 'Nevertheless, the Denby affair has been a massive defeat for the union. Not because of the money it cost them: but because they hoped far too long for a miracle to pull them out of the mire.'

THEY FAILED to get other unions to help them.

THEY DISCARDED the idea of spreading the dispute to other factories. THEY FAILED to prevent the firm

recruiting non-union labour. THE TUC leaders decided they were powerless to intervene.

FINALLY, Labour Minister Ray Gunter refused their request for an independent inquiry.

The final paragraph ends with the statement: 'They fought a power struggle without enough power . . . believing that conviction of the rightness of their cause was enough to make things come right in the end.

Even now, as their union is actively seeking to place the former pickets in jobs in the area, the men who took part in this epic fight believe they were right to do what they did.

The firm will believe, equally, that the union were wrong. AND THE FIRM HAVE THE FIGURES TO PROVE IT.'

The Managing Director Mr. Wright demands the right to select his own labour thus claiming and securing 'open house'. Of course, it is out of order for a trade unionist to refuse to work with a nonunionist, this so called 'freedom' lark only works one way. Our middle class intelligentsia are concerned about Freedom, freedom to be 'stitched up' by our class mates', the employers. B.C.

AUTOMATION

To the Editor,

WAS RATHER shaken by the Automation idea (put forward, I believe, in a recent article of yours) of newspapers being sold from machines to save labour. Now the newspaper seller is usually unskilled, disabled or something of a misfit, and acutely aware of the fact. He preserves his 'independence' and selfrespect by performing a service, directly to people, which he understands and enjoys-in his way. I know such a man; illiterate, uncouth and impossible—but he delights in giving presents, especially at Christmas, to his pub friends. He feel he belongs.

Similarly with hospitals. A Doctor of Science recently advocated computers for hospitals on the grounds that there are two nurses (or their equivalent) to every patient and that machines would replace many of them and thus save the health service £30 million a year. From recent experience I can say that everybody in my particular hospital has been kind, considerate and has anticipated every snag. They enjoy helping people, enjoy the gratitude-prestige that is so apparent. They don't do this for money, or power. Their very presence has eased my suffering and depression. Just imagine a hospital where instead of hordes of delightful women one is 'attended to' by a computer and a roll of magnetic tape!

The same in industry. A Black Country

iron firm I know is a family-owned affair and the gaffer got talked into computerising his office. A very clever young woman was engaged to supervise. In less than three months the gaffer paid her off and got rid of the equipment. He told her 'it's like this love—all these people in our offices are friends of my familygenerations of 'em have been with us. -they won't have it-and I don't blame 'em. They've always trusted me-and I trust them. And I ain't having them bloody well upset. We're making plenty of money, we're doing a good job and the whole world wants our stuff. Now I'm not blaming you-I'm not blaming anybody—but I ain't having it! I don't want it. And if that's what modern science means they can keep it'. He asked what severance pay she wanted. Having an acute mind she left it to himand was he generous! She had a holiday abroad out of it, replaced her car with a good one and got a glowing testimonial. And the old gaffer still has his pint with the lads and tells Black Country tales (mostly dirty!) and always insists that 'Science is all right-but we've got to keep it in its bloody place'. And I heartily agree with him.

I can quite understand scientists keeping computers as pets-unlovely, lifeless lucubrations. When the world is filled with them there will be nothing to do, so they say; not even to make love. I don't believe them. The world will not be as they say. The reason? People. People like work. Not too much—but enough. let 'em—as long as they leave us alone. They like making things-like making Coventry

things together-like doing things for fun, crosswords and arguing in pubs and climbing mountains and playing violent games. People want excitement and they'll get it, and they'll get it without war. They will not only continue to make things but they'll make things happen-and all the computers and capitalism and communism and other complexi-Now they don't like all this modern stuff ties in the world won't tie them all down all the time.

They'll break out-some have already. And they will break state boundaries and start using the world-wholesale. The means to do this exist and will rapidly develop. And they'll tire of cars and walk-for fun. And some will stay at home and do gardening—and they'll ride horses and ponies and tend greenhouses and grow flowers-beautiful flowers-for fun! Why am I so sure? Because people have done these things for generations because they are good—and others will do the same. They use cars like thatpersonal transport, like personal clothes; and cars are changing the entire world.

Some of the computers will do the mechanical and dirty work and of course people will let them. And the computers people don't want will be in their hutches ticking away helplessly without programmes, untended and uncared for simply because we don't want programmes don't want to be told what to do-don't want a computer for a gaffer. Who the hell wants a gaffer that can't argue back anyway? And if scientists want to play silly buggers with computers, well we'll REG WRIGHT.