

The 'Gallant' South

LABOUR DISPUTES & THE FREE SOCIETY

A GLANCE THROUGH the anarchist press of Europe and the Americas, at a time when it is full of articles commemorating the centenary of the foundation of the First International, and emphasising that May Day is a date established in honour of the anarchists murdered in Chicago by the state, is enough to indicate that for many of the militants who keep libertarian propaganda alive throughout the world, the most important aspect of their anarchism is devotion to the struggle of the working class against the capitalist bosses.

It could be said in criticism that much of this writing looks backward and hinders the movement in its attempt to attract support from young people and tackle the problems of today. However the fact that FREEDOM devotes a quarter of its space to putting an anarchist view on the disputes going on in the industrial field in contemporary Britain, by our fellow countrymen here and now, also stimulates critics both outside and within the movement to accuse us of being backward looking, stuck with 19th century attitudes, etc., suggests that these critics are not so full of logic as they claim and that what they really find difficult to see is that the relationships and problems engendered by work have any relevance to anarchism as a philosophy or movement.

One characteristic of the period up to, say, the first world war, was that the class divisions were much sharper than today, and another one, which is very relevant to our assessment of the relations between short term industrial struggles and social freedom, is that the active socialists of those days were far more clearly convinced of the workers' right to the full fruits of their labour, and did not think primarily in terms of pushing the wage policy up from a 4 to 5 per cent rate of growth, even if on a practical plane they did engage the enemy in battles over specific issues.

While the energy with which the miners and dockers of the last century fought came partly from desperation at the poverty in which they were forced to live, it was also strengthened by the conviction, which was visibly true, that the oppressed classes were the ones who produced the food and other material needs of the people, and were rewarded so miserably, while the mine and factory owners did nothing and lived on the fat of the land.

Social conditions have changed greatly since those days, so that the workers are not in general living in such dire poverty, the kind of work done is not always so obviously productive of good things (how for instance would a TSR-2 worker fit into a song like 'The food ye grow, another eats; the clothes ye weave another bears, etc.?'), and a huge class of administrators and clerical workers has grown up whose economic positions overlap those of manual workers but who can in no sense be called 'producers of wealth'.

Nevertheless, unlike the neutralist economists and sociologists who claim that the days of class struggle and conflicting interests are over, and that all that matters is efficient administration and communication, and the critics, friendly and unfriendly, of anarchism who see no relevance in working class problems, I think that these modern developments increase the need both for an anarchist approach to labour, and for a constructive approach to the social problems of work for the anarchist philosophy.

Continued on page 2

MARK TWAIN in his essay 'The United States of Lyncherdom' called for a few brave men to stop what was going on in the America of his day, and if the trial of Collie Wilkins (the Ku Klux Klan member) is anything to go by, we are still waiting for them to come forward.

Indeed Wilkins defence counsel hardly even bothered to prepare a case at all, his final speech being the ravings of a NAZI (and I do not use the term lightly): 'I am for white supremacy—not black supremacy. I'm proud to stand on my feet for white supremacy and not for the mongrelisation of the race. Think of the Zionists who run those bunches of niggers'.

As the prosecuting counsel said that he too believed in segregation, one is led one to wonder why they bothered to have a trial at all. Why not just give Wilkins a medal for services rendered to the 'gallant' South.

This shows once again the enormity of the task that faces civil rights campaigners in the deep south. Mrs. Liuzzo was murdered by Collie Wilkins with an FBI man watching him do it, who gave evidence to this effect and the 'grand' jury found the case not proven (or at least two of them did). It's true that the prosecution did well to get the other ten to agree to finding Wilkins guilty, but all of them, that was asking too much. One of the two who refused said that he could not accept the evidence of the FBI man because he had taken an oath before God to be loyal to the Klan and then broke it. It is necessary to be a good white Protestant Christian to join this noble band of brothers. Wilkins case may come up at the next Sessions. Meanwhile he is free on a bail of 10,000 dollars, pretty sure in the knowledge that he will remain free too. Personally, if I was Mrs. Liuzzo's husband, I would feel inclined to pass and carry out sentence on Wilkins before that trial comes up.

STILL IN THE 18th CENTURY

However this would not solve anything, and The Campaign for Civil Rights is trying to solve this problem. It is going to take a very long time and many more lives will in all probability be lost before it is finished.

This is not the first case of its kind and it will not be the last. It is obvious that the Southern whites are trying to hold on at all cost because they are terrified of what the negroes will do to them if they don't. It's nice and easy having things all their own way (until recently anyway) and they want to go on. The fact that mentally they are still in the 18th

century doesn't seem to dawn on them. They want the negro in his place, and his place is cap in hand 'Yassuh or Nossuh' according to what they want. Do they ever have feelings of guilt like 'How would ah feel if ah was a nigra?' When the fearless Governor Wallace comes to Oxford to debate and to air his views I hope someone asks him that. 'Can you put yourself in the negro's place, and if so what would you say then boy?' I would also ask him, why, if he is superior to the negro, he did not stand his ground when told to step aside by federal troops when he was bravely stopping a coloured child from entering a desegregated school. Surely coloured civil rights campaigners have shown a little more 'manliness' than this; a little more willingness to suffer for what they believe in?

NON-VIOLENCE

However though hatred for the white segregationist comes very easily, it must be conquered, or at least not shown by those who are opposing them. For hate divides and division is segregation. IT'S WHAT THEY WANT. You cannot integrate with someone you hate. So the whites must be reassured, their fears must be shown to be groundless. This is the path that the civil rights movement has taken. The way of non-violence, and though there will be more bloodshed (the blood of those who are right) it is the only way. I do not say this because I have a pacifist axe to grind, but because I want to see the negro equal in status in the community, both in the deep South and everywhere else. This can never happen in a community divided by hatred.

SICKNESS

The jeers for the civil rights agitators do not come just from racials either. One of the sickest things about the libertarian press is the way 'armchair revolutionaries' react to this issue. ('It's a waste of time trying to get the vote for the Southern negro. They've got it in the North and where's it got them?') But the struggle is not 'just for the vote, then all pack up and go home'. It is for complete equality, and the vote is a symbol of equality. The Wallaces of this world will fight this to the death, because though it doesn't mean the revolution, it means the end of them.

We must not forget that police forces in the States are locally controlled and a negro vote can at least get rid of the Jim Clarkes, as it has got rid of Bull Connor. Things will improve a little, AND THE IMPROVEMENT WILL HAVE BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT BY

THE DIRECT ACTION OF ORDINARY PEOPLE. The negro will have a little say in the Southern community. He has none now. What anarchist can oppose this? The feeling of hopelessness that drives the young 'up North' to the slums of Chicago, will be less. The vote in itself is nothing, but the struggle to get it is a struggle for everything that libertarians should hold dear.

INTEGRATE OR DIE

There are only two solutions to the racial problem. Either segregation, which in the end will mean 'race war' and with it the destruction of ALL men; or integration. The last means that the segregationists must be CONVERTED. The Klansmen like Collie Wilkins can't be converted, because their hate has made them insane, but the respectable, frightened, conservative Southerner must be woken up from his 18th century dream, and dragged back to reality. I believe that this seemingly impossible task can be achieved by the coloured population of America and its liberal supporters, if they carry on themselves (not leaving things to the Federal Government which doesn't really care anyway, except for its image). But the Southern negro needs help at first, for as William Bradford Huie says: 'Only we, white and negro, who are cotton's children understand the effects of centuries of using negroes against negroes. The negro slave driver, the first recognised expert in "handling niggers" did not fade away with slavery.'

'This is why Southern negroes even today distrust each other. This is why a white supremacy society, if it is to be changed, must be assailed by outsiders. The insiders, white and negro, are too vulnerable. This is why "outside agitators" like Mickey Schwerner* once they get inside Mississippi or Alabama must depend for support largely on young negroes who don't have jobs. Most of the older ones can't afford the risks; and the superior young ones have been "going to Chicago" for twenty years. ONLY THE RESIGNED, THE VULNERABLE, AND THE TEENAGERS ARE LEFT.' (My caps.)

In time, if victories are won, no matter how small, the effect will be to bolster the confidence of the people on the spot (as the victories in Montgomery did), and they will be able to take over themselves.

JACK STEVENSON.

*One of three civil rights 'agitators' murdered in Mississippi last year.

The Pope's call for servility

WE HOPE that Catholics will refrain in future from using the 'respect for human life' argument when opposing contraception and abortion, for the Pope himself has gone on record as favouring national service and opposing conscientious objection.

To an audience of 200 Belgian officers and men at the Vatican on April 21, the infallible old man said that there was nothing incompatible in serving one's country as a warrior and in serving Christ at the same time.

The subject of conscientious objection in the event of atomic war was briefly touched upon during debate in the Ecumenical Council last year, it being thought that because of the genocidal nature of all-out nuclear or bacteriological war, a recognition of the individual conscience might be justified, the nature of war having changed.

No such thing however. At least not so far as big daddy is concerned. There have been some rumblings from lower down the Catholic scale, but from what the infallible one has said, obedience to your higher authority, render unto Caesar, do as the State tells you, is more important than 'Thou shalt not kill'.

Since the Pope is authority, his interest obviously lies in maintaining the unthinking obedience to authority which

is the demand of all our rulers. Freedom is out, whether it is freedom to make love to whom you choose when you choose and with what consequences and responsibilities you choose, or freedom to choose not to kill your fellow man.

In this II Papa is backed up by at least one of his henchmen, for in an Easter Sermon the new Florentine Cardinal, Archbishop Florit strongly condemned the tendency to disobedience among Catholics. (We hadn't noticed there was one, but are glad to hear it from so high an authority.)

The Archbishop said, 'The Christian religion is a religion of authority which is inscribed in the divine revelations. Obedience to authority is a moral obligation. Obedience to what is taught and commanded by the Sacred Hierarchy is a condition for being faithful to Christ's religion and for participating in all that God has done for the salvation of man.'

Nice to have it put so succinctly for us. No ifs and buts there; do as you are told and no nonsense!

At the same time as these stirring calls for servility were being put out, behind the scenes at the Vatican—according to the *Observer*—a move is afoot to rescind the attempt to declare the Jews not guilty for the murder of Christ.

During last year's Council debates, a

statement was made which was clearly a move to make it all up with the Jews—but more conservative elements in the Hierarchy seem to be winning in the bitter battle to stick to the good old hostility. Odd that the move towards reconciliation with Judaism should have come last year when there was that play being produced *even in Italy* criticising the Pope's indifference to the plight of the Jews during Hitler's rule in Germany. Now that the hubbub has died down, they can return to saying what they really think.

As far as guilt for the death of Jesus is concerned—*somebody* must be guilty, and it can't be the Roman soldiers who actually nailed him up because they were only doing what their authority told them. Conscientious objection to crucifying your enemy would be immoral, if not even a mortal sin.

As a matter of fact it occurs to me that whoever was responsible for the death of our lord was doing our lord a great favour, for clearly he would never have been our lord if he hadn't been crucified. The whole ghastly Christian religion is based upon that man's suffering. No suffering, no religion. And that's one more reason why we are against suffering.

Perhaps all those intellectual acrobats

who think they can reconcile Catholicism and anarchism—who even call themselves Catholic Anarchists—will now listen to the unequivocal statement by their leaders. *They must obey or they are not Catholics.* They must disobey or they are not Anarchists. Which is it to be?

P.S.

NOW READY!

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V. RICHARDS

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ANARCHY 51

DISCUSSES

The Blues Pop Jazz R'n'B

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

Malatesta for Today

MALATESTA: His Life and Ideas. Edited by Vernon Richards. (Freedom Press, cloth 21s., paper 10s. 6d.)

ERRICO MALATESTA (1853-1932) was an Italian anarchist who, in the opinion of his editor, bridges the gap between the classical socialist and anarchist thinkers of the 19th century and the problems of the modern world. This book presents his thought in a series of extracts from his writings, mostly translated for the first time, together with biographical material and a commentary on his significance for modern anarchists.

Why do people call themselves anarchists? Anarchy means **contrary to authority** and does not necessarily connote activity, the propagation of alternatives, or a programme for the future. But for Malatesta, as for Bakunin and Kropotkin, anarchy means **society organised without authority**; it is a social aim. And if we have social aims we have problems and choices of strategy, organisation, propaganda, and so on. These are what the book is about.

People often say that it is possible to be an anarchist without having read a word about anarchism, that anarchism is a matter of the heart rather than the head, that it is something to be lived and not written about, that programmes and 'blueprints' are unnecessary and authoritarian. And then they wonder why the anarchists are a pathetic handful of people talking only to themselves. Others busy themselves with federations and secretariats which exist only in their heads. And for others, anarchism is a kind of cult: they enjoy belonging to a sect, they savour and pass on the more ridiculous trivialities of its history, and relish the gossip of its contemporary nutcases. From such people, and (if one dare hope) for them, this book is a valuable antidote.

Malatesta and his editor may not necessarily have the right answers, but they do raise the right questions. Malatesta says bluntly that 'were we to believe that organisation was not possible without authority we would be authoritarians, because we would still prefer authority, which fetters and impoverishes life, to disorganisation which makes life impossible.' Nor does he believe in the alibi of trusting in the spontaneous emergence of solutions to the problems of life, or of postponing all solutions until some revolutionary apocalypse in the future:

'Our solutions may be accepted by a sufficiently large section of the population and we shall have achieved anarchy, or taken a step towards anarchy; or they may not be understood or accepted and then our efforts will serve as propaganda and place before the public at large the programme for a not distant future. But in any case we must have our solutions: provisional, subject to correction and revision in the light of experience, but we must have our solutions if we do not wish to submit passively to those of others, and limit ourselves to the unprofitable role of useless and impotent grumblers.'

One such programme, which was adopted by the *Unione Anarchica Italiana*, is

included in the volume, as is his critical assessment of Kropotkin who, in Malatesta's view, was led to over-simplify problems through a kind of optimistic determinism and a belief in natural harmony. 'Would one not be closer to the truth,' he asks, 'in saying that anarchy is the struggle, in human society, against the disharmonies of Nature?' And, polemicising with a French anarchist, he remarks:

'In every living being there exists an unconscious anarchist,' says Colomer. Would it not be more in keeping with the truth to say that every human being is by his actions or potentially, a tyrant? In every living being there is, to be sure, 'the desire to grow, to brush aside every obstacle', but is there also that desire to let others grow too, which should be characteristic of the anarchist? 'Only an authoritarian education teaches individuals to respect the law,' says Colomer; but from where have the laws arisen, I ask, as well as the desire in some to give an authoritarian education to others, if not from the desire in the stronger, in the successful ones, to oppress the defeated and to make sure of their subjection? The anarchist is at the culminating point of human evolution, not at its origin.'

There is a great deal in this book about revolutionary situations, and as this country is as far from a revolutionary situation as it has ever been in its history (and as in those parts of the world where revolutionary situations exist there is a notable absence of anarchism), these are bound to have a theoretical concern for readers in contemporary Britain, who will, nevertheless find Malatesta's pragmatic common-sense refreshing. We are, he reminds us, 'only one of the forces acting in society, and history will advance as always, in the direction of the resultant of all the forces'. We have therefore to 'find ways of living among non-anarchists, as anarchistically as possible, and which will further our propaganda and offer possibilities of applying our ideas'.

For this reason the editor has given one section of the extracts the title 'Anarchists and the limits of political co-existence', and has devoted a chapter to Malatesta's views on the value and limitations of participation in the trade union movement. 'For my part,' Malatesta declares, 'I do not believe there is "one solution" to the social problems, but a thousand different and changing solutions in the same way as social existence is different and varied in time and space.'

And as for those 'principles' which are always being waved at us, he remarks:

'It is interesting to observe how both the **terrorists** and the **Tolstoyans**, just because both are mystics, arrive at practical results which are more or less similar. The former would not hesitate to destroy half mankind so long as the idea triumphed; the latter would be prepared to let all mankind remain under the yoke of great suffering rather than violate a principle.'

'For myself, I would violate every principle in the world in order to save a man. . . .'

C.W.

'Police break up fast'—Freedom

THE WEEK THE BBC ceased lifting up our hearts, the vote in local elections dropped and the Labour Party's local representation dropped; two spies were sent down for 21 years and ten years respectively; the daughter of a Devonshire rector planned to play Eve in a pageant but she will use chestnut leaves instead of fig leaves which will not be big enough and Lord Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, replying in the debate seeking to implement the Wolfenden Report's commendation on homosexuality said, 'So far as the main Wolfenden recommendation is concerned, the Government's view is that there are certain questions which are not in the ordinary sense political—and still less, party political—and on which many people hold strong moral opinion. Where that is so, there is no obligation upon the Government, to take a view. . . . As a lawyer, I am prejudiced because I do not like law which cannot be enforced and we cannot ever enforce laws about what people do by consent in private. Those who are prosecuted are the unlucky few.'

AMONG THE 'UNLUCKY FEW' last week were a Chelsea stockbroker and an Uxbridge bricklayer who were fined £20 each at Middlesex Sessions for committing an act of gross indecency with each other in a public lavatory at Hillingdon Circus. The prosecuting counsel agreed that the offence took place behind closed doors and no member of the public could see it. The chairman of the bench said, 'There was no question of an outrage on public decency here, but this is conduct which has been forbidden by Parliament, and we must mark our disapproval by a penalty.' The defence counsel for the stockbroker said his arrest and appearance in court were punishments. A 33-year-old Greek mother of six died in a Hammersmith hospital as a result of an abortion turned septic, 'procured', it was said at the inquest, 'by either herself or an unknown person'. Her husband told the coroner that his wife did not want any more children. However he said he

was not aware of her pregnancy until exactly one month before her death. Joshua Macmillan, an Oxford undergraduate aged 20, died by misadventure from a mixture of drink and drugs which he took 'as a sedative to forget his anxieties for a short time'. He was somewhat unstable 'and sort of groping for facts in life generally'. He went very willingly into a clinic to be de-toxicated and rebuild his constitution. . . .

LADY DARTMOUTH TOLD 5,000 delegates and their wives, at the annual conference of the National Association of Round Tables at Bognor Regis, that 'Women today have gilded fetters but millions are chained to the treadmill of job, home, husband, children, until they drop from exhaustion'. There was, she said, no time for tenderness, no time for love, no time to comfort, inspire and guide. Women had lost their mystery and their glamour. They had therefore killed romance. Instead, we had sex in its most revolting forms. She went on: 'Why are the divorce rates so shocking? Why are the juvenile crime rates soaring? Why are the churches empty? Why are the illegitimacy rates so appalling?' The Conservative Women's National Advisory Committee has listed for its annual conference resolutions for the restoration of flogging and hanging, tighter control of immigration, the outlawing of 'wildcat' strikes and the preservation of the public, grammar and secondary modern schools. Mr. Robert Pitman, in the *Sunday Express*, deploring the decline in morality, concludes that the accusation of hypocrisy is unjustified. He writes, 'Is it hypocritical to believe in certain standards even if we are unable to follow them all the time ourselves? Because you sometimes exceed the speed limit, does that make you a hypocrite if you oppose those who want to abolish it altogether? . . . Most people's ideas of right and wrong, whether built up by religion or centuries of common-sense proved the framework of security and purpose. We may bend the framework or extend it a little. But

can we be surprised if promising young people come to grief if they see the keepers of the house actively dismantling it? No social discipline can be so cruel as the absence of any discipline at all. . . .

ON THE SAME page of the *Express* John Gordon rebukes a psychiatrist for saying that Robert Burns, the poet, was 'depressed, aggressive, neurotic and too fond of the bonny lassies. Had he lived now he would probably be put in a mental hospital'. John Gordon goes on 'Isn't it a strange world we live in? Burns was a normal man living the normal life of his time or indeed of our time. He loved a rollicking evening with his friends and he certainly loved the lassies [having fathered several illegitimate children. J.Q.] . . . 'Now had he been a queer,' Gordon says, [the psychiatrist] 'like so many of his fellow psychiatrists, with the help of archbishops and peers, would have said let the poor fellow carry on in his own way.' On the same page, speaking of Martin Maudling's desire to become a racing motorist, the leader writer praises his mother's words 'It's his life and he must do what he wants to do.' 'Parents,' says the *Express*, 'have a responsibility to advise and guide. But when a son has reached Martin's age, how delicately he must be handled. How right of Mrs. Maudling to leave the decision to him. Wise mum. And lucky Martin to have such a mother.'

ALBERT BEGON AGED 54 attending a family meeting in the back room of a shop in Jonzac, Western France, to settle details of a large inheritance became obsessed by the conviction that he was being deprived of his due share and shot and killed his brother, sister, brother-in-law, and sister-in-law in front of five legal advisers. He then barricaded himself in his own bedroom and asked for his own lawyer. He arrived at 3.30 a.m., Begon refused his lawyer's plea to give himself up, and after slipping some money under the door in payment for the lawyer's services he shot himself.

JON QUIXOTE.

Contact Column

JKM Films. WANTED URGENTLY!

Extras (male) for a film about the Spanish Revolution. Our next session is (weather and fuzz permitting) to be held in the Holborn area on the weekend of May 22/23, where we hope to reconstruct the street-fighting in May, 1937. Assembling both days at Holborn (Kingsway) Underground Station at 10 a.m. sharp. Please try to come with appropriate gear; i.e. boiler suits, or white shirts, old trousers, sandals or well-used plimsolls. Any other appropriate material, such as CNT-FAI hats or neckscarves would be welcome. Further information from Pat Kearney, JKM Films, WIM 7491 after 7 p.m. If I'm not in, leave if possible a contact number.

New Progressive School. A new co-educational day school, setting out to provide a liberal education in a permissive atmosphere invites enrolments now for children 3½-8 for May and 3½-13 for September. Write 186 Kirkdale, S.E.26.

To American Readers. Anarchist-Pacifist Youth Rally June 11-14. At Maryland Line, Md. Near US Routes 83 and 30. For details write to: Mutual Aid Fellowship, Box 3760, Harbour Sta., E. Chicago, Indiana.

Writers. Poets and Playwrights: send us your work. Outlet for to-day's talent. No axes to grind. Send with s.a.e. (or international reply coupon) to The Idiot, 1283 Bush Street, San Francisco 94109, USA.

Libertarian Kibbutz. Student looking for one of these to work at in the Summer. If anyone can recommend one, either agricultural or industrial, please tell George Matthews, c/o University Union, Park Place, Edinburgh 8.

Accommodation—London. Anarchist 18, seeks cheap accommodation with others. West London preferred. Contact A.M., 28 Sun Street, Haworth, Keighley, Yorks.

London Accommodation. Couple and son (two years) seek 2/3 unfurnished rooms, North London. Box 8.

Bronia, Mac and Cat (N.H.A.G.). Want a furnished (unfurnished) or semi-furnished flat near Fulham or Paddington. Any offers or suggestions. Phone: McDonald, BAY 7306. Evenings.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

LOST APPEAL

THREE of the people arrested on Easter Monday successfully lost their appeal at Quarter Sessions on Monday, May 17. The odds were weighed entirely against them. They were up against two brilliant policemen and one alert judge (cleverly masquerading as two idiotic officers and one myopic magistrate), who had gathered to assure everyone that waiting for a friend at the steps of Cannon Row Station out of the rain, constituted unlawful obstruction even though the door at that part of the station was shut and all comers were using the other doors.

The dismal outcome of the case became evident from the start as the contradictory reports of the two policemen outweighed the simpler reports of the accused. Obviously, the eye-witness accounts of the officers, stating they were not sure what they'd seen, held more import than the defendants accounts as to what they'd felt—such as bruises, indignation and marked puzzlement upon being dragged about. While the officers successfully proved they did not know whether the three had been sitting,

standing, coming, going, wailing, or demonstrating. The question of actual obstruction accidentally seeped into the discourse. Both policemen agreed at this point that Commissioner's Regulations had been read to the three, an occurrence unbeknown to the defendants.

Two hours later the three had fatally proved they had been waiting quietly, willing to move when asked, arrested uninformed, and innocent of the Commissioner's Regulations having been read, and had even generously informed the court that the sitting down did not constitute a demonstration, as the people on the bench would certainly agree. The judge thereupon went behind a partition to avoid the gaping faces of a jury (which had remained in court and listened) and emerged to announce a fine of 15 guineas—which he corrected as meaning the total sum.

Our three heroes were shocked only by the amount as first stated, having amusedly expressed the opinion that they did not anticipate justice, but at least were hopeful of common-sense. Receiving a complete lack of everything, Mike Hall summed up his feelings by saying he could not, and would not pay, and triumphantly justice won again.

ANN ON.

PRESS FUND

FINANCIAL STATEMENT
WEEK 19, MAY 15, 1965:
Expenses: 19 weeks at £70: £1,330
Income: Sales and Subs.: £1,242
DEFICIT £88

Hayes: J.M. 3/9; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; County Down: J.H. £2; Nice: A.C. 17/-; London, N.W.3: A.T. 8/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Little Clacton: M.E. 10/-; Keighley: A.M. 6/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-.

TOTAL £5 4 9
Previously Acknowledged: £433 1 4
1965 Total to Date £438 6 1

*Denotes Regular Contributors

In the Martell Spirit

Dear Sir,
I am under the impression your paper is published by Mr. Martell therefore I think you would be interested to know that the Committee of 100 and the CND are holding a joint demonstration and march in Trafalgar Square organised I believe, by Brigadier Peter Cadogan and calling for 'Peace in Vietnam' and Dame Peggy Duff (CD, St. Panc.).
The sticker advertising this has the effrontery to use the Union Jack as a symbol and calls for the 'Recall of the Geneva conference.' 'Patriotism,' says Dr. Johnson, 'is the last refuge of a scoundrel.' Do these CND and Committee of 100 scoundrels realize this?

Yours,
J. ROBINSON
(C.O., N.C. Corp. Des. & Bars)
Carlton Club, S.W.

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Pressed Steel's Sit-In Strikers

IT IS IRONIC that at Pressed Steel's factory at Linwood, where they operate the 'Scanlon Plan' hailed as the answer to 'bad labour relations', should be the scene this week of the arrest of 27 car workers. This came about after 50 die-setters in the Ford Department came out on strike following the suspension of one of their workmates by the management after he had refused to do a job which belonged to another trade.

Because of this dispute, the management told the trim-shop workers not to report for work on the Friday. These workers thought differently and turned up at starting time, ready to do a day's work. They got past the main gates and went to their normal places on the assembly lines. There they stayed, with the supervisors, the firm's security men and their own chief shop-steward

trying to get them to leave, until noon. Then the management called the police and they were carried out, and 27 were arrested, being charged later with causing a breach of the peace. They were released, but will appear at Paisley Court on Friday.

COMPANY HALTS PRODUCTION

These men say that there was enough work for them to carry on with, and in fact some workers are saying that the die-setters' dispute is being used to lay off workers in the Hillman 'Imp' department. There has been considerable uneasiness in this department for some time. It concerns bonus and the schedules on the finishing lines, which the men claim is undermanned. The management say that they think this is not so. There were discussions between them and the shop stewards, but no

agreement was arrived at. The management say that there are bonus talks in progress. Anyway the company was not satisfied with the results and after a further check on the schedules on Thursday afternoon and Friday morning decided to stop production. This meant that at the end of the day, 1,200 Imp workers left the factory, suspended 'indefinitely'.

It seems that the 'Scanlon Plan' has been a failure after all, as far as 'labour relations' are concerned, but it has brought profits to Pressed Steel. 'The Company's cash flow position is very satisfactory. A bank overdraft at January 1st, 1964 of £5,489,000 was converted to a credit balance of £1,923,000 at the end of the year after repaying £550,000 of the Board of Trade loan.'

When the 'Scanlon Plan' was introduced, productivity rose by 20 per cent in a very short time. The

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long hours of overtime were cut down to five hours per week. The management displayed notices in the factory such as 'Curb that Overtime', 'Keep the Pressure On', 'Be First' and even 'Watch the Quality'. Bonus earning went up at first but over the last 16 months they have been falling. Now there is a deficit in the bonus pool of £53,309 and, because the bonus rates are tied to sales of the car produced, the workers have suffered cuts in their wages while the Company has done very nicely.

TURN UP FOR WORK

From what happened on the 'Imp' finishing lines, the men realise that they have been taken in by the unions and the management over the 'Scanlon Plan'. They have now been virtually locked out. This being the case and they for their part being willing to work, they should turn up as the Ford trim-shop workers did.

These 27 men have shown that they are not willing to be put off just

to suit the management. It often happens in the car industry that as soon as any dispute takes place in one department, workers are laid off in other sections. The employers told the unions the other week that they did not do this, but Rootes contradicted this only last week when they said, 'There will be no work at the factory until after the week-end. It is the company's policy to stop production when a group of workers go on unofficial strike.'

Those arrested have taken a strong stand against these arbitrary lay-offs. Let us hope their sacrifice is not for nothing. They should be supported at the court on Friday, even to the extent of all the men staying away from work. In further struggles of this nature, their example can be followed. This is not 'scabbing', but can assist those who have already taken action. The answer is not always 'all out', for a 'stop-in' can often hurt the employers a lot more and this is what has to be done if a dispute is going to be won.

P.T.

ANARGHO-SYNDICALISM THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP 12

THE COMMUNE AND THE SYNDICATES

JUST as the Syndicates are the organisations of the producers, the Communes express the needs of the Consumers. Workers, of course, are consumers as well as producers, but even in a society where useless toil had been eliminated and the millions who to-day work but produce nothing can turn to productive activity, there will be plenty of people who are not producers in the ordinary sense.

Housewives, children and old people are the three most obvious categories in this field. (Perhaps it is not correct to describe housewives as unproductive, for motherhood is surely creative enough! But in the ordinary sense they are so only indirectly.) And it is to assess the needs of these sections of society, as well as the general needs of society as a whole that the commune will exist. The function of the Syndicates will be to produce what is necessary, that of the commune to assess what is necessary.

The commune is simply a council of the people—or in very small communities, the whole people—who come together to organise those affairs which are the special concern of the locality. There again, the smaller the units can be, the more easily can everyone's voice be heard, and in the case of the village it is easily seen how a council could be established. In large towns, however, the problem is more difficult, but even here if the principle of decentralisation is followed, small units can be established.

Even to-day every big city consists of many districts, often quite clearly defined, under the authority of Borough Councils. These, however, are controlled more and more from the central Government and in any case are dominated by middle-class tradesmen aspiring to civic honour, a political career or just the municipal contracts. But big cities are the products of centralised economies. London is the biggest city in the world, not only because it is the capital of England, but because it is the administrative and financial centre of an empire. Following a social revolution, the decentralisation of control would lead to a decentralisation of the physical environment. The monstrous cities of the 20th century, which create more problems of administration alone than they can ever hope to solve, would serve no useful purpose in a free, moneyless society. They are expressions in stone of the centralised power of capitalism and the State.

Anarchists and Syndicalists are not ashamed to pronounce their Regionalism. While others look to the centralised State to plan their economics, we look to the ordinary people, in their places of work and where they live, to organise all that is necessary. And we wish to see each region as nearly self-supporting as possible, so as to ease the problems of supply and demand and of distribution.

Like the Syndicates, the Communes are federal in their co-ordination, but I can see no reason for the establishment of regional or national councils on the same lines as the Syndicates. Where several communes are affected by a particular circumstance, as for example, the planning of a hydro-electric system, it would be perfectly easy for regional discussion to take place, but once the plan has been settled, in conjunction with the relevant Syndicates, of course, those Syndicates could be left to get on with the job.

The Communes and the Syndicates are interdependent. For the fullest possible discussion and satisfaction of municipal needs, the saving of waste and of unnecessary work, producer-consumer co-ordination must be effected. In the planning of a building scheme, for instance, not only the architects and the builders should be consulted, but also the people who are going to live in the new buildings. Their cultural activities—the plan-

ning of their theatre, their schools, their social centres, what amenities they look for, what local habits have to be taken into account—through the Commune all this can be settled. As things are to-day, the products of the architect and the builder have too often been found to be lacking some quite easily provided amenity—for want of discussions with the prospective tenants.

Child welfare would become the responsibility of the Commune. While the organisation of the schools could perhaps be left to the Teachers' Syndicate, a system of education is inadequate which does not provide for co-operation with the parents, and (by no means least) with the children themselves, as well as an integration of adult and child life.

The old folk, too, must be provided for. The abolition of the money system and its inevitable rationing by the purse would itself lift a tremendous burden from those who exist on tiny pensions, and in a society which recognised the right of all to the satisfaction of all their needs, the fact that someone is too old to continue working would not be a reason for condemning him to a miserable pittance. Old people should have equal access to the products of society with everybody else, and in fact should not receive less attention, but more. Help in the home should be provided where necessary and indeed any special services which may be called for.

It goes without saying that a genuinely free Health Service should be available for all, and this would be organised through a Syndicate of Health Workers—doctors, nurses, hospital staff, osteopaths, psychiatrists (assuming these to be necessary in a free society!), etc., in co-operation with the Commune.

The Commune, in a free society, in short, would be the basis of that society outside of industry. Anarchists to-day are rather chary of using the word 'Communism' because of its unpleasant political associations. In point of fact, the political Communist parties have nothing in common with the free communism which only the Anarchists advocate. Political parties look to the State, the Commune must be an expression of social feeling among the people.

Distribution in a free society seems to present a problem in the minds of many just coming into contact with Anarchist or Syndicalist ideas. I hope I have shown how the Commune would be the organ through which the needs of society could be measured and that the industrial Syndicates would be the means through which the necessary goods were produced and distributed to where they were wanted.

As far as the actual presentation of the goods to the public is concerned, it is obvious that retail shops as we know them to-day would disappear with the money and profit systems. In their place could simply be established distribution centres where all would be given freely all they wanted. Perhaps some communities would have different distribution centres for different goods; perhaps under one large roof would be gathered all the products available. The important thing is that they will be there—for who can doubt the capacity of 20th century man to produce an abundance of all he needs if he would only stop wasting his time on things he does not need?

The answer to the old question 'What will you do with the greedy man?' is simply—satisfy his greed! For greed is so much a product of insecurity and fear that only in a society in which we are all secure, because free, and thus unafraid, can the greedy man cease to be a problem.

In the free society that will follow the social revolution, the Commune will be the means by which municipal needs find expression, and public services are provided. The Commune is an essential counterpart to the Syndicate.

(To be continued)

Ford's Get 'Uppity'

FORD'S have written to the AEU over their views on whether Claude Berridge, by sitting on the Ford NJNC, is serving the best interests of the trade union movement. Berridge was the EC member who reported that Ford's behaved badly to their shop stewards. The letter came up at the AEU Executive Committee which decided to 'note it'. Risking a cliché 'If the cap fits? ...'

DRAUGHTSMEN ARE SUSPICIOUS

DATA executive have decided to recommend their members return to work, pending a 'Court of Inquiry'. Five shop yards had been selected for strike action, two in the NE and three in Scotland. Fifty draughtsmen in Sunderland have defied the EC recommendation to return to work. They have reservations on the Court of Inquiry. Another 150 men at Wallsend have accepted the EC decision, but decided to continue strike action for another week.

A DATA member was fined £5 for obstruction by Liverpool magistrates on January 8. He was picketing during a strike last November. The striker appealed and his appeal was dismissed on May 7.

The Recorder dismissing the appeal said he did not consider it necessary for the purposes of obtaining or communicating information or persuading people not to work that 40 men should be in attendance. Nor was it necessary to form a circle blocking the only road to the factory.

The powers that be don't mind strike pickets provided the firm is allowed to carry on its production. DATA is considering an appeal to the High Court.

CONWAY HAS AMBITIONS

CONWAY, general secretary of the AEU has ambitions. He wants to take over the Shipbuilding and Engineering Confed. He claims that the AEU could become the Confederation, with him the Queen Bee no doubt. On revi-

sion of the AEU rules, he is in favour of more full-time officers serving first a three year term, then five, then permanent appointment. Conway's intention is to ape Reuther's United Auto Workers' Union in the States.

Can we suggest that some of the AEU rank and file contact the auto workers in the States, they will probably get a shock. Rank and file auto workers have no chance, they are virtually automatons, burnt out at 35 years of age.

Playing 'Happy Families'

THE 10,975 Midland Bank Staff Association is reported to have severed its official connection with the staff associations of other banks. The Cameron Inquiry of 1963 suggested that staff associations should settle their differences with the National Union of Bank Employees (NUBE). It has been suggested by the Committee of London Clearing Bankers that a joint working party be set up to examine some form of National negotiating machinery.

This idea frightened the life out of the Midland Bank Staff Association. They complained that national negotiating machinery would lead to industrial type negotiations. This in turn would impair the loyalty of the staff to their employer.

With the exception of Barclay's Bank Association, all the other staff associations are worried about NUBE; so much so, they have presented them with four demands. 1. Cease propaganda hostilities. 2. Abandon its claim to exclusive recognition by the banks. 3. Admit the independence from employer domination of the staff associations. 4. Limit issues to be discussed in any joint machinery to national affairs.

If NUBE accedes to these demands the only role left for them to play will be the organisation of flower shows, and staff outings.

Bank employees owe the bankers nothing, they work at the bank to earn a living. Bankers will pay as little as they can get away with, and with the present set-up they can get away with murder. Playing 'Happy Families' will not pay bills. The wearing of a suit, collar and tie must not be the badge of a worker who can be 'taken on'. Overalls do not make an industrial militant any more than a suit or a dress should make a 'yes sir, three bags full' worker.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.