

FREEDOM

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There is something servile in the habit of seeking after a law which we may obey. We may study the laws of matter at and for our convenience, but a successful life knows no law.

H. D. THOREAU

The 'Black' Propagandist of World War 2

Politics Corrupts!

WITH the General Elections a little more than three months away the two major political parties, are desperately trying to persuade the public that there are fundamental differences in their respective programmes which it can only ignore to its cost. Since the majority of the public are already decided as to which party will get their vote, the appeals are directed to a minority of voters whose votes however can swing the results one way or the other. These floating voters it seems to us will be much more influenced by gimmicks which happen to suit their interests at the time, rather than statements about foreign policy, disarmament, nationalisation and other long term issues. The floating voters, as we see them, are political cynics as well as innocents; they include the very poor as well as the up-and-coming specialist, executive-types and the

successful soft-money operators who themselves have got onto a good gimmick. Such people are almost as hard to draw to the polling booths as are the anarchists, but for quite different reasons.

So far the party political war has produced no gimmicks; these we suggest will emerge from the leaders' hats, like the magician's rabbit, on the eve of the elections. In the meantime they vie with each other in seeing who can be the more orthodox. The fact is that whatever either the Tory or Labour Parties may propose, the permanent operators of the capitalist system dispose. As the *Observer* pointed

out last Sunday, "the House of Commons must be about the only place left in Britain where people still get excited about nationalisation". And one would add, that it is, with the Beaverbrook type of Press, the only place left where people still get worked up about the defence of "free enterprise" in the context of present day capitalism.

The Socialist pioneers—writes the *Observer*—saw the common ownership of the means of production as the only way of changing the grossly unequal distribution of wealth.

But this aim became impossible once the principle of paying compensation to private owners was accepted. A steel shareholder who is bought out by the State simply exchanges his steel shares for Government bonds.

Similarly "free enterprise" became a farce long ago with the growth of international finance and the development of monopoly capitalism. Every take-over is a nail in the coffin of "free enterprise", just as every attempt to make nationalised industries profitable is a nail in the coffin of "public ownership". At the time of writing the ends of these two coffins have been well and truly nailed down and if only the public could be persuaded to ceremoniously inter them both, it would be able to face the realities and decide how best to deal with them!

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WHATEVER the "socialist pioneers" may have dreamed of, their successors accept, just as the

Tories and Liberals do, the capitalist system in principle if not in all its manifestations. They also share a common faith in Parliament and Government such as it exists today in this country. In theory Parliament could vote capitalism out of business and usher in an anarchist revolution. That this has never happened should arouse the suspicions of any thinking person, especially if one recalls the countries in our time, where the revolutionary leaders, acclaimed by the people as a whole, have taken over the reins of government. In Britain we had no Lenins, Mussolinis or Caballeros but even so the stormy petrels of Socialism who entered Parliament in their cloth caps invariably left it years later top-hatted and weighed down with Honours, Titles and contracts to write their Memoirs.

The injustice of capitalist society is that in an overwhelming majority of cases the producers of the "national product": food, services, necessary and useless commodities, neither enjoy the full product of their labour nor control what they do, because the means of production, the national wealth and power are vested in the hands of a privileged minority. Socially conscious workers, whoever they may be, who seek to destroy the privileges of one class by revolutionary means but then proceed to take-over the machine by which their predecessors protected their power and privilege, will inevitably use it to defend a new privileged caste: themselves! One

does not need to be a genius to realise that an administration that has faithfully served a privileged minority for centuries cannot equally be used to serve the majority. Just as by changing the manager of a butcher's shop you will never have a "health stores" dreamed of by the vegetarians, so by changing the personnel of government or Parliament you cannot abolish capitalism and privilege!

This is not the intuition of this writer but the reality as demonstrated under our very noses throughout the world. Africa abounds with examples.

The decolonisation of Africa is a necessary and worthwhile step at any price, probably. But the people of the new nations of Africa have soon realised that a change of flag, anthem and of Ministers does not necessarily change their status nor, for that matter, their living conditions.

As revolutionaries we do not believe that social upheaval should or can result in an immediate improvement of living standards for the people. Everything points to an improvement of conditions but not necessarily of material standards. In Algeria, for instance, the exodus of the white "colons" resulted in mass unemployment among the Algerians formerly employed and kept alive by their white employers. While appreciating the problems facing the Ben Bella government when the artificial economy geared to the whites suddenly collapsed (hundreds of thousands of servants whose source of income was cut-off overnight, luxury restaurants and other non-productive "services" depending on a privileged community

Continued on page 4

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

Dockers Gain Demands

Liverpool dockers, by taking strike action, have gained increased piecework rates for unloading cargoes of timber which "give a large proportion of lighter timber (in excess of 80 pieces to the ton).

The dispute arose when 40 dockers discharging timber from the Russian ship "Kotlashes" found that their earnings were below normal. These dockers called for the officials of their union, the Transport & General Workers, to look into their case. The officials did not turn up and the strike committee set up by the original 40 strikers said that "to get the T.G.W.U. officials to fight for the dockers' case is easier said than done" and "this failure to look into the men's complaints is wholly responsible for the present dispute".

The strike committee were members of the T.G.W.U., but a member of the National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers Union did get an official from his union down to discuss their case. This official approached the employers, but the claims for higher rates of pay were turned down. It was after waiting for two days for the T.G.W.U. officials to arrive that the dockers decided to take strike action for themselves. Their action soon gained the sympathy of their fellow workers and over 9,500 men from the Liverpool and Birkenhead docks gave their support.

Now the joint employers and union inspection team has accepted the dockers case, but when the strike started the employers refused any inspection to decide on a new rate of pay and said the stoppage was caused by a "minority element whose intentions are purely disruptive." The strong support given

to the 40 dockers working on the "Kotlashes" makes nonsense of this statement of the employers. This support in fact shows the widespread dissatisfaction amongst the dockers on Merseyside, which is directed against both the employers and the T.G.W.U., the union of which the majority of dockers are members.

The dissatisfaction stems mainly from the de-casualisation scheme which was drawn up and agreed to in principle by the T.G.W.U. and the Liverpool Port Employers' Association. The signatures to this scheme are the T.G.W.U. district secretary, Alderman P. J. O'Hare and Mr. J. F. Wise for the employers. The scheme gives dockers increased fall-back pay of £9.9s. and goes some way in providing permanent employment, but it also gives big concessions to the employers and centres around the question of mobility of labour. "For instance members of a gang might have to switch from hold to quay and vice versa" and "certain working practices must change and certain manning scales must be reduced". The scheme also states that "absenteeism and bad time-keeping must disappear".

Dockers are, on the whole, very suspicious about the scheme as they see it as an attempt to gain control over employees on factory-type lines and an encroachment on their freedom. The fall back rate has been described as "chicken feed". Mr. O'Hare has said "Sometimes it's easy to get the agreement of the dockers. At other times it is difficult to put over sense to the lads, especially when you have soap-box orators at work."

No doubt the "soap-box orators" he mentions are quite often the officials of the N.A.S.D. This unrecognised union nevertheless has a considerable membership in the London docks and in Liverpool and has been quick to attack the shortcomings of the T.G.W.U. in this and in other disputes. (Not a very hard thing to do). Of course the N.A.S.D. have used the recent dispute to criticise the de-casualisation scheme and say that the fall-back rate should be £15 per week. Mr. Johnson, their local official has said that there could be a national strike if no satisfaction is reached over the new pay claims which employers are considering at the moment.

By their recent action the dockers have told both the T.G.W.U. and the employers that they are not going to accept any old thing that they deem fit for them. It is the rank and file who must decide what they want, not union officials behind desks. With the solidarity that exists among dockers on Merseyside, I think they will not be fobbed off with any old settlement. P.T.

MENTAL SICKNESS IN RHODESIA

(From our Correspondent)

THERE are (at least) three mad groupings working off varying lunacies in this horrible country. Firstly there is the Government which may (or may not) declare S. Rhodesia independent just any old time. Next there is the People's Caretaker Council which has aroused such hatred in its supporters for the other African madcap group: the Zimbabwe African National Union—such hatred that young children have boycotted and indeed expelled "ZANU teachers" at Highfield Community School just recently. ZANU supporters have perhaps asked for it, these young supporters of the Reverend Ndabangi Sithole had beaten up twenty school-children in a church hall in Highfield—leaving a cross on the wall askew in memory of their Reverend leader.

One can look for further confirmation of mental sickness at the enunciations of these three groupings. Take "The Battle Cry" produced by ZANU. A victim of delusion writes: "Shootings and imprisonments which, day after day, week after week, month after month and year after year bring agony to thousands of African Freedom Fighters is on the increase."

"Throughout Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) prisons are full with political prisoners. Special detention camps—Wha Wha, etc.—have had to be erected and extended to keep more and more prisoners being arrested at a rate of thousands daily.

"The trigger-happy police shoot at random whenever they please and the poor souls—the HEROES and MARTYRS in the Struggle die in cold blood." For the record: roughly 250 political

prisoners are imprisoned in Southern Rhodesia. Four Africans have been shot this year by Police.

We can turn for confirmation of our views regarding the madness of the PCC to their publication "The Zimbabwe Sun." Here we read the report: "The National President and lion of Zimbabwe, Chibwechitedza, Joshua Nkomo and lady (sic) Johana Nkomo, have just ended their separate and triumphant tours of Zimbabwe towns and African Purchase areas." (March 14). A report concerning the "enemy" (Sithole not the government) reads: "Sithole claims Fort Victoria to be his 100% ZANU support area. But surprisingly enough only seven people attended his court case in Fort Victoria Magistrate's Court. The seven who attended are reported to be mercenaries hired from outside. Sithole is a miserable man, even in Fort Victoria. Shame!! Congratulations to Fort Victoria for proving his famous lies." The settler "Rhodesia Herald" reported 200 ZANU supporters at the Court on this same occasion.

The Government is probably a worse case of sickness. There is much paranoia over Communists (Mr. Smith has facts and figures to prove it is Communists not "poor Africans" behind S. Rhodesia's present troubles). There is psychotic racial hatred. In a recent interview with the "Washington Post", Mr. Van der Byl, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice, is reported to have said that Bantustans "are a brilliant notion". The "Washington Post" reporter writes: "Apartheid according to Van der Byl, is the guarantee of White

survival in Rhodesia, and he calls white survival the only aim of Government." Van der Byl is described as an admirer of the John Birch Society and he has recently engaged as special adviser to the Ministry of Information, Mr. Ivor Benson, who had to resign from the "Rand Daily Mail" "after writing a pro-Fascist editorial."

In the same "Washington Post" report the Minister of Local Government Mr. John Gaunt is said to be "frank about the Government's intention to take independence and is not disturbed by the consequences of rebellion." Apparently July 5th is the likely day for Southern Rhodesia's independence, so the Smith government will become independent before Nyasaland becomes independent as Malawi in July 6th. It is not thought that Mr. Smith will bother about parliament or an election before declaring independence. The idea then is to change the constitution so that no moves towards African majority rule are possible.

The three groupings which claim the allegiance of the people here are all contemptible organisations. They cause suffering and unhappiness to thousands. Only a libertarian revolutionary movement can bring happiness to this land, a movement without messiahs and without violence (other than in self-defence). The two political organisations claiming African support are composed of Africans who only seek independence as power, not as freedom. The people are cynically used as a lever of supposed elevation. Meanwhile the Europeans want to cut the blacks off into separate areas as a "solution" to the racial problem.

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POLITICS CORRUPTS!

Continued from page 1

collapsing) these are problems which a thoroughgoing revolution must take in its stride. After all the Algerian people had proved their ability to make material sacrifices undreamed of in the West. But Ben Bella's government was more concerned with consolidating its power against its political rivals and seeking a *modus vivendi* with de Gaulle and the Oil interests of the Sahara than of carrying through a revolution which would seek to exploit the land by the people for the people, irrespective of "property rights".

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THE people in every revolutionary situation are prepared to make prolonged sacrifices so long as they can relate their sacrifices to worthwhile objectives. The tragedy of Africa, as we have pointed out before, is that the people made the sacrifices while their political leaders negotiated with the colonial powers, which resulted in a change of government as the alternative to revolution. The people are now reaping the harvest: a new ruling class as authoritarian and more corrupt than their predecessors, with the result that they learn that the struggle is a social and economic one not racial. The struggle is no longer black against white but black against black!

In Nigeria they have had a 13-day general strike against Governmental "waste, extravagance and ostentation". The Unions not only want more wages for their members but also want to close the gap "between the have-nots they represent and the small band of haves who rule the country." According to the *Sunday Telegraph's* correspondent in Lagos here is how they propose to do this:

by cutting down the pay, allowances and "perks" of Ministers, senior Civil Servants and officials of State corporations and by reducing the number of Ministers.

There are 27 Ministers in the Federal Government, with the Prime Minister earning £5,000 a year, and the others £3,000 each. On top of their salaries, the Ministers are given houses specially built for them at a cost of £32,000 each.

They also pay no electricity, telephone, or water charges; they get a basic car allowance of £80 a month; and when on an official trip, they are also paid 1s. 3d. a mile.

In addition, they get cheap petrol from Public Works Department pumps.

In Northern Rhodesia the new government is led by Kenneth Kaunda, the white hope of the gullible pacifists, more influenced by his Missionary background than his aspirations to power. Kaunda today is not the man he was only three years ago when he was grateful to have a *piéd à terre* in John Papworth's flat in London, and was not sure whether on his return to Lusaka he would be put under arrest. Kaunda today is an African "statesman", wined and dined by the business men and the politicians. Like the Wizard of Oz the Americans have been quick to confer an honorary Doctorate to give him status and a feeling of importance in his dealings with the masses and with his political rivals.

Kenneth Kaunda who only a short time ago was explaining in *Peace News* how he was proposing to solve Northern Rhodesia's problems with love and non-violence, is now warning the Unions to behave themselves or face the prospect of landing in gaol; and his Health Minister, Mr. Sikota Wina, gave warning, last week, according to the *Guardian's* Lusaka correspondent, that Kaunda's government was prepared to send "trouble-makers" to prison *without trial*" (our italics). It is significant that these threats should have been made at a rally of Dr. Kaunda's party UNIP and were followed by the observation that "This country cannot afford the luxury of private troublemakers."

All this does not surprise us; we refer to it because it seems to us to illustrate the point anarchists make against parliamentary socialists, that it is the nature of the governmental machine which shapes those who seek to use it and not *vice versa*. You cannot abolish the injustices that exist in societies based on privilege without abolishing the instrument through which that privilege is exercised. And that instrument is government!

Don't Listen to Politicians!

KRUSHCHEV, the figurehead of the bureaucratic dictatorship that exploits and oppresses the people of Russia, had the effrontery during the week to pretend to have some connections with socialism.

He has been on a visit to Denmark, and to the credit of the Danish people they are reported to have more or less ignored him, and poured scorn on the massive "security" arrangements that have been made for his visit, and have as a result been chided by the *Observer*, which shows an admirable liberal readiness to forgive and forget other people's sufferings and raise a cheer for any cut throat provided it is good for international diplomacy.

Krushchev stated in a television discussion with the Danish prime minister, that Denmark was "a classical capitalist country because it had a capitalist class which owns the means of production, and workers who own nothing and earn their living with their own hands." That is certainly substantially correct, although it is quite inadequate to leave the matter there without investigating the changes in capitalism which have taken place parallel with the development of the welfare state and the consolidation of the social democrats as part and parcel of the modern capitalist state. However, what is more important is to draw the attention of any admirers of Krushchev to the fact that the workers in his state do not own or control any of the means of production, in absolute terms they have a drastically lower standard of living than the workers in the capitalist parts of Europe, and they suffer from police repression which makes it difficult to organise union activities through which material gains could be won.

Again, speaking to the dockyard workers "as an ex-worker and not

PROFESSOR FRED HOYLE further amplified his theory that the universe was in continuous creation and that every lump of matter in the universe affects every other. Ten members of the Committee of 100 were arrested outside South Africa House during a Trafalgar Square meeting protesting about the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela. Bertrand Russell said at the meeting that world trade unions could end the tyranny of apartheid by refusing to load any goods anywhere intended for South Africa and to refuse to unload any goods at any South African port. A spokesman for the T.G.W.U. said later that they were not in a position to bring influence to bear on the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. They were not directly affiliated to that body, relations are conducted through the TUC which represents British trade unions in the ICFTU. If the TUC decided to take action, then the TGWU would respond, according to the spokesman. "We feel as strongly as Lord Russell does," he added.

DR. VICTOR ALLEN, a lecturer in the department of economics at Leeds University, was remanded in custody in Lagos, Nigeria, on a charge of "managing an unlawful society for the purpose of overthrowing the Government" of Nigeria". Dr. Allen had been in Nigeria for three weeks collecting material for a book about African trade unions. Colleagues wrote to the *Guardian*: "The fact that he has been in contact with trade union leaders at a time when there was serious industrial unrest appears to have provided the excuse for his arrest."

MR. MERVYN MATTHEWS, a research student, was deported from the Soviet Union on charges of circulating hostile propaganda and "speculating in articles of everyday use". Mr. Bertram Bensen, an American lecturer in psychology was ordered by the Home Secretary to be deported. No reason has been given. Mr. Bensen has gone into hiding and has optimistically promised to re-appear in the autumn, "shortly after the return of a Labour government". Meanwhile, the Right Honourable Quintin Hogg, Q.C., M.P., has written one of his constituents saying: "I have no sym-



pathy whatever with Mr. Bensen and as Mr. Brooke has already investigated the matter on the initiative of another Member of Parliament, I propose to take no further action. I agree that the issue is not a Party political one. Membership of the CND is one thing, since it was formed to achieve a political purpose, though normally reputable political organisations in a democracy do not encourage foreign membership. Membership of the Committee of 100 is another thing, as this committee is set up with the express purpose of defying the law and Mr. Bensen's conviction to which you refer, is the result of a set of activities designed to set the law at defiance. He has abused this country's hospitality and I, for one, will be glad to see the back of him. You write about democracy. Respect for the law, whether by foreigners or British subjects, is a condition of its survival [sic]. I of course, do not know what actuated Mr. Brooke, but I heartily support his decision."

MR. QUINTER HOGG asked a Tory women's conference, "How many members of the Labour Party are in fact fellow-travellers and Communist sympathisers?" He added, "We know what Mr. Gaitskell said at Morecambe about

HOPING TO SEE YOU!

Following a suggestion made at the Bristol Conference, it has been decided to hold a series of meetings for readers, writers and sellers of *FREEDOM* and *ANARCHY*. The first meeting will be in London, when as many as possible of the Freedom Press group will be present, but we hope to hold smaller meetings attended by 2 or 3 members of the group, in various parts of the country, particularly where we have had support for many years, but have never had the opportunity of personal contact. We shall be writing to comrades about this and hope the idea will be supported.

First Meeting: July 4th, small Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., 2 p.m. to 5 p.m.

CUBA TODAY

In the June issue of Cuban Labour, the information bulletin of the Frente Obrero Revolucionario Democrático Cubano, based in Miami, Florida, is included a quote of Lazaro Pena, Secretary General of the Cuban Labour Confederation, C.T.C., who declared "The functions of a labour leader today must be co-ordinated with the government to make all work successful." Pena, although a veteran communist, was also the head of the C.T.C. in 1939, when he was appointed by Batista.

In the bulletin, the F.O.R.D.C. say that Castro is using the army, together with "voluntary" cane-cutters to cut the sugar harvest in the Pinar del Rio province. These "voluntaries" are members of the lumber, bank, power and transport unions and of course the "voluntary" work is compulsory, is additional to their normal work and is unpaid. The C.T.C. and the Transport Ministry have also mapped a plan for additional new work norms for July 26th, a Communist holiday in Cuba.

On May 16th, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Minister of Industries said, "We must exceed ourselves every day, improve our work norms, no matter how difficult the task may be, and must increase production at all cost." As the bulletin says, Guevara "did not mean at all cost to the government, but to the workers". "Hoy", the principle paper of the Castro government, has also been urging workers to meet these new norms. The F.O.R.D.C. bulletin says that these recent calls for increased effort are because there has been an "absenteeism

a sixth of the delegates." The Commons Committee of Privileges has just completed its report on a complaint by Mr. George Wigg on a speech of Mr. Hogg's in which he referred to "the Labour members' partisanship of subversive activities". This was ruled by the Speaker to be a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege. . . .

IT IS REPORTED by the *Sunday Telegraph* that a unanimous recommendation is to be made that the national chairman of the Young Socialists be expelled from the Labour Party. The *Guardian* states that six of the national committee members are said to be associated with the Trotskyist journal "Keep Left" but feel that local parties will not be keen to deal with extremists since many of them are very dependent on the enthusiasm of their youthful supporters and "however ideologically misdirected, they do a lot of useful party work". . . .

MR. RICHARD MOORE, secretary-general of the Liberal International writing in *New Outlook* says that there can be no escape by any political party from the necessity of some form of conscription if Britain is to play a full part in world affairs. "Even if everything possible is done to make conscription less disagreeable, it will naturally remain unpopular. That is why no party is talking about it before the election. But this silence is a disgrace to democracy". The British Caribbean Association has invited parliamentary candidates to sign a form declaring "It is generally recognised that the recent large-scale immigration from the Commonwealth into Britain, which has brought many benefits to this country, has also created difficulties in some areas. I do not here express any views on how these difficulties can be overcome. Nor do I now express an opinion about the Commonwealth Immigrants Act". . . .

A SITE at Iver, Bucks, was opened by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government for the use of 'travelling people'. The Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry, Mr. F. V. Corfield said he hoped all gypsies in the country would eventually change from caravan dwellers to conventional householders in a settled community. . . .

ASTRONOMERS HAVE discovered a new group of "quasars" or quasi-stars beyond all galaxies hitherto discovered. They are estimated to be between six and seven billion light-years from the earth.

JON QUIXOTE.

The Hungry Millions

Bloemfontein, June 8.

Fifty per cent. of African children are tubercular at the age of 10, said Dr. C. J. H. Brink, director of Hospital services in the Orange Free State, at a meeting of the South African National Tuberculosis Association here today. The reason was malnutrition, he said.

(*Guardian*).

campaign" by some sections of Cuban workers.

Another method used by the Castro government to help get in the sugar harvest, using cheap labour, is compulsory military service. Raul Castro has said that this new military service law has been a success. "Thousands of recruits are working to save the People's Sugar Harvest to which we will be devoted for two more months."

According to F.O.R.D.C. bulletin, two young workers were executed for refusing to comply with the military service law. Another, Alfredo Cardenas Gonzalez, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for failing to register at the stated time.

Castro is keeping a tight hold over the C.T.C. The unions' principle task, according to Raul Castro, is to increase production, mobilize voluntary workers, raise the level of labour discipline, increase the yield and improve the quality of production. "The right of workers to take strike action has been abolished". Fidel Castro has said "A strike is a counter-revolutionary act in the Socialist Republic of Cuba."

The "Castro Revolution" has only replaced one tyranny by another. Bright hopes were held in the beginning but as the Castro Regime has consolidated its powers, so the freedom enjoyed in the early days of the revolution has disappeared. The old familiar pattern has repeated itself. "It is true that revolutions have no more implacable enemies than the men they raise to power."

P.T.

