

## One Million Unemployed

# ONWARDS AND UPWARDS

THE GOVERNMENT has recently announced that there are now officially over 1 million unemployed people in this country. It is the first time, since the 1947 fuel crisis, that the million mark has been passed. This high figure comes at a time when Government spokesmen have been assuring us that the various economic measures they have instituted will soon begin to take effect.

Over 1 million are out of work and companies are still continuing to sack men and women. Even with the likelihood of an economic recovery, it is doubtful whether this will have much effect on the unemployment figures. With their present labour forces, companies can push up output and demand would really have to increase before they needed to take on more workers.

Mr. Vic Feather, General Secretary of the TUC, has once again called for immediate reflationary action to stimulate growth. I do not

think that he is as naïve as he is trying to make out for his utterances on unemployment are like the word association games played by psychiatrists. Others play similar games and offer equally useless remedies.

### PRODUCING MORE WITH LESS PEOPLE

What many fail or even do not choose to realise is that the structure of industry has changed. Mr. Wilson's 'shake out' of labour has been successful and the productivity deals signed by the trade union leaders have taken their effect. One could even go as far as to say that some trade union leaders, in their fervour for such deals, have campaigned and pushed reluctant employers into such agreements. The new machinery has been installed and productivity is rising. We are producing more with less people and, if British Leyland's profits are anything to go by, we are producing

it at a handsome profit.

While it is obvious that a certain amount of work has to be done to provide enough food, clothing, shelter and other basic requirements, the TUC and many of the 'left' are only demanding that we produce more of the useless and wasteful junk. They want us to continue to waste our lives in boring, soul-destroying factories turning out anything as long as the boss can make a profit from it. If anything, this is increasing the present exploitation.

The early Socialist dreamed of a world where work was reduced to the minimum required to provide for the needs of everyone. Now there are less people producing the useful commodities and many, many more doing useless unproductive jobs. Work is something whose end product should be useful and meaningful.

### FROM SCHOOL TO THE DOLE

The reactionary response of the TUC to the announcement of the million-plus unemployed was more than adequately illustrated by the fact that it was the *Financial Times* and not them who put forward an idea to remedy the situation. The *FT* suggested that the government should start thinking about 'shorter working hours and earlier retirement

pensions'. The TUC, however, wants more jobs and more work instead of less work per person. What is sometimes forgotten is that industries which have been run down are not going to take on more men and that there are very few places for the school leavers. More and more of these are finishing school and going straight on to the dole.

It is little use demanding more work or 'the right to work'. We

should be thinking about occupying our places of work as they have done at Plessey's and at Fisher Bendix. Occupation is the first step towards taking over for ourselves, setting our own work hours and producing what is necessary and useful. For too long we have been dictated to during our working lives. Rather than wanting more work we should aim to abolish our present wage slavery. P.T.

## The Situation in Australia

AT PRESENT ANARCHIST Michael Matteson is skilfully evading Australian Federal Police whilst he visits various locations canvassing against conscription (he is a draft resister); promoting anarcho-syndicalist ideas and, most significantly, destroying the ugly misrepresentations about anarchism, draft resistance and industrial unionism fostered by the rotten press.

Meanwhile, his anarcho-syndicalist comrade Geoff Mullen is interned for two years for refusing to register. He has been shifted all over the state due to political apprehensions of the state that organized protests may occur at prison sites, where Geoff has been locked up.

The federal elections are pending here but the campaigning is very meagre so

far. The Liberal Party (big business) have a lot of embarrassment, due to their 'anti-inflation' machinations—which boil down to an attack on unionism, closure of public works projects (including schools, housing, etc.); meanwhile top 'public servants' and politicians' salaries are steeply increased.

The Labour Party—the opposition—democratic socialists—adopts a 'silence is golden attitude', hoping to glean some sympathy from the blundering of the existing Liberal Government.

Meanwhile, the people 'sleep walk' through the meaningless maze of drinking clubs, credit purchases, increasing medical expenses and stagnatory boredom.

C.P.

## An Injury to One—

IF ONE DID not know that we have one of the most corrupt presses in the world one would think that we have one of the most ignorant and careless presses in the world. An example of this corruption is the habitual press statement that the miners' strike is the only widespread strike in the coal industry since 1926.

Any recourse to reference books—which must be scarce in newspaper offices judging by their treatment of 'anarchy', 'anarchists', and 'anarchism'—will reveal that the 'strike' in 1926 as far as the miners were concerned was a lock-out. A distinction with a great deal of difference as far as the miners were concerned.

On June 30, 1925, the coal owners (some of whom are still in receipt of compensation on 'nationalisation') gave notice to terminate the agreement with the miners' union; they proposed unacceptable terms such as wage reductions, the abolition of the principle of a minimum wage and the reversion from national to district agreements. The refusal of such terms was endorsed by the General Council of the TUC, who announced at a joint meeting on July 10 that 'they completely endorsed the refusal of the Miners' Federation to meet the owners until the proposals have been withdrawn', and furthermore passed a resolution recording 'their complete support of the miners, and undertook to co-operate wholeheartedly with them in their resistance to the degradation of the standard of life of their members'.

The employers' notice expired on July 31 and in a last-minute interview with the miners Stanley Baldwin (himself in the steel business), the Prime Minister, urged the miners to take a reduction 'to help put industry on its feet'.

On July 30 the Special Committee of the General Council of the TUC issued 'Official Instructions to all Railway and Transport Workers, as agreed unanimously'. These were approved by the General Council of the TUC.

According to Allen Hutt in *The Post-War History of the British Working Class* (1937) these read:—

'Wagons containing coal must not be attached to trains after midnight on Friday, July 31st, and after this time wagons of coal must not be supplied to any industrial or commercial concerns. . . . Coal Exports: all tippers and trimmers will cease work at the end of the second shift on July 31st. Coal Imports: on no account may import coal be handled from July 31st. . . . All men engaged in delivering coal to commercial

and industrial concerns will cease Friday night July 31st' (1925).

This display, although only on paper, of solidarity galvanized the Government which backtracked on previous speeches by Baldwin and granted a subsidy to the coal industry for nine months to enable that notable British panacea, a Royal Commission, to make a detailed enquiry.

This gave in fact a breathing-space for the Government to draw up its strike-breaking plans, the TUC had also time to prepare. Mr. Winston Churchill (of whom we were to hear more) was Chancellor of the Exchequer at that time and he explained the situation thus: 'We therefore decided to postpone the crisis in the hope of averting it, of coping officially with it when the time comes.' When the time came, Churchill was editor of the strike-breaking *British Gazette*.

At the end of September 1925, a volunteer organization was set up called the Organization for the Maintenance of Supplies. The Home Secretary welcomed it as an auxiliary to the Government's own plans 'which have long since been made' and stated that joining the OMS would be a patriotic act.

The Miners' Federation, disquieted by the Government's plans and the TUC's lack of preparation tried to put through an Industrial Alliance, 'a war council of industrial allies'.

On March 10, when the Royal Commission's report on the Coal Industry was completed, it was vague in its suggestions of state intervention or nationalization but was precise in advocating that the miners should accept a wage-cut. On February 19, 1926, the TUC Special Industrial Committee affirmed it would stand by the miners.

On April 9 the miners, at their national delegate conference, decided to stick by the slogan 'not a penny off the pay, not a second on the day'. Four days later the Miners' Federation met the coal owners, who announced their intention of proceeding to negotiate on a district basis, and shortly afterwards posted lock-out notices, to take effect on May 1, 1926.

After this, the unions staggered into the General Strike which prematurely ended; the TUC being frightened by success, with a defeat for the miners, whose lock-out continued. Some of the legislation passed during the General Strike was used against the miners.

Arthur Horner wrote of the ending of the lock-out when the TUC Congress refused to 'black' foreign coal: 'When the General Council betrayed the miners, its members had perforce to prevent the

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS in 'Rhodesia'/Zimbabwe coinciding with the presence of the Pearce Commission in the country, which is supposed to be testing opinion of all groups in Rhodesia on the Smith/Home settlement, have demonstrated forcefully that African opinion heartily rejects the British Government's sell-out to apartheid.

The violent reaction of the Rhodesian authorities underlines the brutal, intolerant attitude of Smith's regime—although one cannot see much fundamental difference between the actions of the British in Northern Ireland and Smith's forces in Rhodesia, except that Smith directs his repression at the majority.

The arrest and detention of the white liberals Garfield Todd and his daughter Judith, followed by that of the African nationalist leader, Josiah Chinamano and his wife, on top of the killing of African demonstrators, indicates the extent of Smith's contempt for the 'normal political activities' which were supposed to be in operation during Lord Pearce's Commission. Lord Pearce is reported to have conceded that normal political activities must be seen in a Rhodesian context—which, of course, includes the locking up of the opposition!

The nature of African resistance now being demonstrated is very noteworthy and the fact that disturbances are widespread has definitely frightened the Rhodesian authorities. This is encouraging but an incursion from freedom fighters to the north might have made the

## 'Normal Political Activity'—Rhodesian Style

position even more encouraging. However, one salutes the African people for demonstrating anger at the manner in which the British Government wishes to dispose of them and the 'Rhodesian problem'.

Some time ago when Josiah Chinamano was in Gonakudzingwa Restriction Camp (Rhodesia's Long Kesh) he wrote to me of people like Adam Sedgewick and David Livingstone. 'The achievements of these great men of old,' he wrote, 'was largely because of their perseverance and determination despite hazards and untold hardships. . . . they never flinched or retreated.'

Josiah Chinamano faces hazards and untold hardships. According to the *Evening News* (21.1.72): 'Mr. Chinamano collapsed and was taken to hospital immediately after being arrested.' No doubt the Smith regime has all the

instruments of torture the British use in Ulster—so when the politicians jump around condemning 'the affront to the principles of British justice and liberty in Rhodesia' ask them what they did about the treatment meted out to internees in Northern Ireland, to Jake and Ian in England or the Mangrove Nine in Notting Hill. You won't see the politicians for dust!

All States react in a similar way to a challenge to their authority—they arrogantly try to stamp it out using all the methods—psychological and evil—of the modern era. Maintaining 'order'—whether in Rhodesia, Ulster, Poland, Vietnam or China—is the *raison d'être* of the State. We must judge them by the way they keep their villainous concept of 'order' intact and kick them where they belong—onto the scrapheap of history. FRANCIS DRAKE.

miners from winning in order to secure justification in the eyes of their own men. There being no neutrality in the class struggle, the traitors were bound to turn assassins of their previous allies in their own defence. Having made prophecies of a miners' defeat, they must now assist events to prove they were right.' This is very harsh—but will history repeat itself?

J.R.

P.S. Those wishing to help the strike financially send donations to National Union of Mineworkers, 222 Euston Road, London, N.W.1, where enquiries about any other possible help should be made.

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# CAN ECOLOGY SURVIVE?

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS (and one sometimes feels that these words have a sinister interpretation) there has been increasing interest in Ecology, the Environment, the Population problem and pollution. The Government, ever anxious to be 'with it', has set up a Ministry of the Environment, which only turns out to be a clever whizz-kid in charge of an omnibus ministry with a special concern for property rights. The prophets of doom have had a field day, the ghost of Malthus—who, one felt, Godwin had laid to rest—now stalks the earth again. The inexplicable pleasure that people feel in cries of 'woe' have boosted public interest in the prospect of imminent doom. This constant cry of 'wolf' has only tended to drown the howl of the wolf that is constantly at our door.

The highly commendable and struggling journal *The Ecologist* has produced a special January number, 'A Blueprint for Survival'. For those impressed by such things, thirty-three eminent scientists and naturalists 'fully support the basic principles embodied in the *Blueprint* both in respect of the analysis of the problems we face today, and the solutions proposed'. For those unimpressed by scientific experts the journal *Nature* does not think much of the blueprint.

The considerations which prompted the blueprint are that analysis shows the gravity of the global situation with the possibility of the breakdown of society and the disruption of the life-support systems. Governments are either refusing to face the facts or briefing scientists so that the seriousness of the situation is being played down. 'No corrective measures of any consequence are being undertaken,' says *The Ecologist*. The situation has prompted the formation of a pressure group (The Club of Rome). 'It must now give rise,' says *The Ecologist*, 'to a national movement to act at a national level, and if need be to assume political status and contest the next general election.' 'Such a movement,' concludes *The Ecologist*, 'cannot hope to succeed unless it has previously formulated a new philosophy, whose goals can be achieved without destroying the environment, and a precise and comprehensive programme for bringing about the sort of society in which it can be implemented.'

While we can associate ourselves with much of the analysis of the ills of our society, we cannot subscribe to the pious hope that the growth of a new political movement which will contest the next election is a way out. Governments are, by their nature, concerned with the health of the state, not with the health of society. Furthermore, is it any longer necessary to stress that the cumbersome machinery of the state is incapable of putting through such reforms? In fact the whole apparatus of the state is designed for a totally different purpose—the preservation of the *status quo*.

It is probably not possible—or de-

sirable—to summarize all the points made in *The Ecologist*. It (as much as we and other worthy papers) needs subscribers. (Individual copies 25p, published from 73 Kew Green, Richmond, Surrey, distributed by Hachette Group.) However we can go through some of the points made as far as our space will allow. (All direct quotes from *The Ecologist* are in quotation marks.)

The opening paragraph starts: 'The principal defect of the industrial way of life with its ethos of expansion is that it is not sustainable. Its termination within the lifetime of someone born today is inevitable—unless it continues to be sustained for a while longer by an entrenched minority at the cost of imposing great suffering on the rest of mankind. We can be certain however, that sooner or later it will end (only the precise time and circumstances are in doubt) and that it will do so in one of two ways; either against our will, in a succession of famines, epidemics, social crises and wars; or because we want it to—because we wish to create a society which will not impose hardship and cruelty upon our children—in a succession of thoughtful, humane and measured changes.'

Radical change is necessary because of the increase in human numbers and consumption per head. This disrupts systems and depletes resources, thus undermining survival. It would seem that Parson Malthus's prophecy has been aided in near-fulfilment by the distortions of a market economy and the lopsided over-development of industrial societies. Secondly, the use of energy and raw materials has grown to such an extent that it is done at the expense of the undeveloped countries.

This growth of population and consumption of raw materials contribute both to pollution and to exhaustion of reserves. 'The world cannot accommodate this continued increase in ecological growth. Indefinite growth of whatever type cannot be sustained by finite resources.' It is true that material growth of national product does not lead to a growth in the quality of life, but man's abilities to improvise and invent would in a free society not be wasted as they are by the warfare state.

*The Ecologist* points out the implications of exponential growth which makes ecological disasters more sudden and more overwhelming. At the present growth-rate demand will increase to an impossible or indeed undesirable extent. This could only be done at the cost of disrupting systems and exhausting resources, 'which must lead to the failure of food supplies and the collapse of society'.

Up to now we have treated the environment 'with scant and brutal regard as if it were an idiosyncratic and extremely stupid slave'. Instead ecologists have formulated the law that systems tend to stability through diversity and

complexity and the more species there are and the more they interrelate, the more stable is their environment. This is a reflection of the anarchist belief that societies grow through diversity and complexity not by the imposition of uniformity.

*The Ecologist* goes on to deplore the growth of the use of pesticides (which are of a limited and now diminishing effectiveness). 'Many pesticides promote innocuous species to pest proportions because the predators that formerly kept them down have been destroyed.' 'Uses of pesticides have led to population decline in various species of birds and fishes. Such is the accumulation of chemicals in use that we cannot predict their behaviour or properties of the greater part of them (either singly or in combination) once they are released into the environment.'

We have summarised and lightly commented upon this document as far as space will allow. We do not wish to simplify it or dismiss it altogether with some simple one-line formula of our own but we have, naturally and inevitably, commented on the proposed political movement. Although we have not reached the section, we could also on an anarchist, but not impractical, grounds demur on the proposals to legislate against wasteful manufacturing processes. Briefly, we know that as long as profits can be made laws will be broken, indeed legislators are usually in the pocket of the profit-makers.

## JULIO MILLAN . . . a new Burgos Trial?

THE STRUGGLE against the fascist repression in Spain, which reached its crucial point at the time of the protest actions conducted against the trial of the militants of ETA, at Burgos, at the end of last year, has brought the Spanish oligarchy (a clerical-military-bourgeois alliance) face to face with its worst crisis since the end of the Second World War and the liquidation of the libertarian guerrillas. This has led to a greater radicalisation of the struggles of the workers and students throughout the country. The struggles of Harry Walker, MTM (Maquinista Terrestre y Maritima), the assemblies and struggles of the students against the repression, the boycott campaign in the union elections, the strike of the building workers in Madrid and that of SEAT, with its bloody consequences, these are the best proofs of it.

But with the rising tide of popular mass struggle against the dictatorship the repression has also increased: the detention of hundreds of workers, students and revolutionaries throughout the country, the tortures inflicted on militants of the ETA, PCI, etc., disorganised during these last months; the attempt to widen the repression led by TOP (Tribunal de Orden Publico), by means of a new counter-project, a law that would be much tougher; the murder of a building worker at Madrid, and of another during the conflict at SEAT, show us the 'new' arms of the government of the Opus Dei against the revolutionary opposition.

Now, after the shooting at SEAT, and in order to try to frighten the most radical of the revolutionary groups, the authorities want to mount a new masquerade of the same kind as the Burgos trial, headed by Garcia Rebull, as a warning to all those who are partisans of a violent frontal attack against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and in fact to all the anti-Franco opposition. This is the so-called 'trial' of Julio Millan.

This comrade, accused of belonging to the MLE (Spanish Libertarian Movement), was arrested on October 10, 1967, in the train from Port Bou to Barcelona, near Gerona. He was taken to the Barcelona police headquarters in order to be 'interrogated'. He is accused of having taken part in two 'terrorist actions'. The first is as far back in time as December 2, 1962. It was an explosion which took place in the buildings of the Treasury in Madrid. The second goes back to March 4, 1963. It is in connection with the discovery by the police of a charge of explosives placed in a plane travelling from Barcelona to Palma, in Majorca.

Millan formally denies having participated in these two 'terrorist actions'. He was subjected for several days to continual torture. When he was physically beaten, the police offered him a glass of

Personally, we are not attracted to a pessimistic view of the technological doom of mankind. As anarchists we are committed to a not unjustified optimistic view of the possible achievements of mankind, and its adaptability by its diversity and complexity to averting total disaster. Mankind is fortunately not consistent even in its blunders and does not follow everything through to its logical conclusion. There are those who do not join the rush of the lemmings. Mankind can, and has been, saved by disobedience and non-conformity.

If a free society is to come, and it is just possible that the gloomier predictions of *The Ecologist* may be fulfilled and it will not (or what is worse, in our efforts to avoid ecological doom we condemn ourselves to a worse, totalitarian death-in-life), we must absorb the ideas of the environmentalists and ecologists. The free society may grow as islands of sanity in a sea of madness but much of the ecologists' principles are worth noting and (to quote Hardy), 'If way to the better there be, it entails a full look at the worst'.

We also have our contribution to make to the ecologists. This programme is no mere reform which can take place in isolation. In one of Feiffers last cartoons in the *Sunday Telegraph* (itself a significant event) back in April 1970 is the dialogue between two figures starting, 'Vietnam is dead as an issue, the real issue is ecology.' . . . 'We have to control the environment.' . . . 'We have to control pollution.' . . . 'We have to control industrial waste.' . . . His questioner then asks, 'But how can we do that?' He answers, 'We have to control industry.' The other replies, 'Oh you mean Socialism.' The other concludes, 'Ecology is dead as an issue.' For 'Socialism' read 'Anarchism'.

JACK ROBINSON.



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# SIZE & WASTE

THE DESTRUCTION by fire of the *Queen Elizabeth* represents the disappearance of another landmark. When I was a child, in the 1930s, she was considered one of Man's great achievements, along with the *Queen Mary*. She was a symbol of British pride and seapower.

Nowadays passenger ships are out of date. Instead we have gigantic aeroplanes, which can carry hundreds of passengers at high speeds, the 'jumbo jets'. The principle, however, is the same. What is the sense of it?

It appears throughout history, this obsession with sheer size. The pyramids and gigantic temples of Egypt show it was already exercising its fascination even in what seems to us now an incredibly remote, and technically primitive, epoch.

Some soldier has calculated that the vast earthwork, Maiden Castle, could never have been properly defended, considering the tiny population and small tribal armies of prehistoric Britain. It was a demonstration of the power and wealth of the people of Southern Dorset.

Cobbett, in his *Rural Rides*, continually comments on the large size of the country churches, considering how small the population of the villages was in his day. He drew the conclusion that the population was greater in the Middle Ages, but it seems more likely that the size of the churches was due to a desire for display on the part of the builders; a display of wealth and piety combined.

In the nineteenth century, the industrial age, this desire for size showed itself in feats of engineering. The first of the giant liners, the *Great Eastern*, was not a commercial success. Her engines were not powerful enough for her enormous bulk. If the twentieth century is the age of the air disaster, the nineteenth century was the classic epoch of the disaster at sea. (This was probably the period when the expression was coined, 'Never mind. Worse things happen at sea'.)

Some of these tragedies were what are strangely called, 'Acts of God'. Unavoidable accidents for which no one was to blame. But many were due to human folly. Steamships were driven hard. Speed was of the essence. Boilers burst, ships caught fire or simply ran out of fuel. The *Great Eastern* herself, loaded with troops for the Canadian garrisons, was sent by her captain, charging at full speed into an area known to be infested with icebergs. She was believed to be unsinkable. She escaped. The *Titanic* was not so lucky.

To return to modern times, it stands to reason that a 'jumbo jet' crash will kill more people than a smaller aeroplane with fewer passengers. It would therefore be sensible to have a number of smaller planes, instead of one big one, or perhaps better still to encourage people to travel more slowly, and probably more safely, by train and small ship. But this would go right against the whole ethos of our society.

Continued on page 4

