

FREEDOM

MARCH 16 1963 Vol 24 No 9

Without truthfulness, freedom is impossible. Without freedom, peace is impossible. To reverse the order—first peace, then freedom, then truthfulness—is hopeless.
K. JASPERS

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

ANARCHISTS will be the first to support Mr. Tom Driberg's view—expressed in the *Sunday Citizen*—that

we should demand the remission of the sentences on Mulholland and Foster (as we demand it for other prisoners for conscience's sake who are clearly not criminals in the ordinary sense).

even if, in our opinion, the motives behind the two journalists' refusal to disclose their sources to the Vassall Tribunal are not quite as simple and straightforward as Mr Driberg implies.

Unlike other journalists Mr. Driberg paints an altogether too rosy picture of the function of the Press—hence his idealisation of the journalists.

Freedom of the press—he writes—means, primarily, freedom of the reader of the press—his freedom to learn as much of the truth as newspapers (short of libel) can print. That is why the imprisonment of the two journalists . . . is of importance to everyone.*

What in fact is the role of the Press? To answer that one we must first distinguish between the different categories. There is the National Press which exists to make money for its owners, the pursuit of which requires that it should command the support of the National advertisers; they in turn demand that the newspapers concerned should enjoy a mass readership (a relative term, as the million buyers of the *News Chronicle* learned one morning, two-and-a-half years ago when the *Daily Mail* and not their favourite daily was pushed under the door†). Then there is the Quality Press also dependent on advertising to survive in the rarified, "out of this world", financial pattern imposed by the Fleet Street tycoons, one section of which exists to make money (e.g. *Telegraph*, *Sunday Times*) the other protected by Trusts (e.g. *Guardian*, *Observer*) presumably to serve a public interest. What is left of the local Press following the closures by the Beechings of Fleet Street, the take-overs by the Big-Brother Thomsons, and death by boredom, lack of editorial imagination and starvation by local advertisers, with few exceptions, is a pathetic aping of the gutter press technique, and all that can be called

*We pass over the ("short of libel") linked to the truth because whilst libel is defined as a false and defamatory statement, there is also a saying that "the greater the truth the greater the libel", which would involve us in a discussion of other matters such as the law and the machinery of justice, etc.

†see *A Free Press* (FREEDOM, Oct. 29, 1960, and *Freedom Reprints*, Vol. 10, 1960, pp206-11).

ANARCHY 25

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FREE THE PRESS!

... and this will free the Journalists!

local are the scandals and the wedding groups. A final category is the small-circulation, proselytising, political, press, with or without (under-) paid staff, and without the confidence of "official" spokesmen or the financial support of advertisers.

These publications, by charging an "economic" price, or depending on the support of their reader-supporters to act as unpaid distributors and subscribers to allow them to publish at an "uneconomic" price, are, to our minds, the prototype for a Press which is free and factual in reality as well as in name.

★
APART from this small-circulation Press, which perforce must be a source of ideas rather than of ideas and first-hand "news",‡ the mass-circulation Press by definition, cannot defend the freedom of the Press even by Mr. Driberg's definition: "Freedom for the readers of the Press", for "primarily" it will only exist . . . to publish the truth! . . . so long as it has a profitable existence. Clearly the interest in-

‡Though on a much more modest budget than either the capitalist dailies or prosperous weeklies such as the *New Statesman* could manage, a paper such as FREEDOM could "cover" what, for our readers are the issues that matter. We know that our readers would be interested in first-hand reports on Cuba, on Russia, on the Kibbutzim in Israel, and on a hundred and one other living experiences which are relegated to the odd paragraph in the national and "quality" Press. But most of them

involved is that of the proprietors, not the public. (And at the risk of being charged with repeating ourselves, may we cite the important examples of Hulton's *Picture Post* and Cadbury's *News Chronicle* both of whom, we presume, are still millionaires, in spite of the fact that their publications, each with more than a million readers, are defunct).

Neither can a Free Press serve both the people and the ruling class, and the institutions—State and Government—by which it protects its privileged status. And here, we discover the weakness of our alleged "free press". As if we didn't already know, the *Observer's* political diarist, Mark Arnold-Foster, pointed out last Sunday, that

the business of government depends to an important extent on the maintenance of confidence between reporters on the one hand and Ministers and public servants on the other.

And since Fleet Street is in no mood to pull its punches, Mr. Arnold-Foster goes on to point out

As some Ministers, at least, are aware, the Government has good reason almost every day to be grateful to the Press for what it doesn't print and to reporters

are so conditioned by the economics of the capitalist press that they attribute our lack of first-hand features to a kind of anarchist inefficiency as compared with the capitalist Press, and our inability to pay our way to a lack of popular support. Of course we lack popular support; of course we depend on our facts, second hand; and of course, if FREEDOM's contributors and editors were paid journalists the "economic" price of this issue would be twelve- rather than four- pence!

for what they refrain from sending to their offices.

So much for all this nonsense about the freedom of the press meaning our "freedom to learn the truth". The *Observer's* correspondent presents a picture of the Press working (normally) hand-in-glove with the ruling-class. The *Guardian*, which can be trusted to put forward a moral defence of privilege and the

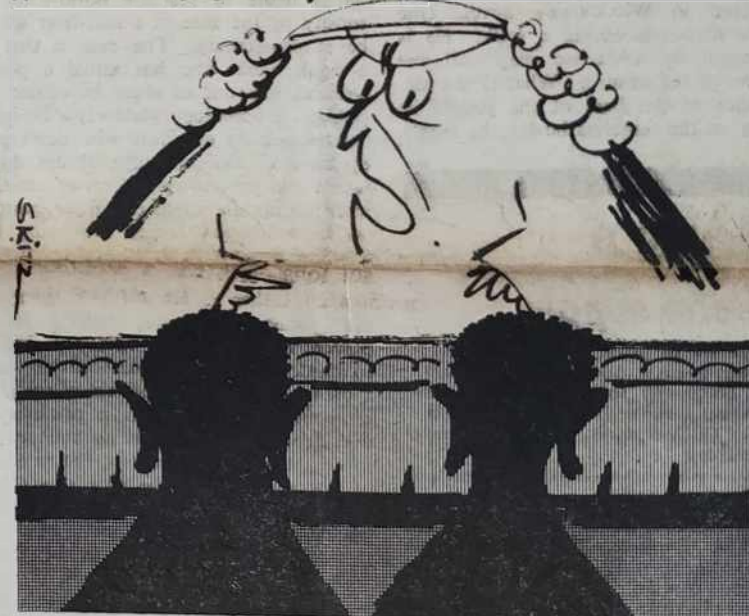
Establishment, opens its editorial (Mar. 7) with frankness: "A journalist serves both his newspaper and his fellow citizens", but, possibly, because the *Guardian* is not worried by shareholders demanding their dividends every six months, devotes its editorial to a disquisition on the responsibilities of the journalist to society. Indeed, the *Guardian* Leader deals with "A Journalist's duty", and as much as we would be happy to approve the sentiments expressed therein, we cannot.

Partly because however much this worthy journal might try to give itself a new look it remains firmly embedded in the establishment

"In Britain the claim to a right of

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..AND IT'S ABOUT TIME YOU JOURNALISTS REALISED THAT WHEN FREEDOM THREATENS THE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE, IT NO LONGER MEANS FREEDOM—IT MEANS 3 MONTHS!



THE FRENCH MINERS STRIKE

The coal-miners in France have been on strike since March 1st. Their unions, Socialist, Communist, and Catholic have all united in their action against the Government. The Miners are demanding an 11 per cent pay rise to which the government has replied with an offer of 2% in April, and another 3% spread over the next 12 months.

The strikers claim that the pay levels in this nationalised industry are lower than those which are paid by private employers. The government denies this and claims that the miners have already had an 8% increase during the past year. This brings them to just below the national standard.

The 250,000 men on strike have defied the Government requisition order commanding that they return to work, and have shown their strength and solidarity against the attempt on the part of the government to ban the strike.

Under this requisition order, the penalties range from fines of £3 to £800 and imprisonment from one to twelve months. This is the first time that workers have disobeyed a requisition order since de Gaulle came to power. The government has sent the Republican Guards into the mining areas, but there have been no clashes so far, a state of affairs which would change if there were any attempts on the part of the government to enforce the requisition order. The Lorraine strike committee has said that the miners will resist "police threats". In other areas, strikers have held demonstrations in protest against the government threat.

The miners have won support of workers in other industries who rightly see the requisition order as a threat to their right to strike. Workers in transport, utilities, offices and factories stopped work on Tuesday for a quarter of an hour in sympathy, while men working in the nationalised gas and electricity industries struck for two hours on Friday.

At Lacq, at the foot of the Pyrenees, where there is a source of natural gas which supplies half of France, workers began a four day strike on Thursday. They are also claiming an 11% increase as well as a fourth week's holiday.

The French Prime Minister, M. Pompidou, has spoken on television about the economic situation and the danger of inflation that any new pay increase would cause. It looks like being a long struggle for the Government seems determined not to repeal the requisition order and the miners equally firm in their intention to stay out on strike.

Support for the strike has not been confined to the workers only. Students at the Sorbonne demonstrated in support of the miners and there have been clashes with the Paris police. Both the workers and students throughout France have shown that they back the strikers in their demand. It is hoped that dockers and railway workers will add their support and so stop the import of coal from abroad. The combined efforts of organised labour and the students have provided the only real opposition to the authoritarian government of de Gaulle. This sympathetic support of the stu-

dents is something that does not appear to be forthcoming in this country. Student demonstrations often occur during large strikes abroad, and though they may only play a small part at least they show where the sympathies of the students lie.

Further support from workers in other

The Ford Enquiry

The setting up of Committees and Boards of Inquiry seems to be one of the Government's chief occupations. This may be one of their ways of trying to solve problems, but it is also a good method of giving lucrative jobs to "the boys". This week has seen the beginning of the Court of Inquiry into the dismissal by Fords of seventeen men.

Fords' labour relations manager, Mr. Blakeman, spoke of several points that the company would emphasise at the inquiry. At an earlier inquiry in 1957, it was stated that if peaceful industrial relations were to be had, then the Communist-controlled Shop Stewards' Committee at Dagenham must be disbanded. This Committee is outside Union control. Mr. Blakeman complained that this committee still existed and was well provided with funds to carry out its programme of disruption. A small but very effective group of employees had organised resistance and disruption of production, which had brought harm to other employees and to the country.

The Company had repeatedly complained of these unofficial actions to the

INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

industries is necessary to defeat the manoeuvring of the French Government who dangle the illusory offer of concessions after a return to work. Let us hope that the strikers are not taken in by these false promises and it is encouraging to read that the miners in the Northern and Lorraine coalfields have expressed their determination to continue the strike.

trade unions. All these attempts had failed and the trade unions had taken no action to control these unofficial activities. Dagenham was a target for disruptive activities.

It is the job of the management to manage and they had the right to decide whom they were going to employ. These 17 men, according to Mr. Blakeman, were involved in these activities and that since they had been discharged, there had been no stoppages at Fords.

Of course the amount of time lost through stoppages was brought up. According to the Company, 15 hours per man were lost last year, and in the assembly plant, this loss averaged 78 hours per man. These figures seem very low, especially when one takes into consideration the number of hours lost by sickness. Perhaps Fords had better put sickness on the organised disrupters list.

Overtime, nowadays, has become such a normal thing that companies like Fords expect everyone to work it. They say there has been organised attempts to restrict production by banning overtime. A good thing too, for who wants to work long hours anyway? A person doesn't live to work. Probably this

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"THE CAPTIVE MIND", by C. Milosz, Mercury Books, 10s. 6d.

"THE CAPTIVE MIND" describes the plight of the intellectuals behind the Iron Curtain in Poland. It was first published in 1953 and a thaw has taken place since, and Poland has achieved a certain degree of autonomy. No doubt things are easier now for the intelligentsia there, and in Russia also.

It consists of a series of case histories of various men who struggled to keep their heads above water in a totalitarian society, and certainly makes depressing reading. One man, a former Catholic, it need surprise no one, comes to terms with Soviet society, and writes the sort of books that it wants. Another, faced with the discrepancy between what he wants to believe, the rebuilding of the world through Communism, and what he can actually see going on around him, commits suicide. Yet another writes praises of the glorious Soviet fatherland while his family are sent into slavery. He could do nothing to save them, and could easily suffer the same fate himself.

It is disheartening and irritating too. These men did not begin as Communists, but they did begin as authoritarians. Their ideas were a meaningful world, not a free one. Freedom is a concept hardly appreciated in the great Eurasian land mass. It is something which seems to exist (one can hardly say flourish) only in small maritime countries, which have contact by sea with the rest of the world, and so are continually in contact with strange peoples and new ideas.

Mr. Milosz writes:

"Even though one seldom speaks about metaphysical motives that can lead to a complete change of people's political opinions, such motives do exist and can be observed in some of the most sensitive and intelligent men. Let us imagine a spring day in a city situated in some country similar to that described in Witkiewicz's novel. One of his heroes is taking a walk. He is tormented by what we may call the suction of the absurd. What is the significance of the lives of the people he passes, of the senseless bustle, the laugh-

Age of Iron

ter, the pursuit of money, the stupid animal diversions? By using a little intelligence he can easily classify the passers-by according to type; he can guess their social status, their habits and their preoccupations. A fleeting moment reveals their childhood, manhood, and old age, and then they vanish. A purely physiological study of one particular passer-by in preference to another is meaningless. If one penetrates into the minds of these people, one discovers utter nonsense. They are totally unaware of the fact that nothing is their own, that everything is part of their historical formation... they

are the force of inertia personified... if at least these were souls, as the Church taught, or the nomads of Leibniz! But these beliefs have perished. What remains is an aversion to an atomized version of life, to the mentality that isolates every phenomenon, such as eating, drinking, dressing, earning money, fornicating. And what is there beyond these things? Should such a state of affairs continue? Why should it continue? Such questions are almost synonymous with what is known as hatred of the bourgeoisie."

It is not surprising that such an arrogant attitude, that sees all men as

Plays by Max Frisch

"THREE PLAYS" by Max Frisch, translated by Michael Bullock, published by Methuen, 25s.

FRISCH has called *The Fireraisers* 'a morality without a moral', and this could well be applied to all three plays in this collection. He describes the conflicting aspects of each problem but leaves us to find our own solutions. Thus in *Count Oederland*, which is the play most directly connected with anarchy, he exposes the forces of government and "law and order" with bitterness and yet cannot seem to side any more happily with the rebels, led by a man posing as the legendary Count Oederland. The man is in fact the public prosecutor who is turned to revolt when he is made to see the hollowness of society by the case of a murderer whom he is prosecuting. The case is that of a bank clerk who has killed a porter with an axe out of sheer boredom; the public prosecutor suddenly becomes "astonished by all those who don't pick up an axe" and he burns all his documents and goes to spread revolt, starting with the murder by axe of three country policemen. Soon fences are being cut down, strikes are declared and thousands wait in the sewers, ready to revolt. But like any other revolution it is betrayed; the public prosecutor, having seized power, returns to his villa and begins to think that Count Oederland has been a dream. Then the President of the government which he is in a position to overthrow, tells him that he must either form a new government in the interests of law and order or be shot as a rebel. It is obvious what will happen and, from the public prosecutor's point of view, the whole thing might just as well have been a dream—except that there is sewer mud on his boots. There is no solution offered by Frisch; it is inevitable that this revolution will be betrayed since it has a leader and, in these circumstances, "whoever overthrows power, in

order to be free, assumes the opposite of freedom, power."

Andorra is renowned as "a sanctuary of peace and freedom and human rights" which, of course, means that the Andorrans are aggressive, obedient and persecute the only Jew in their midst. When the Jew turns out not to be a Jew, they continue to persecute him and he, having already accepted the fact that he is an outsider, refuses—like the Englishman who stands in one of Mosley's meetings wearing his Yellow Star—to be denied his martyrdom. As in all three of these plays, the characters in *Andorra* are not very highly developed or complex; the plot is more important than characterisation and Frisch makes his points in an almost stylised manner, revealing the hypocrisies of his people in brief glimpses of their actions and objective commentaries (this is even further developed in *The Fireraisers*). However, he succeeds very well in showing up the pettiness of the persecutors and, in the end, that of the young hero, who becomes as embarrassing as those worthy people who are always insisting that they are "Jewish, and proud of it" (why?). But, to be fair, the end of the play is moving as well as grotesque, and the incurred martyrdom becomes as tragic as any of the other 'mistakes' inflicted by a government or army of occupation.

The Fireraisers is one of the most theatrically effective modern plays I have seen, and it is almost as exciting and terrifying to read. Gottlieb Biedermann, a typical Western capitalist, is seen as the modern Everyman who walks as blindly and determinedly into self-annihilation as those gentlemen who have us balanced so precariously on the Brink. Fires have been breaking out in the town and the only protection against them is the action taken by the Chorus of Firemen who merely warn Biedermann that he is harbouring fire-raisers, but they cannot interfere with

PROFITS IN AFRICA

IN a circulated statement by the President of the British South Africa Company (extracts of which appear in the *Guardian* 6/3/63) an interesting paragraph is to be found. I quote:—"The development of under-developed territories is a delicate operation, and is never such an easy task as it appears to the inexperienced. The resources must be available and investors must be convinced that a project is not only practical but profitable." As is implied by this statement profit is more important than practicality—another example of British empiricism no doubt!

It is with these words in mind that we find in "The Nation's Business" (the *Observer* 10/3/63) a report from Lusaka by Richard Hall entitled "Cash floods N. Rhodesia." This report deserves an approach that combines a healthy cynicism (born of experience) with a wary suspiciousness. The report begins:—"A rush to buy building land, start factories and invest capital in Northern Rhodesia is developing into one of the biggest scrambles Africa has seen this century" and it goes on to describe the effects of the African coalition Government established in Northern Rhodesia. "African nationalists" the report informs us "now in Ministerial office are deriving private amusement in the way they are being courted by industrialists who in the past have openly supported Sir Roy Welensky's Federal Government. Political opinions are suddenly taking

second place to profits." One wonders how long the amusement of the short-sighted African nationalists will continue, and how long profits will take second place to political opinion—after all "investors must be convinced that a project is not only practical but profitable."

Richard Hall continues that: "Typical has been the agonising reappraisal by the British South Africa Company, which owns the mineral royalties in Northern Rhodesia as well as varied interests in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa." Later in the report we read that "In Salisbury, capital of Southern Rhodesia, where the Federal Government has its headquarters, there is bitterness that old friends are suddenly turning chilly and consorting with 'rabid Pan-Africanists' such as Mr. Kaunda."

What are we to make of this? On the surface, in capitalist terms, the Nkumbula-Kaunda coalition must seem a huge success, for despite some moves to break the coalition by U.F.P. intrigues with Nkumbula and rank and file dissension between ANC and UNIP supporters the coalition remains intact. As long as the industrialists and the ignoble gentlemen who control the B.S.A. keep the African nationalists satisfied with them, they will flatter, seduce and charm them—for even if the black men are not one's own kith and kin, in these enlightened times one must recognise the value of every human being.

J.W.

fools or disgusting animals (agreed, some are), should lead to the support of a totalitarian movement, whether of the Right or the Left.

"Let a new man arise, one who, instead of submitting to the world, will transform it..."

It is a dreadful thought that millions died partly because some of the Central European intelligentsia were bored. "Should such a state of affairs continue? Why should it continue?" After 1939 it did not continue. Lots of these brutish, mindless ape-men and women were interrupted in their money-getting and fornicating, and whisked away to Belsen or Siberia, where other occupations awaited them. Bourgeois society is corrupt and viscous enough, in all conscience, but those societies (like those of Russia, Poland and Eastern Europe) which never had an effective bourgeois revolution are usually the ones where no humanitarian tradition or "non-conformist conscience" exists, and where

the greatest atrocities are perpetrated. These countries have gone straight from the Middle Ages to the period of advanced technology. The result is a combination of modern machines and archaic regimes like that of Stalin, whose rule would have been perfectly in harmony with a Yemeni or Saudi Arabian background, but which clashed with air-planes, with factories and with people wearing modern dress. (The German bourgeoisie also, as Bakunin pointed out years ago, has always been politically feeble. So Hitler is understandable.)

An interesting chapter deals with Ketman, the ancient art of concealing one's heresies beneath a covering of the strictest orthodoxy. It flourished in medieval Islam, but was crude by comparison with the ketman practised by the intellectual under the full rigour of Stalinism. Mr. Milosz believes that the frequent heresy trials that took place were really the unmasking of some official's practice of ketman by a jealous colleague, who might indeed be practicing a form of counter-ketman, or wish to divert attention from his own heresies.

We most of us practice ketman to some extent everyday, when we pretend to accept ideas or conventions because to fight them would mean losing a job or starting a family row.

The rigidity of orthodoxy under Stalin made such subterfuges a necessity of survival. That orthodoxy is now greatly diminished. In some ways this book is out-dated. It belongs with Orwell's *Magnum Opus*, mentioned with approval by Mr. Milosz, to the epoch of high totalitarianism in the thirties and forties. The fifties and sixties, the period of smooth managerialism, of "The Thaw", of "I'm all right Jack", of the resurgence of commercialism, has produced no literature of equal power, only the whines of "outsiders" and the sour diatribes of "young anglers". (Do we need a Stalin to produce a "1984"?). Despite the fear of the H-Bomb, despite the Cuba crisis, we are enjoying a sunny period, comparatively speaking, and can look back with a shiver on that age of iron.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

More Spaniards sent to Prison

MADRID, MARCH 4.

A court-martial today imposed prison sentences ranging from nine months to three years on 11 people charged with being members of the People's Liberation Front, an underground organisation.

They were also charged with spreading illegal propaganda after last year's strikes in Spain. Two other people were acquitted.

Reuter.

MADRID, MARCH 11.

Three Catalans—a man and two women—were imprisoned by a court-martial here today on charges of illegal propaganda for a clandestine organisation during the Catalonian strikes last year. The man was given a four-year term. The two women were sentenced to fourteen and eight months.

The military prosecutor had asked for six-year sentences for each of them. The sentences have still to be approved.

Reuter.

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Memories flood back for Labour's Leader, Mr. Harold Wilson, as he looks across dark and smoky Milsbridge, in Coling Valley at the weekend. For this is where he lived as a boy.

DAILY MIRROR

FREEDOM

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FREE THE PRESS!

Continued from page 1
 professional secrecy for journalists is not recognised in law. This does not mean that it is never conceded. Frequently it is. A judge may use his discretion to direct that a question shall not be answered. Council will avoid asking for the disclosure of a source of information unless the answer is relevant to the case; even then the judge may consider it not relevant enough to raise a hornet's nest of argument about a journalist's rights and duties. But if the principle is pressed too far it is not likely to be conceded. It is pressed too far when a journalist refuses to say who told him something prejudicial to national security or to the life of a person.

[Note how in the preceding paragraph "the claim to a right of professional secrecy", which is not recognised by the Law you respect but depends on the judge who has been appointed by the "due process of law" you respect, becomes, a few sentences later, "the principle"; in which case a principled individual is concerned neither with the Law nor the judge—even less with the state of his liver when he passes sentence].

Partly also because it is clear that the Manchester oracles are unable to distinguish between "State" and "Society". But it will be rightly pointed out that this confusion stems from the *Guardian's* commitment to the Establishment. In the same editorial one reads:

There can be higher interests than those of the State. But the Lord Chief Justice was considering only the conflict of interest between disclosures and secrecy, in which the journalist must consider his duty to his fellow-citizens as a whole. Although probably no one except Mr. Mulholland and Mr. Foster can know all the circumstances it looks as if the overriding duty to society did require the disclosure of sources, if possible with their consent.

A more tortuous piece of fence-sitting-journalism could only have been bettered by those sixth-form TV idols, TWTWTW.

Later in the same editorial reference is made to "the interests of society" as well as to "the country's best interests". Were we not anarchists, we would be baffled not only by the *Guardian's* approach but by that of the other organs of mass-communications. The *Daily Mail* lamented: "It is strange to find the law upholding the doctrine of State supremacy after the British people have fought to their utmost against it"; that rag the *Daily Sketch* declared that [the Press] stands four-square to defend your interests against rapacious bureaucracy and over-powerful government"; that other rag the *Daily Mirror* declared that the two Fleet Street martyrs were "clearly showing that the crucially important principle of freedom of the press must be debated in Parliament as quickly as possible in the full glare of publicity". The august voice of Printing House Square, *The Times*, came out with this revolutionary outburst—if one overlooks the last sentence:

"The people are being placed more at the mercy of authority and of the Executive. The techniques of power, of political manipulation, of the predatoriness of officialdom, become ever more insidiously efficient. Against these, the community and the individual have all too few safeguards. Parliament is not a sure one. The Law is even less so. In spite of all the boasting of the politicians that they no longer need to worry as they once did about the newspapers, the most effective is still a vigilant press.

"No one is going to claim the press is perfect. . . . Nonetheless, it does inform. The basis of political freedom and the essence of democracy is the public's right to know. That right is

more constantly being eroded by authority than any other. . . . No doubt if enough journalists hold fast, the people will wake up in the end to what is at stake and the law will be put right."

Curiously enough the *Sunday Telegraph's* editorial (March 10) "Task for the Guardians of Liberty" takes the most realistic—that is most cynical line so far as Parliament, the Press and the Law are concerned. In their opinion it's all a racket:

Natural sympathy with the imprisoned men is diluted by a widespread feeling that the Vassal affair showed up some of the seamier sides of newspaper reporting.

Agreed! And we agree with the *Sunday Telegraph* when it suggests that had the Tribunal "pressed question on a fully accredited Lobby Correspondent" who "under the conventions governing the lobby. . . would have had to refuse"

one cannot help wondering whether the demand would have been pressed and whether, if it had been, the High Court would have made a different judgment. Certainly the issue would have appealed differently to the public.

The third point the *S. Telegraph* makes is:

For decades the courts and the newspapers have avoided this head-on confrontation of loyalties, the clash in a journalist's mind between duty and conscience. . . . Is this what Parliament wanted, or will it be said that the Press brought all this on its own head?



AS we see it the present role of the Press is to transmit to the public the decisions and the actions taken by those in power. For the latter the Press is a necessary evil, for besides its role of go-between it can exert a greater direct influence on the people than government, which depends on force to exact loyalty. "The pen is mightier than the sword" is no idle saying. Unfortunately the Press as a whole is on the side of authority, a mouth-piece of the Establishment.

It may criticise the actions of governments, but stands for the principle of government 100 per cent; it may criticise the police but is the first to uphold expenditure for a bigger force to maintain "law and order"; it may criticise a government's financial policy, but is a confirmed upholder of the capitalist system, privileges and missiles.

A determined Press can make or break governments, but it can only do so in the real interests of the people when there is direct co-operation between the People and the Press. This a National millionaires' Press could never achieve, assuming it wanted to, with its present structure. Indeed the tendency of the Nationals has been to kill the local Press, whereas in our opinion the hope for a free press lies in the growth of independent, local newspapers. Not in order to retail the local gossip in the space left in between local advertisements but as the forum for discussion within the community, and because only in this way will the people be able to give their paper a personality which represents their thoughts and problems. National and international news-gathering could be organised co-operatively by groups of local newspapers. It would be in no one's interest to "slant" the news as it happens today, yet how much more varied and stimulating would be the opinions and comments on the facts, coming from hundreds of papers compared with today when the giants serve up short, snappy, pre-digested opinions which are as predictable as they are uninspiring!

ON THE tenth anniversary of Stalin's death only one bouquet of mimosa was tossed on his grave. On the hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation it was estimated (in *Correspondence*) that the average negro life expectancy is three-quarters that of whites. The median wage of negroes employed is one-half that of whites, 75% of the Negro work-force work in the five major unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. The unemployment rate of negroes, nationally, is twice that of whites. Schools in Washington, D.C. are officially 'mixed' but 131 of the city's 175 public schools are at least 90% negro or 90% white. In eight Southern states there are 240 counties with 40% and over non-white population none of whom have any elected representative in Congress. There is not a single negro sheriff in the U.S. 360 of the 630 M.P.s in the House of Commons have a substantial past or present business connection—295 Conservatives, 60 Labour, and two out of the seven Liberal M.P.s are connected with one in three of the 100 really big firms in Britain. Eight out of ten Conservative members have 'something equivalent to a directorship' and one out of five Labour members are in the same position. "Businessman-thinking" plays a big part in influencing policies, influencing a Government's attitude or defining an Opposition's form of protest. . . .

STUDENTS IN PARIS demonstrated in support of the 240,000 French miners on strike. Arab students in London invaded the Syrian embassy to enforce recognition of the new regime. British students in London invaded the Tower of London and were repelled with hoses, smashed up a piano in record time, created a riot in a Chelsea public-house—all on behalf of charity. Students at Leicester established a new non-stop talking record. Three clergymen fasted for 101 hours on the steps of the University of Natal to protest against racial discrimination in the University. . . .

THREE TEENAGE girls staged a sit-down outside the home of the Chief Constable of Buckinghamshire because he refused to let the War on Want Campaign have a street-collecting permit. The French deported Mrs. J. W. Masters of Leigh-on-Sea for demonstrating outside General de Gaulle's house. 40 members of the Sussex Committee of 100 staged a sit-down demonstration outside the Inland Revenue Department office in Brighton. Pat Arrowsmith's appeal in the Queen's Bench against a charge of 'wilfully' obstructing the highway (with



a docker's meeting at Bootle) was dismissed on the grounds that it is no defence to say that a person acted in a genuine belief that he had genuine authority to do what he was doing. The fact that many meetings had been held in the same place without any prosecution was no concern of the Court. Such an obstruction was 'wilful' even though not known to be illegal. The airman who wrote to *Peace News* supporting unilateral disarmament has been discharged from the RAF on medical grounds. He said earlier, "I want to get out of the RAF and I don't care if they court-martial and gaol me for my views. . . ."

AFTER DUE consideration, the committee on services allowed the application of a sergeant-major to be a parliamentary candidate at Rotherham and thus granted him his discharge. After two days' cogitation he decided that he had not enough experience to be a candidate. Some disillusioning experience motivated twenty-five guardsmen from the crack regiment, the Scots Guards, to absent themselves without leave from the Pirbright, Surrey barracks. A guardsman said he thought they left because they were fed up with the 'bull' (i.e. 'bullshit'). . . .

"LIFE" MAGAZINE (25/1/63) rests from its vital public task of keeping comic-strip-starved New Yorkers *au fait* with the doings of their heroes to feature "The Vicious Fighting in Vietnam". This piece of treble-think shows US pilot instructors, and advisers teaching bloody instruction to Vietnamese. US pilot instructors watch approvingly napalm strikes used 'to sear the foliage and flush the enemy into the open'. "But as advisers they may not drop bombs" although the bombers retain US markings. A hut is set ablaze "after they

found it held Communist literature". A straw hut in a swamp is not a good bookshop site. "A soldier flushes (the *favouiric word*) a man and a boy from a paddy field. Night fighting guerillas look like any of the region's calico-clad peasants by day". The peasants who are not guerillas should wear grey-flannel suits or they may be killed in error. *Life* carries a two-page spread of death, thirteen bodies (count 'em—thirteen). "Americans in the picture were advisers to the Vietnamese". The technique being used is that of the British in Malaya. A Communist ambush shot down five US helicopters and the Vietnamese soldiers refused to counter-attack. Very few of the defectors from the Viet Cong (*them*) are hard-core communists. Many innocent Vietnamese are killed in bombing and strafing attack since they are mistaken for guerillas who wear no uniforms. Government forces are now capturing more weapons than they are giving up. However, weapons lost by government forces are usually modern US made. Those lost by the Viet Cong are often hand-made. As a relief from all this disgusting brawling in the paddy-fields by underdeveloped countries we are invited in a three-page spread to "explore the flavour of nine countries with nine new ideas from Knorr soups and Premium Saltines. Garden Vegetable Soup. Cook according to directions on box. Enjoy with crackling-crisp Premium Crackers and tasty Italian antipasto. Arrange slices of Italian salami, beets, green olives, antichoke hearts and pimento on a bed of lettuce. Top with anchovies. As an extra Italian touch serve Espresso coffee enhanced with lemon peel or stick of cinnamon." Earl de la Warr, chairman of the Freedom from Hunger campaign, said in the House of Lords that the food surpluses of the West were insufficient to supply the needs of the hungry countries. "When the crumbs cease to fall from the rich man's table and these surpluses cease, then the hungry are left just as helpless as ever". 450 million of the world's population are suffering from hunger or malnutrition. "With the rate at which agricultural science is advancing to meet the needs of the growing population, the technical side presents no insuperable difficulties". . . .

ACCORDING TO *Parade*, Americans attempt to commit suicide at the rate of one every three minutes. 25,000 succeed every year. The Government intend to work out a "universal code" on burials.

JON QUIXOTE.

AROUND THE GALLERIES

THREE painters, still in their thirties, justify the leg-work around the Bond Street area for, despite the New London, painting as a craft still flourishes. The co-directors of the Portal Gallery at 16a Grafton Street, W.1., in the brief intervals for their private, but publically fought, intra-cellular war can still surprise the Town by capturing an artist of international merit and the Tom and Jerry of the trade can sit in their small gallery surrounded by work that many a major gallery dealer would have liked to get his soft white paws upon. This month they have been fortunate enough to handle the work of Franz Deckwitz and the tall, bearded and good-looking Dutchman laboured on the opening day to hang his own work with a cheerful indifference to the art protocols that many of our local sad sacks of the brush could do well to emulate.

The faults in Deckwitz's work are many, for his still lifes and his landscapes belong to the academic world that defies time and, like the Albert Memorial, it is the marriage of the dead ends of converging cultures. It is work that belongs to the silent waste lands of the dead and his subject matter exists within an airless universe of space without depth, for his backgrounds exist only as a theatrical backdrop for his foregrounds, while his middle distances are all but ignored. Yet having said that, one can only but admire and enjoy the skill of this talented Dutchman as in canvas after canvas he paints with casual care his assemblage of small objects, and there is pure pleasure in letting the eye drift from passage to passage in this unpolitic work. In his landscapes he offers night versions of Tristram Hillier's world of bleak and sunless mornings with his same fields and meadows modelled as though from coloured plasticine, with skies that hang like drying sheets but in place of Hillier's cold and clinical English eye we have a lush dark mantle of warm shadows

to whet our nordic imagination. Deckwitz is no Chardin to stand in judgment on his age but, unlike so many of the paint-happy clowns indecently exposing themselves for the spiv dealers' pence, he knows the fundamentals of his trade.

A road and a world away is the gallery of Arthur Tooth high above 31 Bruton Street, W.1., and here are the paintings of the Kansas-born Paul Jenkins. Here in the creation of formless and uncommitted beauty is a master without equal among living painters. A man whose control of mass and fluid colour has so far defied the imitators, for in layer upon layer he orchestrates a harmony of subtle tones that, though they range from a catholic scarlet to a soft and smokey methodist grey, never clash into a single discord. It was in 1960 that Jenkins had his first one-man exhibition in London and there was a quasi religious grandeur about his huge canvases that I marked at the time. His work flamed from within the centre of his canvases and unfolded before the spectator with the majesty of an altar painting by Correggio, mighty in their impudence.

But three years later, and here is the same man and he has renounced the infinite for the finite. His eyes no longer burn from challenging the suns for he has sought and found his inspiration within the hard bright wing of an insect and the transient glory of a single petal. There, within his huge canvases they fight for their place against his static masses of sterile white for, like his countryman Reinhardt, Jenkins does not rob the spectator of his participation by stealing every inch of canvas. And there they hang in this L-shaped gallery, magnificent, beautiful, yet by their very nature dumb, for they have nothing to communicate. They as as terrifyingly beautiful as a cancerous growth exposed by a surgeon's knife and though each wave of breaking colours pours away to expose dark wounds that hint

of an unfulfilled eroticism, it is a promise that can never be kept for they are the echo and the reflection of other men's tears and passions.

And the third member of this trinity is the Sheffield born Jack Smith. For five years or more he exhibited at the Beaux Arts Gallery as a leading member of the kitchen sink school of social realism and his cluttered kitchen interiors, caught from a camera's eye angle, possessed a rawness and a social consciousness alien to the flyblown *kulturkampf* of the time. John Berger was almost a lone voice in his praise of Smith's work for they served on too, too many occasions to act as an illustration to Berger's social and political beliefs.

But Smith has an honesty and an integrity that while often proclaimed is rarely found among accepted painters and he jettisoned not only his subject but his camp-followers when in 1960 he showed at the Matthiesen Gallery at 142 New Bond Street, W.1. Smith was interested in recording, at that time, the interaction of light as it ricocheted among groups of bottles and glasses and he added to his heresies by omitting to paint for popular consumption, the framework of bottles and glasses for having declared his interest he pandered to no one. Now, in this current exhibition, Smith has attempted a visual interpretation of sound and anyone familiar with the face of a cathode ray tube as its base line sweeps around to trace and record its hidden targets or the rhythmic patterns as it is fed fluctuating sound can form a mental picture of Smith's latest work. The same earthy colours and the same sharp edges that once pleaded a social message are now used to record in two dimensions only the images of sound as they shudder across his mind and his canvas. Yet such is Smith's demonstrated honesty as an artist that we must bear with him while he explores to their ultimate conclusion the problems that most of the bonded Bond Street hacks are too stupid even to formulate as a midnight café theory for time is Smith's greatest ally just as it is their greatest enemy.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Anarchist-Toryism - a Rejoinder

LIVING in a country better organised for heavenly than for earthly correspondence, it is only in these early March days that I received my February 16 copy of FREEDOM and read the argument for Anarchist-Toryism put forward by K.M. against my suggested revival of the original commitment of the old Freedom Group to Anarchist-Communism. In this he exploits the one virtue I admitted for the single adjectival designation—that it does attract the greatest possible variety of substantives, widening the net and refining the mesh. At this Lenten time of year, here on the Italian Riviera, the non-authoritarian God of the Anarchist-Catholic provides shoals of tiny transparent fish for nets that are wide enough and fine enough, and no doubt the Tory God of K.M. would provide shoals of little royalists for miraculous drafts in nets adapted by Anarchist-Capitalists if our editors were willing.

Yet I must confess that I have been led to understand better the reluctance to revive Anarchist-Communism, not by this argument but in recent reading elsewhere. I bought the new Edition of Kropotkin's Memoirs to see what a modern editor would make of the subject and of Peter's last years. I was very disappointed; in particular I was shocked by the neglect of 1914, one of the great watersheds of the movement as well as the revelation of a man better known privately than in public. The tendency to sanctify a dead leader seems to be as persistent on the Left as it is here, where a dear old parish priest who let us non-Christians be godparents to half a dozen children, is being boosted for the next vacant sainthood. Peter was no saint. He was too emotional to be a pure rationalist; too charming to be always logical; and certainly he was not consistent. He used Anarchist-Communism as a kind of magnet and touchstone for social ideas. He would get quite excited about the recent news of Italian co-operative enterprise which I brought him when I came to do my

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

annual six months in the East End. "But that is Anarchist-Communism," he said more than once. "I will write an additional chapter for Mutual Aid about it—yes, English co-operation, too—the distributive basis—and the Italian co-operative factories and shipbuilding, possibly a better basis than syndicates..." I don't think he ever wrote an article about it, let alone a chapter; I doubt whether the co-operative doctrine ever integrated with his own ideas. He was always more interested in strikes, most of all in unofficial ones. Communism was the passive wing of his brilliant paradox. In Woodcock's history there is mention of "a system of voluntary co-operation" which Peter is made to praise by saying that "it has been found practical by governments". Small wonder that wing fell off and that nobody is in a hurry to put it on again, if that's what it's like!

English co-operation was being badly led at that time, misled. I found a whole district in Italy, free from politics even under Fascism, which was entirely served co-operatively—transport, factory, shops, cafes, bank, farms, even the inn where I lodged. The English movement, seduced by politicians, and its own leaders who wanted to be politicians, was incapable of any such brilliant extension. Such temptations drain a movement of its more ambitious members. But what I am leading to is to ask whether Anar-

chists are not very much to blame for letting things drift in this way? What have they ever done to assist people whose basic idea of voluntary co-operation-and-no-state-interference is not nearly akin to theirs? Are they not the very ones who ought to help the co-operative movement to avoid being hamstrung by the Labour Party in some dull moment when there is nothing else to nationalise? Could not the societies be educated to withdraw their support from the Co-operative political party, releasing their idealism and energy for better purposes? This would seem to be a more reasonable ambition than was that of syndicalist anarchism. First, of course, learning something about voluntary co-operation, for which you get no help from Mr. Woodcock. The subject is not even in the Index of his history of voluntary association in the widest measure.

To conclude what set out to be a brief rejoinder to K.M., I should like to make this offer to him: Will he settle for Co-operation, and meet me on the common ground, voluntary and non-political, of Anarchist-Co-operation? K.W.

Politics in School

DEAR SIR,

The recent suggestion that the authorities at Oxford may have been concerned in preventing students from reporting the Richard Wallace case leads me to wonder to what extent the academic authorities are now concerned with enforcing political conformity on students in general.

At the commercial college where I am belatedly taking "O" levels I was recently taken severely to task for pinning to the wall of the economics classroom a newspaper cutting about unemployment on Tyneside. I was told that I "must not pin up things like this. It is critical of the government". At the stormy interview with the Principal which followed this incident I was told that "I will not have my students exposed to any form of political thought whatever... Any student who brings into this college any publication or

journal containing anything that can possibly be construed as political content or a political line will be immediately expelled from the college."

Now while I appreciate, and to a certain extent can sympathise with, the desires of local education authorities to prevent teachers from proselytising for their own political beliefs, this attempt to prevent students from having access to journals dealing with current events looks like the thin end of the totalitarian wedge. Apart from the difficulty of attempting to teach economics and economic history to adult students from a completely a-political viewpoint (which only an anarchist could do anyway), this attitude is hardly likely to induce a balanced view of society in the student population. And of course the net result is a built-in bias towards the prevailing politico-economic set-up, which, whatever may be the view of the readers of this paper toward the present opposition is hardly desirable.

FREEDOM has shown an astonishing lack of sympathy towards the journalists currently undergoing a term of imprisonment as a result of refusing to disclose their sources of information, not apparently realising that they must defend the liberty of the press to print what it wishes, because they are a part of the press. The current blanket prohibition on newspapers at my college applies equally to the *Times*, the *Daily Sketch* and FREEDOM. Thomas Jefferson's remark that "It behoves each of us to defend the liberty of others, or their case, may, by change of circumstance become our own", should I think, be considered by FREEDOM's editors before writing leaders on such issues as those resulting from the Vassall Tribunal.

But to return to school, so to speak. One of the set books this year is *Animal Farm*. Just how, in view of the total prohibition on political discussion within the college, is this book to be studied? The *Encyclopedia Britannica* may quote Orwell as an anarchist author but I would hardly expect the L.C.C. to take this view.

London, Mar. 9. JOHN PILGRIM.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

CENTRAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at
The Two Brewers,
40 Monmouth Street, WC2
(Leicester Square Tube)
Sundays at 7.30 p.m.
(until April 7th).

MAR 17 S.F.:
The Great American Myth

MAR 24 Brian Hart:
Nestor Makhno

MAR 31 Dennis Gould:
Pierre-Ceresole:
International Revolutionary

APR 7 Peter Lumsden:
Catholic Anarchism

APR 14 No meeting:
Constitutional Exercise—Aldermaston.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

3rd Tuesday at Brian and Doris Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

Third Wednesday of the month, at 8 p.m. at Albert Portch's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3. Please note that the meetings at Fellows Road, N.W.3 are now on the third Friday, not the third Wednesday as hitherto.

Last Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at George Hayes', 174 Meleod Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2.

Notting Hill Anarchist Group (Discussion Group)

Last Friday of the month, at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Road, (near Notting Hill Station), W.11.

OXFORD ANARCHIST DISCUSSION GROUP (gown, town and district)

Meets Wednesdays, 5.30 usually, Christ Church, Packwater Quad; 2, 6; Special meetings at 8 p.m.

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INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

Continued from page 1

ban on overtime has been used in the advent of sackings or in a speed-up in production.

Great emphasis has been laid on the Company's claim "that there are several Communist Party members among the 17 men". This is the usual scapegoat—just find some Communists and blame everything onto them. Men don't come out on strike because of a few Communists, but because they have genuine grievances, which are supposed to be remedied by the long-drawn-out method of procedure channels. By the time the complaint is looked into, days have passed and through all this period the men have had to work with it.

There has been a lot of controversy over the telephone conversation between Mr. Blakeman and Mr. O'Hagen of the trade union side of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee. This call took place on October 25th and was over the question of redundancy which would occur with the return to work after the unofficial strike over the dismissal of Br. Francis.

The union officials reported that Mr. Blakeman had said that there would be some ordinary redundancy and the Company had agreed to these cases being investigated in order to remove any doubts about victimisation. The next day, the resolution of the N.J.N.C. for a return to work, was put to a mass meeting of the strikers. The possibility of redundancy was denied and the men voted to return to work. Later Mr. Blakeman denied giving any assurances.

The employers will always use the opportunity of redundancy to get rid of militants and from the manner in which this was carried out, it looks as if this was Ford's idea. First of all, 600 men were going to be sacked. This was later reduced to 70, then to 40 and finally to 17, and meanwhile the assurances of no victimisation were denied. This has been a well planned scheme to get rid of the militant.

Mr. Blakeman has put forward some points for a basis of a new charter for the Company, some of which would receive full support from the unions. These include the following:—

(a) Removal of the unofficial shop stewards' committee once and for all.
(b) A training course for shop stewards.

No doubt at all that the Union leaders will be in full agreement with these two points, for both they and the employers are against any form of unofficial action. Their aim is peaceful industrial rela-

tions with the rank and file stuck with having to follow their arrangements.

What do the union leaders know of the real conditions of work at Fords? They are completely divorced from these conditions as well as the interests of their members. These interests can only be defended and extended by the men at the place of production.

MORE WORKERS GAIN 40-HOUR WEEK

While the National Incomes Commission's inquiry into the 40-hour week in the Scottish Building Industry has been drawing to a close, further agreements have been reached in several other industries.

Electricians in contracting and allied

HELP!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT MARCH 8th

Week 10		
EXPENSES: 10 weeks at £70		£700
INCOME:		
Sales & Sub. Renewals:	£	£
Weeks 1-9	249	
Week 10	30	
		279
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Weeks 1-9 (78)	81	
Week 10 (6)	6	
		87
		366
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