

The irregular



No. 2

Continuing chaos or self-management?



South Korean worker being 'cared for'

Thousands of riot police stormed university campuses and other places across South Korea recently detaining about 1,400 union members.

"We will surely punish those who refuse to obey the government's order to return to work," said Construction and Transport Minister Choi Jong-chan.

Isn't the decision whether or not to go to work supposed to be a choice in capitalist society? Odd then that when workers make that choice they are threatened. There are choices and choices of course – only in the despair of endless consumer consumption do we have any semblance of choice. The slavery of work is all part of the myth of choice in the capitalist myth of the "free society".

The South Korean railway workers were protesting at plans to privatise the railway system which will mean, as usual, the loss of thousands of jobs and large bonuses for the bosses.

Presumably these workers have watched the shambles of privatisation here. Privatisation was supposed to give us a sort of update of the sepia-toned, soft-focus memory days of the Great Western but instead enables billions in subsidies to go no-one seems to know where and create for the workers and travelling public the unaccountable and chaotic system that currently exists, run by accountants.

We need self-management of the transport system as much as anywhere else. It is the rational alternative to capitalist work practices and a vital part of the wider changes so necessary for a healthy society (see page 4).

Is it really as bad as that?

"Glastonbury has become a weekend of pseudo-subversiveness for the secure white middle-classes watching their secure mainstream pop bands inside a secure fenced-in village of consumerism."

Getting the wind up

Ecotricity wants to put a wind turbine on the Mendips, close to Chewton Mendip and just outside the Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. It would be 328ft high and, it is claimed, provide some 4% of the Mendip area's energy requirements.

Unsurprisingly this is being opposed by the Mendip Society (among others) as the thin end of the wedge (the original application was for more of these monsters). Anyway, they say, the turbine would be ill-served by wind speeds on the plateau which average 5.4-7.4 mps. The necessary wind speed is 12mps.

These wind farms are as ugly as hell, as a trip across the Severn Bridge to the hills of S Wales will confirm. There they stand, arms swivelling, destroying the sightline. There has to be a better way of producing energy.

Yet, we are told, Britain is suffering, or about to suffer, an energycrisis. Can barely recall a time when we weren't. Nuclear energy was supposed to provide all our needs - hah. We now know that the rush to 'nuclearise' was all about producing weapons grade plutonium in order that generals and politicians could sit with the big boys.

It is possible to adapt street-lighting so that less of it is beamed towards space, polluting the night sky; we might consider turning off the tens of thousands of advertisements; halt the seemingly inexorable growth in bureaucracy and thereby reduce office heating and lighting; insulate houses properly and look at the way we produce goods and services - what, where and above all why?



Peasants out for a ride

The Beaufort Hunt has been roaming the Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Somerset countryside since 1640 in search of a Reynard to tear apart. Now Labour, concerned at its own diminishing popularity, is trying to deflect our attention by belatedly 'banning' this bloody pastime.

According to Capt. Ian Farquhar (suppose you could spell that differently) hunting is "good for conservation" and is "an animal welfare issue". That's right, Reynard loves it; and the local peasantry get invited to the ball, always have.

Spanish Fishermen

[Putting aside the patronising tone of some of the comments this is an interesting fragment of history]

When the folk-song collector Alan Lomax sat in a little coastal town listening to the polyphonic singing of the Basque fishermen, one of them leant over his table and said:

"Listen, American. We are a brotherhood, founded five hundred years ago, before Columbus and his Basque crew discovered America. We own our fishing boats in common, and whenever the weather is uncertain our captains meet together on the town bridge and decide whether it's safe for the town to fish. That way no crazy greedy individual can risk the lives of his crew and anyone who follows him. That's why we can sing together, because we're a brotherhood."

"I got the feeling," commented Lomax, "that these Basques had been singing together for a very long time."

It made me think of John Langdon-Davies's description in his book *Behind the Barricades* of the fishermen's communities along the Costa Brava on the other side of Spain. He thought that the whole character of these places had something to do with living by the sea, for he noticed the difference between the coastal villages and these a few miles back from the shore, and he compared Premià de Dalt, an inland village, "priest-controlled and medieval", with Premià d'Abaix where the fishermen were freethinkers:

"And the important thing is that in the village on the hill the morals are bad; they do horrible things to the women: but among the free-thinking people below, the relationships are much better. Often enough the fishermen do not trouble to marry, but they live with their 'comrade' far more faithfully than the legitimate husbands further inland."

The fishermen, he continued, "are the first to rise against oppression, and the most ruthless in their determination to break chains. In the fishing town in which I lived for two years there was still to be seen the burnt-out ruins of the parish church which had gone up in flames during the *Semana Trágica* of 1909. At that time San Feliu declared itself a Libertarian Republic all on its own. I had not understood when I lived there, how or why this had been, but now it is perfectly clear."

He was writing a few months after the revolution in 1936, and went on to describe another fishing village at the Catalan end of the Pyrenees, Port de la Selva, which was practically owned by its Fisherman's Co-operative, the *Posito Pescador*. There the fishermen owned the boats and the nets, the curing factory, the stores and storehouses, the refrigeration plant, the shops, the olive oil refinery, the olive groves, the transport lorries which delivered the fish at Barcelona, the cafe, the hotel, the theatre and the assembly room. "By setting up a curing factory the co-operative protects itself from slumps. If the fish-market is glutted, the catch can be withdrawn and cured. By providing each of its members with an olive-grove or a vineyard or a vegetable allotment, they are insured against the disaster of continued

bad weather. When they cannot fish, they labour in the vineyard. To sit in the cafe at Port de la Selva is to sit in an atmosphere of free men, and no one can understand Spain if he excludes from his idea of Spain, this reality."

Douglas Goldring, in a book of reminiscences of the nineteen twenties, told a similar story of the village of Puerto de Pollensa. "The inhabitants-technically 'anarchist-communists'—ran their fishing industry on co-operative lines. The secretary of the Posito de Pescadores, a Venezuelan, was almost the only man in this Arcadian village who could read and write. He transacted all the business for the community and, by explaining their illiteracy, sent the tax-collector empty away. As there was no Law and Order in the village there was no crime. The honesty of these people was absolute and instinctive; no one ever tried to get the better of anyone else. . . . Everyone had enough to eat, wine was plentiful and everyone was happy. The nearest church was five miles off, in the town of Pollensa, and I never saw a priest in the village."



**A necessary unity?
"fields and factories
for the syndicates!"**

These fishing communities are older than Spanish anarchism and much older than the co-operative movement. The brawny Basque fisherman was not boasting when he declared to Alan Lomax that they were there before Columbus went to America. The economist Joaquin Costa describes some of these ancient communal institutions in the chapter on "Colectivismo Pesquero" in his *Colectivismo Agrario en España*, and Gerald Brenan in *The Spanish Labyrinth* refers to the very old comunidad of net-makers at Bagur,

and says that the fisherman's commune of Port de la Selva and an exactly similar one a few miles away at Cadaques are referred to in documents of the early sixteenth century. There was another such community at Tazones, near Villaviciosa in Asturias. The present constitution of Port de la Selva, he says, was adopted in 1929 just before the fall of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, under the influence of the productive co-operative movement founded in the 1860s by Fernando Garrido.

"Here then," comments Brenan, "we have a modern productive co-operative grafted on to an ancient communal organisation and functioning perfectly." And he concludes:

"When one considers the number of guilds or confraternities (cofradías) that till recently owned land and worked it in common to provide old age and sickness insurance for their members; or such popular institutions as the *Cort de la Seo* at Valencia which regulated on a purely voluntary basis a complicated system of irrigation: or else the surprising development in recent years of productive co-operative societies in which peasants and fishermen acquired the instruments of their labour, the land they needed, the necessary installations and began to produce and sell in common: one has to recognise that the Spanish working classes show

a spontaneous talent for co-operation that exceeds anything that can be found today in other European countries.”

This historical background helps to explain the achievements of the industrial and agricultural collectives in Spain which sprang into life after the revolution of 1936 only to be crushed by the defenders of “democracy” as a prelude to the victory of Franco. For revolution, as Gustav Landauer put it, means the uncovering of something which has always been there, “of Community, which in fact exists alongside the State, albeit buried and laid waste”.

In the summer of 1936, Laurie Lee was living at the opposite end of Spain, in an Andalusian fishing village which in his book *A Rose for Winter* he calls “Castillo”. Here the fishermen were poor and unskilled, compared with the Basques and Catalans, and at the mercy of dealers and middlemen. He saw that year, “A summer of rage and optimism, of murder and lofty hopes, when the hill-peasants and the fishermen, heirs to generations of anonymous submission, had suddenly found guns in their hands and unimaginable aspirations in their breasts. I saw them shoot the fish merchants, drive the sugar planters into the hills, barricade the mountain roads, and set up the flag of their commune over the Town Hall. . . . The destructive frenzy soon wore itself out. The committee of the commune took over all the big houses that had been abandoned by their owners, and across the wall, in letters of scarlet, they chalked their naive ambitions. In this house we shall make a school for the women.’ ‘Here shall be founded a club for the young.’ ‘This house is reserved as a hospital of rest.’ The committee sat night and day in the Town Hall. their guns on the table, confident that their enemies would be defeated: in the meantime drawing up an impossible spring-like way of life.”

A few years after the war Mr. Langdon-Davies went back to Port de la Selva and found “a quiet sadness” about the place. It still wore the scars of Franco’s Italian bombers. The Catalan language was forbidden. He had brought with him the photographs he took in 1935 of the young men cleaning the boats, salting the sardines in barrels and getting out the boats with their great acetylene lamps for the nightly fishing. “Soon several women, some old, some moderately young, but all in black and with tears in their eyes, had come to say that Pere, or Joan, or Albert or Ramon was in one of the photographs, that they had no photo or other souvenir of him, that nobody knew where his grave might be, and would I let them have a copy? . . . Hardly a family but had lost a son or a father.”

And a few years after the war Mr. Lee went back to Castillo in the South. “I found it starved and humiliated, the glory gone, and the workers of the sugar fields and the sea hopeless and silent. As I walked through the town, time past hung heavy on my feet. The face of a generation had disappeared completely. A few old women recognised me, throwing up their hands with an exclamation, and came running towards me with lowered voices as though we shared a secret. But of the men I had known there was little news, and such as there was, confused. Most of them, it seemed, were either dead or fled.

The old women peered up at me with red-rimmed eyes and each tale they told was different. . . In the end I gave up.

There was no point in making further enquiries. Nobody lied deliberately but nobody wished to seem certain of the truth. For the truth in itself, was unendurable.”

Nobody sang in the café of Port de la Selva, nobody sang in the bars of Castillo, where they talked at night in whispers. “But in their salty sunburnt eyes, in the twist of the copper lips, and in their silences, one saw what they could not say—a savage past, an inglorious present, a future choked with unmentionable hopes.”

C. Ward. *Anarchy* 86, April 1968.

Dunkerton Colliery Strike

1908

Britannia’s sons, though slaves we be,
God, our Creator, made us free;
He, life to all and freedom gave,
But never, never, made a slave.

To every one, by highest heaven,
The right of equal freedom’s given;
’Tis tyrants proud that steal this right
And conquer other ones by might.

We’ll claim our rights, we will be men,
We will not be enslaved again;
The cry shall sound from sea to sea,
We will be free, we will be free.

Then let us from this day and hour,
Break forth from ’neath the tyrant’s power
And shout and sing for evermore
That right is might, that right is power.

No tyrant’s frown, no false friend’s smile,
Shall henceforth our footsteps beguile,
And every day, in every thing
We’ll speak and act just as we sing.

The above songsheet was sold for 1d to raise support for the striking carting boys. Did they win? The Somerset Coalfields were closed completely 30 years ago this year, the last day of production being the 28th September, 1973.

Every type of political power presupposes some form of human slavery, for the maintainance of which it is called into being. Just as outwardly- that is, in relation to other States- the State has to create artificial antagonisms in order to justify its existence, so also internally the cleavage of society into castes, ranks and classes is an essential condition of its continuance.

The State is capable only of protecting old privileges and creating new ones; in that its whole significance is exhausted

- RUDOLF ROCKER,
Anarcho-Syndicalism, 1938

Participatory Economics (2)

Empowering for participation through work

“...One doesn't need to think hard to realize we are profoundly influenced by the job that we do. People involved in creative, empowering work, in decision-making, are most likely to become self-confident, proactive, assertive, to have been better able to evaluate alternatives and make complex decisions. On the other hand, people involved in rote, menial, obedient work will most likely feel disempowered, passive, will lack confidence in their abilities, will not be able to exercise their intellectual and creative skills to the point that they will be altogether numbed. So to sum this up in a catch phrase, we are what we work, to some extent.”

“...If labor is divided in such a way that a small group of people take all decisions and decide how to conduct economic activity, whereas the great majority are forced to execute orders and do all the routine and menial work, clearly the former will have every incentive to put in place mechanisms to preserve their privileges: they will attribute themselves larger and larger shares of the economic pie, they will keep for themselves all the empowering and fulfilling jobs and they will do whatever in their power to make sure those at the bottom are prevented from claiming their rightful share of material rewards and participation. This inevitably creates fractures between those two groups, and class divisions emerge. So division of labor, alongside ownership of productive capital and other factors, is one of the main determinants of class divisions and relationships. . . Why should some people endure distressing work conditions, perform dangerous and ill-paid jobs, while others should sit all day in an air-conditioned room, enjoy the perks of business-class flights and company cars, and make decisions which affect not only themselves but also others? Corporate division of labor clearly fails the equity test.”

“...Equity is only one of the values we would like to see realized in a post-capitalist society. How about participation and self-management? Suppose we decided to solve the equity problem by retaining a corporate division of labor and we materially compensated those who endure deadening work conditions and make greater sacrifices. Suppose also that we gave everyone the opportunity to equally participate in economic decision-making with the aim of achieving self-management. Would this work? Let's think about it. Imagine we set up one-person, one-vote workers' councils in a car plant, giving every worker the opportunity to participate. Imagine we were also to retain corporate division of labor - with clerks, assembly-line workers, cleaners, engineers, production managers, accountants, etc. Would everyone be able to effectively participate on equal grounds? If I spend my entire working life assembling gearboxes, without any opportunity to exercise or develop my other skills, without any opportunity to access relevant overall information about the business, I will definitely not be able to participate to the decision-making process on the same grounds as someone who spends her working life doing strategic planning, investment evaluations, sales and marketing, accounting, and so on. I might not be able to argue my point of view, I would not be able to back my

claims with relevant data, and I might even feel intimidated about intervening at all. The upshot of this is quite clear - final decisions would eventually reflect the opinions and motivations of those who are more empowered by the functions they are performing in the workplace - and as those workers become accustomed to "ruling" the decision-making process, they may even decide to do away with participation all together - why bother with democratic, participatory council meetings, if final decisions reflect our point of view anyway? Why not just hold more restricted meetings, like the good old board meetings? So before long, the whole system would unravel and we would be back to square one. And we know what this means: exploitation, class divisions (coordinators and decision-makers vs. workers) and conflicts, frustration, alienation, and so on and so forth.”

Balanced job complexes...

“...What we need, instead, is a division of labor such that the jobs in the economy have comparable empowerment and desirability impact on people's lives. If we are all to participate, then we should all have the skills and motivations to participate. And given that "we are what we work" (to some extent), then it is of paramount importance that, whatever job I decide to take on, that job equips me with the skills and confidence to be an active part in decision-making.

This is exactly what balanced job complexes do. With balanced job complexes, tasks are divided in such a way that everyone gets a fair share of the onerous and unpleasant work, and everyone also gets a fair share of the empowering and fulfilling work, in such a way that we all enjoy the same average empowerment and quality of life. So there will no longer be secretaries and CEOs, cleaners and accountants, nurses and doctors, engineers and assembly-line workers, but we would all have a mix of tasks, some fulfilling and some rote, some conceptual and some manual, each according to our own preferences and abilities, but in such a way as to be all equally empowered to participate in decision-making.

Note that we are not implying that everyone should perform every task in a workplace. This is not feasible, nor desirable, as it would be distracting and eventually prevent us from getting the work done. Nor are we implying that we should do away with specialization. Specialized skills and knowledge, such as advanced computer programming, organic chemistry, econometrics, etc, will still be necessary and people will be encouraged to pursue their interests and specialize into whatever they are good at. But knowing about computer programming, or being able to design sky-rockets, will not imply that I will spend my entire working life doing just that, nor that I will be able to monopolize the decision-making process. Instead of me being a computer scientist and you being a secretary, I might look after my own correspondence and phone calls some of the time, while you might spend some of your time doing marketing or web design, or dealing with sales and client relations, or whatever other task you may find interesting, useful and compatible with your talents. Of course, the empowerment effect of our job complex will be the same for both of us,

so that when we sit in the workers' council we are both able to express our views, assess alternatives and effectively contribute to the decision-making process.

So to re-iterate, we need to create balanced job complexes within the workplace. Who does that? Given that this is a decision that affects the entire workplace, it will be taken by a workplace-wide workers' council, making sure that all views are properly represented. How will they do it? There is no fixed rule for this - it depends on the specific field of activity. So, it is likely that a school will create balanced job complexes differently from a hospital or a gym. One way of doing it would be to list all the tasks that need to be performed in a workplace and grade them according to their desirability and their empowerment effect. We then combine these tasks into jobs complexes, in such a way that all jobs have the same empowerment and quality of life impact, which should be equal to the average for that workplace. Some job complexes may be made of tasks which are all average, in terms of desirability and empowerment; others may be made of tasks which are widely different in this respect, so long as their combination is equal to the average for the workplace.

...Across workplaces

"...Those industries with the most empowering job complexes would allow their workers to develop superior self-management and decision-making skills. So class divisions and conflicts, which we tried to throw out the front door (establishing balanced job complexes within the workplace), would come back in through the rear window. Since we set off saying that our purpose is to attain true participation and self-management, and to overcome class divisions, then we should balance job complexes not just within workplaces, but also across workplaces, so that every job complex in the economy will be equally empowering and desirable; or, in other words, so that we attain average empowerment and quality of life for all workers, regardless of the particular activities they are engaged in.

How do we do that? Simply by requiring that those who hold a job complex that is more empowering and desirable than the average in the economy, spend some time of their workweek in a workplace with less-than-average job complexes. So if I worked in fashion house (where as part of my job complex I would perform both rote and creative tasks), and being a fashion designer is more desirable and empowering than average, I could spend some of my workweek attending old people in a nursing home, taking phone calls at my local library, or in clean-up squads in my neighborhood, and so on."

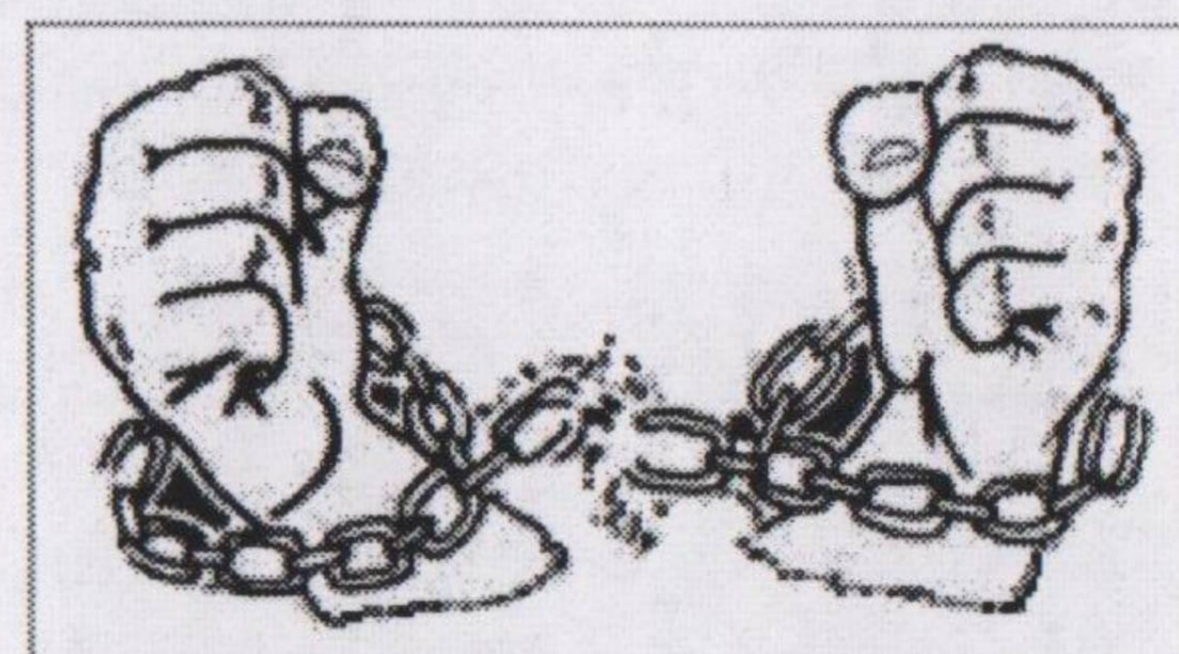
"Second, a word of caution. There is nothing mathematical about human activities. Balancing job complexes is a continuous process, requiring successive refinements, as people change jobs and innovations are introduced that change work conditions in particular workplaces or industries. This is not very different from what happens already in traditional workplaces, where responsibilities and tasks are constantly reconsidered and reassigned. The fundamental difference, of course, is that balanced job complexes grant comparable empowerment and quality of life to all, whereas

the current division of labor does not - balanced job complexes are also established democratically and in a participatory way, whereas corporate division of labor is a top-down and autocratic process.

Third, we should not expect to balance job complexes over an hour or even a day - but we can definitely aim at balancing job complexes over a longer time frame, arranging shifts and tasks in such a way as to strike a deal between the need for specialization on the one hand, and the need to guarantee everyone comparable empowerment and quality of life experiences. Of course the relevant time frame depends on the particular workplace and the preferences of its workers.

Fourth and final point, a word about efficiency. Many people, when first confronted with balanced job complexes, react by saying that this solution is inefficient, because it wastes exceptional ability and skills - if someone has a talent for advanced engineering, having her to take phone calls or do filing is a waste of her talents and detrimental for the well-being of society. There are three issues involved here. First, as I said earlier, we are not claiming that people should not specialize in whatever they are good at. All we are saying is that everyone should have a chance to develop their skills and abilities, and the only way to do this is to ensure that everyone gets a chance to perform empowering and creative work. For every bit of "efficiency" that we lose from having a top manager arranging her own travel schedules, we gain efficiency from freeing a lot of potential and skills among all those people in the economy whose abilities were previously frustrated by tedious and deadening work.

Moreover, as workers become effectively in charge of their own economic life, they are more likely to be motivated in their jobs and therefore more productive than in the current system. Second, even if we were to lose some efficiency or social product in the process, we would gain in terms of improved quality of life for everyone; enhanced control over one's working life, a more equitable distribution of opportunities and reduced class conflicts. If we include these goals in our objective function, then we clearly see that balanced job complexes become the efficient option, whereas corporate division of labor is inefficient, to the extent that it prevents us from achieving those goals. Finally, since everyone now does both deadening and empowering work, there will be an incentive to minimize the amount of time required for rote and tedious tasks, favoring innovations that increase automation of those tasks, for example, so as to free up time for everyone involved. That is, balanced job complexes are also efficient in a dynamic perspective, leading to steady improvements in everyone's working life conditions and greater productivity over time. . ." - quotes from a talk given by Adele Oliveri at the Port Alegre gathering, Brazil, 2003.



Telling it like it is

These are answers (with original spellings) given by primary school children to various questions based on the bible:

In the first book of the bible, Guinness's, God got tired of creating the world, so he took the Sabbath off.

Lot's wife was a pillar of salt by day, but a ball of fire by night.

The Jews were a proud people and throughout history they had trouble with unsympathetic Genitals.

The Egyptians were all drowned in the dessert.

The seventh commandment is thou shalt not admit adultery.

Solomon, one of David's sons, had 300 wives and 700 porcupines.

When Mary heard she was the mother of Jesus, she sang the Magna Carta.

Jesus enunciated the golden rule, which says to do one to others before they do one to you.

The people who followed the Lord were called the 12 decibels.

The epistles were the wives of the apostles.

One of the opossums was St Matthew who was also a taximan.

St Paul cavorted to Christianity. He preached holy acrimony which is another name for marriage.

Christians have only one spouse.

This is called monotony.

- from a letter to the Wells Journal

US-Land of Freedom

The lawyer client privilege is almost gone, note the case of the lawyer defending some of the defendants in the original Trade Towers bombings, Lynne Stewart. She is now on trial for simply defending her clients and having answered a simple question at a press conference. She was asked how her client felt about violent resistance; she simply said that he felt it was legitimate. She only reported what he said in answer to an honest question from a reporter. She was then charged with aiding and abetting terrorism-and to this day, she is imprisoned. -S. Hamod.

Media industry analysts are in universal agreement that the dropping of barriers to monopolies will unleash a massive wave of media consolidation in the United States. Locally owned newspapers, television and radio stations will be unable to resist the pressure to sell to multinational conglomerates such as Clear Channel and News Corp. What remains of variety in local news coverage and entertainment will be replaced by canned reports from a single newsroom. At the national level, networks will merge. And in a few short years we will see a dramatic reshaping of the media system that will be great for a few big corporations but terrible for democratic discourse and cultural diversity.

-Media Monopoly vs Democracy-Nichols/McChesney.

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An awful lot of coffee

"...The IMF and World Bank encouraged new countries to produce coffee. Vietnam went, in under a decade, from producing very little coffee, to number two in the world, with the help of cash from the World Bank. With the market flooded, prices have crashed for coffee, 70 per cent of which is produced by small farmers. Coffee prices hit a 30 year low, whilst coffee companies reaped the benefits. Ten years ago the world coffee economy was worth \$30 billion, of which producers received \$12 billion. By 2001 it was worth \$55 billion, but the producers share had shrunk to only \$7 billion.

Five giants - Kraft, Nestlé, Proctor & Gamble, Sara Lee and Tchibo - buy half the beans on the world market. They have grown richer as the 25 million coffee farmers have grown poorer. In Nicaragua coffee is fetching 60 cents a lb, whilst production costs are 80 cents. At the same time Nestlé makes a 27 per cent profit margin on its instant coffee, and Sara Lee 17 per cent, a huge amount compared with other food and drink products.

At the moment Nicaragua is locked into negotiations to create a Central America Free Trade Area by the end of 2003, and a Free Trade Area of the Americas by 2005. In each the agenda is being set by the United States. Already cheap imports of rice and maize from the United States are undermining small farmer's food security and livelihoods in Nicaragua, affecting millions of Nicaragua's poor..."

"Free trade [is damaging] Nicaraguan coffee producers. 'Our coffee is generally of a very high quality. As a result, some manufacturers blend a small amount of it with a bulk of Vietnamese, low-grade, coffee. And still call the mixture 'Central American.'

The effects of these pressures have an all too human cost. In the summer of 2002 twenty one people - fourteen of them children, died in camps near Matagalpa, in Central Nicaragua, set up to house starving coffee workers in the region. A credit squeeze, partly the result of IMF policies, is forcing farmers to sell up, and driving them off the land..."

-Seventh Welsh Delegation to Nicaragua.

A Model (T) Citizen



Car boss Henry Ford gave the Nazis \$40,000 to translate and reprint anti-Jewish pamphlets. An additional \$300,000 was forwarded to Hitler via a grandson of the ex-Kaiser.

Ford was rewarded in July 1938, on his seventy-fifth birthday, with the Grand Cross of the Supreme Order of the German Eagle. The presentation was made by the German Consul of Cleveland, Karl Kapp, and Consul Fritz Hailer of Detroit (above) with an accompanying friendly message from Ford's mate Adolf.