

ENSORSHIP

The Black Backlash

THEIR GUNS GREASED on the Moors Murder case and cleaned with the Billy Graham moral pull-through, the reactionaries are ready for battle.

First shot was fired by all-white-Wimbledon MP Sir Cyril Black last week when he brought a private prosecution against the book *Last Exit to Brooklyn*.

This move is of greater significance than may at first appear because it marks the dragging of the censorship contest into a new and still more sinister phase.

For this time the puritans, as well as getting the whole-hearted financial backing of such rapidly growing pressure groups as the insidious Clean-Up TV Campaign, have the qualified support of academics and literary cognoscenti shocked by the revelation of the demented Brady's reading list. This time the battlements are not just manned by ghosts.

Black — one-time honorary treasurer of the Girls' Life Brigade, secretary of the Billy Graham campaign fund, said to hold more directorships than any other MP—is typical of the sort of personality behind the movement.

The effect of this one man's action (viva democracy!) was immediate censorship in the Bow Street Magistrates' Court area. A warrant being issued in private, it is not known which premises the police are authorised to raid. By the following morning all copies available at book-shops in the Charing Cross Road area had been withdrawn from sale.

It is probable that by the time you read this the police will have swooped.

As publisher of the book, John Calder, told **FREEDOM** last Friday: 'We are in the position of a gang of train-robbers waiting for the police to pounce on us.'

'We do not know where they are going to strike next. It's not just one book; these people can bring cases against us all over the country.'

Though the book by the American author Hubert Selby Jr. received wide critical acclaim when it came out in January and the Attorney General has said a case before a jury would be unlikely to succeed, Calder is seriously worried.

He sees the possibility of an organised campaign of vindictiveness against him, designed to break his back as a publisher and put him out of business. There is nothing, he points out, to stop anyone putting a book in the hands of a magistrate and starting a private prosecution against him in any part of Britain.

'If this happens,' he told **FREEDOM**, 'we will be forced to become a clandestine organisation.'

Addressing a meeting on 'Freethought and the Arts' at the Conway Hall the day after the issue of the warrant, he challenged Black to a public debate where Sir Cyril could openly put his case. As

yet, the MP has not replied.

To the libertarian, this case merely repeats the truism that all forms of censorship are essentially political in motivation. For any who doubt it, the fate of 'The War Game' provides final confirmation.

Calder agrees. Like many, such as the French publisher Giodias, forced face to face with censorship, he has come to see it for what it is: a symptom of rotten politics, the weapon of authority.

He told the Conway Hall meeting: 'Censorship is purely a political instrument. Any group that is in authority is afraid.'

'In a bourgeois society the artist will necessarily be something of a beatnik, something of a revolutionary. In a Communist society he will be something of an aristocrat, because he will want to speak not for the State but for himself.'

In other words, the artist must always be the enemy of government. Government, as Nietzsche pointed out, is the death of art. The battle for cultural freedom is a political battle.

It is government that has brought about the final 'devaluation of all values'. By use of mass-media such as television—even if unintentionally—as Peter Brook has remarked, people are retained in a state of perpetual 'evasion, indifference and mental laziness'.

It is this 'endless stream of images of equal weight' that has as its effect 'to corrupt and deprave'. We have reached a stage where normal human responses have been dulled and apathy has taken over. Children dying in Vietnam arouse no more emotion than the topic of Batman's personal safety. Bloodshed, corn-flakes, napalm, soap-powder, human-suffering and body-odour become all one.

Far from being 'anti-social', art that shocks performs a valid and vital social function. It is one of the few straws of hope we have left in a dying world. In this horrifying situation—mass indifference to evil—it is not only excusable for the artist to shock, if necessary by means of obscenity, but his duty and his obligation to humanity.

People must be treated as mature human-beings before they can cease to act like animals.

As Giodias, himself hounded by the censor, said only a few weeks ago: 'Moral, mental and political freedom are all corollary and complementary. Censorship has been consistently used under strong regimes to break down the moral fibre of the masses, to impugn discipline and to oblige the people to look upon the State as all-powerful and all-providing.'

The future of censorship will, in a small way, decide something about the future of the human race. Sir Cyril Black defends censorship, he defends Hiroshima. Last Thursday he applied for a summons at Bow Street Court; last Friday they stopped selling *Last Exit* in the Charing Cross Road; last Saturday was Hiroshima Day. In that sequence of events there seems a cruel symbolism.

Black reaction must be fought. J.M.

Australian Conscripts desert

THE Australian Government's policy of keeping out 'Asiaties' has resulted in a military policy to that end—hence Australia's involvement in the Vietnam war and before that in Korea.

Australian conscience on this matter was hardly troubled in the past, while there were enough regular soldiers 'men born to kill' upholding this military policy.

But recently conscription has been introduced and with this a larger involvement of men not dedicated to killing their fellows. From the first two intakes for National Service, there have been 204 conscientious objectors. Individual cases abound. Pte. Adam Weber, 24, is facing court martial in South Vietnam for refusing to kill. He wrote to his parents: 'I hear guys brag about killing 123 Vietcong and I see others scared sick. . . . And I see myself with a gun in my hand. I see some Vietnamese walking along and I put my sight on him and say, "I am going to kill you". Why? Mainly because I've been told to. . . . I don't understand you and neither does my country. . . . It's easier to kill you. You are a threat to us in a lot of ways. You do not fit. I don't fit either.'

Another man, Bill White, 21, a Sydney school teacher is summonsed for failing to obey a call-up notice. Bill was conscripted in the latest ballot and was due to report to Marrickville barracks on July 13.

He refused to obey the call up order after two conscientious objectors' pleas had been refused. As a result he had already been dismissed from his job and will probably spend the next two years in prison. On August 3 there was a demonstration in support of Bill White in Sydney's Phillip Street outside the TAA building.

There have also been, following the American pattern, draft card burners. The first two that were arrested, Wayne Haylen (Vice-President of Youth Campaign Against Conscription) and Robin Melrose were found guilty of failing to produce their cards and fined heavily. This must be set against the general hysteria and pro-war feeling generated by the press and radio which virtually culminated in the attempted assassination of Arthur Calwell, the Labour politician.

But individual attempts to evade conscription, however numerous, can pose no real difficulty to the State.

But, according to the YCAC journal mass desertions have taken place since February and the Government has taken strong measures to ensure that the story of mass desertions and revolts by conscripts should not reach the press. Already this year at Kapooka there have been two revolts by conscripts; one was put down by regular soldiers at gun point at 4 a.m. After fights between conscripts and regulars,

over 20 of them went AWOL. Many conscripts have gone AWOL every week because of Army conditions. Kapooka was described as a 'filthy hole with no amenities'. There have been rumours of suicides which the authorities are trying to conceal. Although all recruits have been ordered to praise living conditions, food and amenities, some have been too disgusted to keep quiet. Their complaints may have fallen on deaf ears in official circles but, according to a correspondent, 'it has interested the Sydney Anarchist Group'.

The following may also interest the SAG. For some time people have been wondering just what WAS the purpose of Mr. Holt's visit to London. A chance information given to a comrade by a British regular soldier in the SAS (Special Air Service) may provide part of the answer. He said that the SAS is going to Australia 'for special training'. It is assumed by SAS regulars that this is prior to their being sent on active combat to Vietnam or Thailand. Despite Wilson's assurances to the contrary this may easily come about and must be opposed jointly with our Australian comrades.

The SAS will be easily recognisable when they arrive in Australia. The informant, who was a nasty piece of work himself, boasted that he himself collected 11 ears from the Borneo campaign.

M.H.

IN YOUR ISSUE of May 21 you published an editorial under the title 'SPAIN AND THE WORLD', in which you commented on the kidnapping of Mgr. Ussia in Rome and printed the declarations of Luis Edo in Madrid denouncing the collusion between ex-CNT militants and the official Franco trade unions. You ended up by putting a series of questions to the FIJL as to the present situation of the Spanish movement. You also pointed out that for international solidarity to be effective it must be informed. We agree entirely with this point of view and shall try to be as objective as possible in answering your questions.

But before answering your questions, we feel that there are a few points which should be made clear in order to fully appreciate the situation. This may be uncomfortable in parts. It is not always easy to face disagreeable truths. But we also feel that it is worse, and utterly stupid, to sit back complacently and pretend that all is going well.

In these moments of crucial political, economic and social changes in Spain, it is of capital importance to grasp fundamentals. We must see things in their true perspective and face facts squarely without relying on some kind of providential anarchism(?) based on sentimental attachments and nostalgic memories of the past. Far too often in Spain we have relied, consciously or unconsciously, on these providential outside interventions—which never materialised—to solve our problems. Today all-important changes must necessarily come from Spain itself. Outside intervention and aid remains necessary, but only as a complement. The days when one could believe that secret Paris plans, or directives from Toulouse, Moscow or

SPAIN AS IT IS

Prague, could influence the outcome in Spain are gone. And the full extent of these changes will depend on existing possibilities and in the measure to which we are able to create new possibilities. This is a challenge that we are prepared to take up with full enthusiasm, despite overwhelming obstacles and difficulties.

There is no need to insist here on what was anarchism and what it did . . . 30 years ago. All this has its importance but it is of little immediate relevance in our present struggle. It is a point of reference of immense value which has taught us many lessons and will continue to do so for a long time, but it is not sufficient merely as such. We can assimilate many of its teachings, we can speculate, but it can only attain full meaning if we can give significance in a new point of departure.

What must be insisted on is the fact that 30 years of Francoism has meant the practical elimination of all organised opposition. It has meant the emergence of new forces, new interests, new conditions, and new forms of exercising political, economic and religious power. It has meant inevitable economic progress with its resultant structural changes. It has meant the end of the myth that with the death of Franco there would be a return to 'normality'—in the minds of many opponents, anarchists included, a return to the 'golden age' of the 1936 era. There is no end of Franco in this sense just as it is fanciful to continue thinking that the 1936 conditions will automatically be reinstated! This is pure folly.

Anarchism, and other traditional leftist opposition groups, is still a living force, but only a ghost of what it was. This is true of all opposition. The tragic reality is that at this turning point in Spanish affairs there is hardly any organised opposition capable of exerting any counterbalancing pressure to check the designs of the neo-capitalist groups that are emerging and gradually taking over in this aftermath of Francoism.

We are favoured perhaps by a very

deep-rooted tradition which has not been altogether obliterated by the imposed silence and persecution of these 30 years. There is also the much abused cliché of the rebellious Spanish temperament. But anarchism is hardly physiological or temperamental. Less still the immanent privilege of the Spanish nature. Its important development in Spain since the turning point of the last century until 1936 was the result of specific historical, social and political circumstances which coincided with an intense period of militant revolutionary activity. A struggle which took a heavy toll of lives. A struggle of anonymous heroism and silent, prolonged sacrifice. Led by courageous men of strong convictions in an environment of prevailing brutality and social abuses. Men very often emerged from the heart of the people with an almost mystical belief in the imminent social revolution and in social justice. It took years of preparation, organising and educating.

All this was set back in three years of violent fighting. Thirty years of further persecutions, clandestinity, prison, exile, have reduced anarchism from a well-organised, combative, influential force to a relatively living force. There is an obviously important quantitative and qualitative difference. Together with other opposition movements it has been decimated by the work of fascism, by time. It has been dispersed, chased. It has also fallen prey to internal crises and the normal wearing produced by hard times.

This does not mean that anarchism is dead nor that opposition has decreased. It merely places both aspects in their proper context. The very fact that today we as anarchists can analyse the situation in these terms is in itself positively heartening.

The new changes in Spain, provoked often by the new capitalist forces themselves and by the dynamics of a changing economic and social pattern, are constant sources of conflict and discontent. In some aspects more pronounced than ever before. The problem is simply that this period of transition has been timed at a moment when the organised opposition was at its worst. While the new forces of organised capitalism have recruited and formed their new men and planned at their ease, the working class has been deprived of its natural defence: their genuine trade unions. The opposition is in full disarray with the same old leaders in exile who are, more often than not absolutely incapable of facing the new situations

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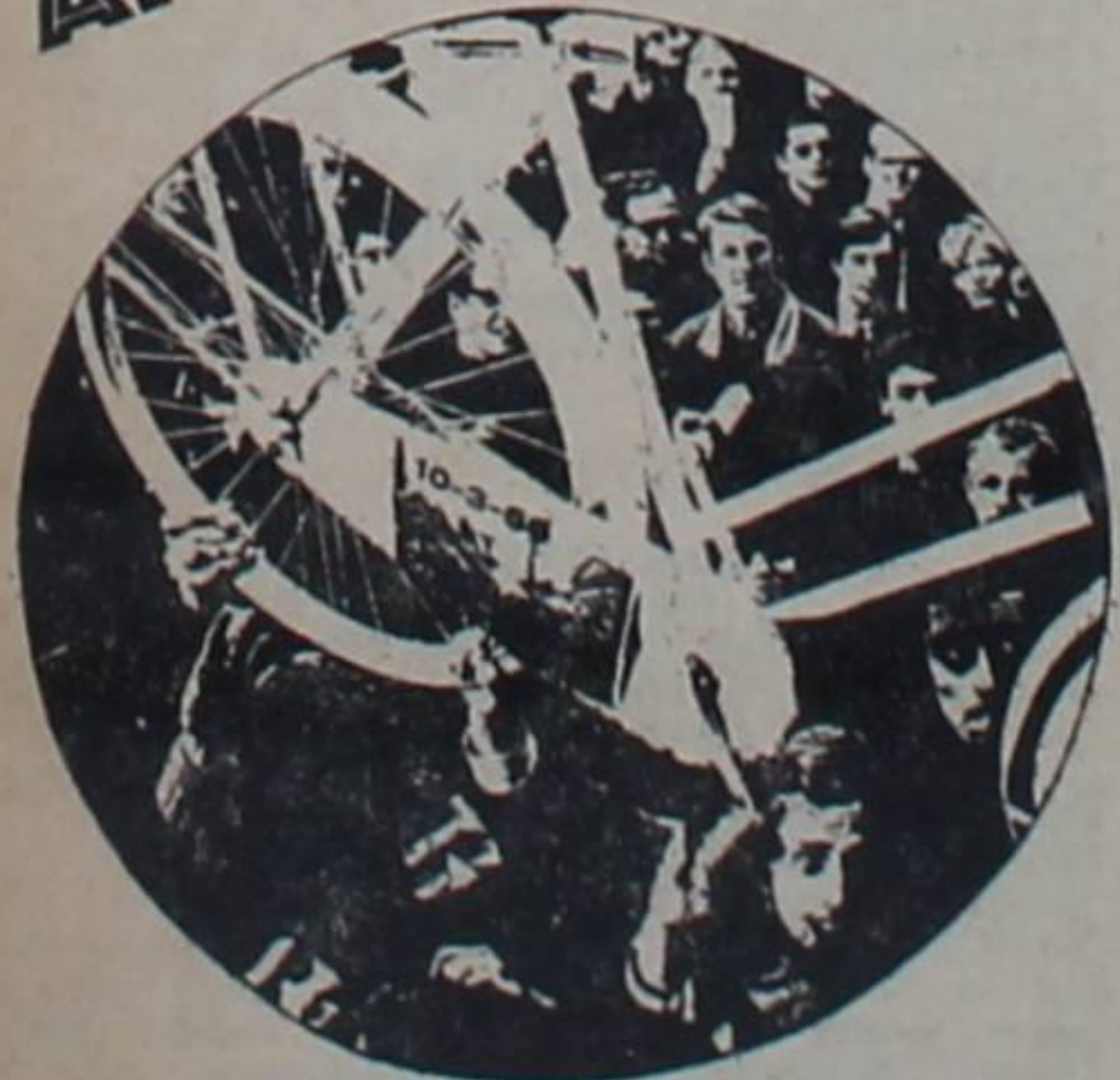
From Nowhere in Texas

TEXANS BECOME DISTURBED by violence close to home. Even the Texas Governor, John Connally, admits to be confused. But most Texans are not confused over the violence in Vietnam! The young Texas University student did what he had been trained to do to solve his problems; viz., shoot people, and so with the policeman who shot the student down, he used the only thing he had been taught to use. It seems regrettable man does not use tranquilizer bullet, at least, long enough South African animals. It is wondered

if policemen would even welcome a tranquilizer bullet? At least, long enough to find out whether brain tumours, or other facts which might lead to a way of discovery. Governor Connally recently supported the Vietnam escalation, but did not express confusion then, but this is nearing an election year, and asking life imprisonment for killers claiming insanity without hope of pardon or parole only becomes another absurdity in the whole economic support of violence from individual to mass suicide.

H. H. WACO.

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PROVO

Brown's Freeze-Up

WHEN THE PRICES and Incomes Bill is finally passed, the Labour Government will have the power of a Corporate State to enforce its economic policies. The original Bill was bad enough, but the new additions now mean that trade unionists can be fined or imprisoned for taking industrial action in the pursuance of even the smallest pay claim.

The Trade Union Congress has now more or less accepted the Government's plans. Their role has been the usual faint-hearted one where they have been kidded along. The TUC has followed the Labour Government hoping that it could influence it, but far from consulting them, Wilson and Brown have just strung them along. First of all it was the voluntary TUC early warning, after which Statutory measures were added and accepted. Now, right up until the publication of the wage freeze bill, the TUC thought that there would be certain loopholes for productivity deals and lower paid workers. However, when the facts were known even Sir Harry Douglass, that very moderate chairman of the Economic Committee, said the Bill was 'ruthless'.

Mr. Brown's explanations for statutory powers have an 'Alice in Wonderland' air about them. He says that the wage freeze is voluntary and the Statutory powers are only for the 'selfish' ones. How 'selfish' will the lower-paid workers feel when

they see the cost of living rising while their wages are frozen? You might answer that prices are frozen by the statutory powers as well, but this is just rubbish as it is already plain to anyone who goes shopping. William Davis, the Financial Editor of the *Guardian*, says, 'Every day now, there is news of further price increases. Think of a product and make inquiries. The chances are that it is about to cost more.'

Obviously the Government has a better chance of getting away with a wage freeze if it can kid the public that prices will be at a standstill as well. Already the indications are that over the next 12 months wages will be cut in as much as that their purchasing power will be lowered. For example, only the other week 150 grocery items were raised in price.

For political reasons, a price freeze had to be included, but we should have no illusions about it. Imported goods and home produced goods using imported raw materials are excluded from the freeze because any price increase by the exporting country will automatically be passed on to the consumer. But how does the Government expect to keep a check on all prices knowing it is an impossible task? But any employer has State backing against any workers demanding a wage increase.

DIVIDENDS ESCAPE

The Government's freeze is really directed against wages. Let us make no mistake about this. Dividends escape the Statutory powers, although the Government warns that fiscal means will be used if companies go against the 12 months' standstill. But dividends can be stashed away until the end of the freeze or extra shares can be given out which at a future date will give higher dividend returns. Unlike profits, wages, once lost, cannot be regained.

The Government's new power will not basically attack the profit motive, but in fact is aimed to improve it. I think that prices will go up, the Government knows this, and this will ensure a widening of profit margins. If British capitalism is going to remain competitive in world markets then shrinking profit margins must be stopped. It is these margins that are all important to investors and it is these that have to be restored before 'confidence' in sterling is regained. To do this more effectively, a rise in prices is important. To quote *The Economist* on this: 'By contrast, if prices were allowed to rise in conditions of incomes standstill—at least to the limited extent to which anybody is going to risk raising prices under a regime of greatly deflated demand—the extra money would go towards strengthening profit margins; once there, it could not be distributed into personal spending (because of the standstill in dividends), and would therefore either swell total saving or else be ploughed into increasing investment (which is a section of national production that most urgently needs to be boosted).'

With the TUC showing such loyalty to the Government, where

is the opposition to a wage increase going to come from? The leadership of a number of unions, especially the 'white collar' ones, have expressed the opposition and even Mr. Chapple, of the Electrical Trades Union, has said that if their members took unofficial action to gain their negotiated claim, 'the union will not be in a position to do anything but support them'. No doubt there will be some official strikes, but the main opposition will be isolated, fragmentary and on an unofficial level. Some wage increases will get through, but in the main employers will resist any attempts. At the same time, the Government's backing against wage increases will encourage employers to attack the shop stewards and organisational strength in the factories, building sites, etc.

WILL ENCOURAGE 'LABOUR ONLY'

Already the Selective Employment Tax is having an effect in the building industry and employers are closing up sections and turning them over to 'labour only' sub-contractors. By doing this the main contractor reduces his staff and so offsets his SET payments. This can happen in other industries and could threaten the strength of the shop-floor organisation. Building workers on the three sites on London's Barbican scheme are very much aware of this 'labour-only' threat and are holding a joint mass meeting and discussions on this subject and on the whole question of the Government's policies.

Now all workers are involved in the Government's wage freeze. It is no good saying, 'it won't affect me', because it will. It is going to affect the whole of the working class. It is their living standards that will be affected, their conditions, organisation and job control that will be under attack. It is essential that any struggle against the policies of the Government does not remain an isolated one. The situation is not peculiar to this country, for workers in Eire are facing a similar policy from their Government.

The British capitalist economy does face a crisis and it is the wage-earners who are being forced to solve it. This will not be the end of it, for until we replace the profit motive of capitalism with one of production for needs, a crisis of some sort will always be on the cards.

P.T.

Walter Morrison

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letter they approved sought to make out that this giving out of cards was a formality and Walter could then re-apply for his job when he was fit. McAlpine had deliberately confused the two quite separate issues of 'ceasing to pay a man sick money for economic reasons and the issue of keeping a man's job open for him while on the sick'. I might point out that it is usual industrial practice to keep a sick man's job open for him, even though he has ceased to receive any sick pay. The Employers' Associations recommend this and in my 15 years of industrial experience in 10 manufacturing companies have found that this practice is adhered to except when the person concerned is regarded as 'troublesome'.

WALTER'S APPEAL AGAINST DISMISSAL

What has happened to Walter shows the importance of having a workers' council that understands the implications of its own constitution, so that the abuse

Anarchist Support Wanted

A DEMONSTRATION will be held on Sunday, August 21, against the Irish Government's anti-trade union laws.

These laws make all picketing during unofficial, and in some cases, official strikes illegal. They forbid Irish workers to form associations or unions without government approval. They severely restrict and hamper the bargaining and negotiating rights of the Irish trade unions.

These new measures must be fought every inch of the way to the statute

book. This is a matter which does not only concern Irish workers at home. As Wilson initiates a wage freeze and threatens 'compulsory restraint' we see the same pattern emerging in Britain.

The Irish Communists (no connection with CPGB), who have organised this demo, have expressly asked for a strong anarchist contingent to attend with banners.

Meet at Speakers' Corner, Sunday, August 21, 2.30 p.m.

Freedom For Workers' Control

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SPEED-UP — by any other name

'PIECE WORK', the finest foreman ever engaged on the shop floor, is under attack in the motor industry. It has now been discovered that it causes more trouble than enough, through wage differentials.

Sixty engine machinists struck work at Standard Triumph's because of the imposition of piece work bonus times which had not been mutually agreed. Jack Scamp was called in by the employers to conduct an inquiry into the dispute.

The Scamp report condemns the company's piece work system. It also makes the point that the company has to rely upon the shop steward for its facts and figures in relation to the booking of new and untimed work. This information is a major factor in determining a piece work time to stand perhaps many years. The report is certainly kidding on this particular point; motor manufacturers are consistently attempting speed up by cutting piece rates. This is why you are considered an old man at 40 in the car industry and are not expected to stand the pace.

The Scamp report suggests that a long-term answer to the problem might be in the introduction of a piece work system based on work study, so that work could be measured more accurately and the inhibiting influence of earnings upon the timings would disappear. In other words increased efficiency from human automations.

In the States the United Automobile Workers pressed the employers to abandon piece work systems and after some resistance the employers agreed.

UAW claimed that piece work was associated with 'sweated labour' and 'speed-up', by their members.

The American car employers do not regret their decision, they still got their 'speed-up'. The only difference between American and British car workers is that the former are too old at 32 for car assembly work.

Over the past year or so Mr. Scamp has investigated many industrial disputes in the car industry. He usually keeps it pretty fair, management and workers are each awarded their share of the blame. The press lap this up, as strict impartiality. Master and man must get together to solve their common problems.

What in fact is the real job of the Scamp inquiries? Its job is to seek ways and means of sweetening industrial relations in pursuance of further 'speed-up'. Many times Scamp enquiries have called for more 'say' for the shop stewards, because it is realised that once they become involved in the problems of lower management the battle of production is 95% won.

What of the 'bods' on the belt doing a soul-destroying job all day, every day, what about them? Employers now employ 'trick cyclists' to solve the problem of monotony and mental breakdown for workers on the belt, but only for one reason—to maintain production. Therefore, enquiries can come and go in the motor industry and the basic problem will never be solved until the job is humanised, and the only people who can do that are the workers themselves, by ownership and control. BILL CHRISTOPHER.

abuse of power in this situation. When the question of the powers of the advisory council was raised by Walter at a factory meeting earlier in the year McAlpine announced to the meeting that, 'The advisory body has no powers whatsoever and the Memorandum of Association (Constitution) did not mean a thing'. To Sammy Morris privately he said, 'For all that it means a butcher's boy could have signed them.' We all get McAlpine's meaning but as Agnes Morrison said, 'Walter is no butcher's boy.'

WHAT NOW?

I hope that the new manager now on a two-month probationary period at the factory (Colin Johnson) will do everything in his power to get Walter reinstated.

I hope that the advisory body and the Iona community committee accept their responsibility.

I hope everyone who has given money or supported the factory in any way or had the 'new Society' stuffed down their throats at one time and another by McAlpine write to the workers' council and just say 'Please reinstate Walter Morrison'. (Rowen Eng. Co., 68 Middlesex Street, Govan, Glasgow.)

I hope that the 'People who act as guarantors to the bank for the factory's credit' do likewise.

I hope that *Peace News* has the decency to report Walter's sacking.

Perhaps as a first move, the unconstitutional meeting should be held again and Walter allowed to speak for himself. ALAN PARKER.

CORRECTION

Due to my slipshod writing and a misprint Jim Kelly was maligned in my first article about the Factory for Peace. The offending sentence should read: 'The Commercial Manager, will readily admit that he (McAlpine) is an autocrat to work with after two years' painful association with the man.'

ALAN PARKER.

Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

Mental Illness. Will anybody who is interested in mental illness please get in touch with me. Box No. 38.

Committee of 100. European Seminar, August 20/27, Aylesmore Farm, Warwick. All-in cost £3, book by sending 10/- deposit to 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4. Convened by the Committee of 100 (Great Britain) and Studentersamfundet (Denmark).

Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review. No. 10 now out (August 1966). An occasional anarchist journal from 283 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1 or Freedom Bookshop (1/6).

Stickers. Vietnam, Save the People, Stop the War, etc. 3/- per 100. 27/- per 1,000. Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Tourist Accommodation Wanted. American woman, travelling in Europe, needs CHEAP accommodation in London for approximately three weeks in September. Prefer relatively central location. Would like companion for European travels. Garcia Davidson, 63 Winfield, San Francisco, USA.

Dictionary Definitions. Mutual (a), reciprocally given and received; showing community of action. Aid (n), help, assistance, relief. To all my financial beneficiaries: It's about time I was on the receiving end! Martin Bragg, 5 The Drive, Hunton Hill, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

SOS. Nineteen-year-old girl, in mental hospital, will be certified for three years if no one will take responsibility for her. She needs love and affection! Box No. 38.

War Office? Would anybody who owns or has access to a military-looking vehicle please contact Box 37.

Accommodation Wanted in country near London for active man with invalid wife. Small income. Also any job considered. Open to genuine suggestions. Must move to help wife's health. Box No. 35.

Accommodation Wanted. Urgently. Poet seeks poet-cheap room in West London. Otherwise responsible person. Box 33.

Event. Would all those interested in participating in a lunatic event please contact Box 007.

If you wish to make contact let us know.