

# FREEDOM

'All modes of government are failures. Despotism is unjust to everybody, including the despot, who was probably made for better things.'

OSCAR WILDE

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AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d.

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WHEN Mrs. Barbara Castle, Minister of Overseas Development in the Labour Government spoke at the Ministerial session of the Colombo Plan Conference in London last week, she said that future historians would see as the great problem of our generation "the growing gap between the rich and poor countries which becomes more repugnant to the moral sense of humanity with each decade that passes", one has no reason to believe that she was not expressing a view held by a growing number of people in the so-called rich-countries, and that were these countries to tackle the problem along radical lines there would be more praise than opposition for their actions.

The main stumbling blocks to such radical aid are many. In the first place it seems impossible for governments to divorce their thinking about aid from political opportunism, and from long term financial considerations. As William Clark, Director of the Overseas Development Institute points out in last Sunday's *Observer*

Though aid from the West has doubled in five years, it has hardly made a dent in world poverty. The reason is that far too little attention has been paid to the supposed objective—development. Aid has been given for cold-war purposes, for trade promotion purposes, to consolidate Commonwealth (or inter-American) relations; it has been spent by the recipients to keep a shaky Government in power, to bolster the self-confidence of new and tiny nations by prestige projects, above all it has been spent ineffectively because of hastily, ill-drawn plans.

It is of great significance too, that "development and economic growth, based on sound agricultural progress, has too often been neglected" and the blame, in Mr. Clark's

## Who will wage war on Poverty?

opinion "can be widely distributed amongst givers and receivers."

Before we go on to ask how this state of affairs can be changed within the existing capitalist structure of both the have and have-not countries, we must observe the magnitude of the problem. *The American Economic Report* (published by the United States Information Service in London) in its November issue quotes figures compiled by the government's Economic Research De-

partment which indicate that about two-thirds of the world's people live in countries "where the average diets are nutritionally inadequate". Now if, as Mr. Clark maintains, the emphasis in the policies of the have countries should be "not so much on giving 1 per cent. of national income, but rather on achieving 5 per cent. growth rates amongst the poorer nations", and this might well be the right approach, the major obstacle to its realisation is surely

one of food. Without an immediate improved, and sustained, diet millions of workers in these countries just lack the strength to work more efficiently.

To say that gifts or long term loans of food should be made to these countries is easier said than done. According to the Report above mentioned, the expected world food deficit in 1970 is set at the equivalent of: "54 million metric tons of grain, 6.5 million tons of non-fat dry milk, 3.2 million tons of soygrits (or other protein from beans and peas) and 3.1 million tons of vegetable oils". It is not so much the cost of these goods, which is put at \$6,800m. (and which is only a little more than the British

Government's annual expenditure on "Defence") but the fact that the food will just not be there even if the money to buy it is!

★

THE *Guardian* in its editorial comment on the Conference misses the point when it writes: "There needs to be more concentration on improving farming techniques in these countries. A nation cannot industrialize on an empty stomach", for it is equally true that neither can farming techniques be improved by land workers with empty stomachs. It is this vicious circle, above all, that needs to be broken if the working people of these countries are to improve their own lot.

The Industrialisation programmes with which the capitalist salesmen of the Western Powers are pushing countries like India to saddle their

Continued on page 3

### INDUSTRIAL NOTES

Mr. Gunter stepped in, for if this action had continued, motormen from other regions might have joined in.

It seems to me that because of the special circumstances, "working the most intensified service in the world", these men have probably felt that they should take action, but as this is a "national issue", it is the concern not only of motormen in other regions, but of all railwaymen. More talks are promised out in the meantime, every effort should be made to involve the other motormen. If negotiations are unsatisfactory, then further action should be taken by all the men affected by the bonus issue.

There is a strong likelihood of other issues being brought up by the B.R. Board during these negotiations. These are concerned with what is ridiculously called "ways of raising drivers' productivity". The Board, no doubt, would like to see the elimination of firemen where double-manning still operates. The question has already been raised, but so far has been rejected by the unions. If the Board do succeed, during further negotiations, in getting the unions to agree to this in exchange for the bonus, it would be a great advantage to the Board but a sad loss for the train crews.

Any such moves for this type of deal should be resisted by the rank and file members. The claims should be granted in full, with no strings attached. Action taken by motormen on all sections can ensure this and support from other railwaymen would really show the Board that they are not going to put up with any further delays on this national pay claim. P.T.

## Motormen's Work-to-Rule

under Beeching's Plan. A cut of 1,000 in staff has been made and this has led to a tightening up in routines and timings which has cut out "spare time". Where other railwaymen work overtime to bring up wages, drivers are restricted through the need for safety precautions.

Most of the drivers belong to A.S.L.E.F. although some are in the National Union of Railwaymen. Throughout the dispute, the union leaders have not come out with any strong attacks on the drivers, but in the union's present day role in a capitalist society as the pacifier of workers, it has nevertheless urged a return to normal working. Although the drivers have now accepted this recommendation, there

was strong support for the continuation of the work-to-rule at the meeting on Sunday.

Soon after, the Minister of Labour, Mr. Gunter (late president of the Salaried Staffs Association on the railways), intervened. It is unusual for the Minister to intervene in unofficial strikes, but Mr. Gunter said he was doing this "in view of the very special circumstances"—no doubt because of the chaos caused by the work-to-rule. Mr. Gunter turned down the appeal of Mr. Lubbock, Liberal M.P. for Orpington, that the drivers should put their case at the fact-finding talks at the Ministry. The ex-union official said "There is no question of my being concerned in discussion with those leading unofficial actions."

Union leaders Mr. Griffiths and Mr. McLeod of the B.R. Board met Mr. Claro, Chief Conciliation Officer of the Ministry and soon after these talks, union officials persuaded the drivers to call off their work-to-rule. The drivers pressed for an interim award, but the union officials said there was no promise of money, but that an early meeting would be arranged for further negotiations.

On the face of it, the work-to-rule has only achieved a much needed speeding-up of negotiations. The B.R. Board maintain that these are a national issue and this is why they have been unable to deal with this claim by one section of the motormen. This is the reason that

The nine day work-to-rule by motormen (train drivers) on the south-eastern section of the Southern Region showed the effectiveness of this type of action. It brought about long delays for passengers, but according to the *Evening Standard*, the people affected by these disruptions were on the whole in agreement with the drivers. "They had to take some action" was the general view. The dispute arose over a claim for a bonus of £23. The Union, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, has been trying to negotiate a bonus scheme with the British Railways Board for three years now and it is still in procedure, awaiting some higher level management meeting. Little wonder that these motormen decided to take action for themselves. Added to this is the fact that other railway workers already receive bonus payments. It seems that this region has suffered

## WILSON . . .

WE hold no special brief for the Wilson government, but we shall be observing with interest its progress during the 100 days in which it hopes to do many things, not so much for what it does but what the powerful forces in the background do in order to upset its chances. For let us be quite clear that if Parliament and the Government propose it is World Finance that disposes. Since taking office the Wilson government has been fighting a battle of finance, and the latest threat to the £ sterling by heavy withdrawals cannot be seen other than as a conspiracy by International Finance to make quite clear

to Wilson that he is expected to play the game according to the rules or be driven out by a colossal collapse of the pound which they are obviously in a position to engineer. The raising of the Bank Rate to 7 per cent. has apparently had something like the desired effect of slowing down the withdrawals, but this could be but a temporary measure. There is presumably a limit to which the bank rate could be raised without bankrupting the internal finances of the country.

Mr. Wilson has the choice of soon being defeated by High Finance if

he toys with it or of possibly being defeated just the same, but in a blaze of glory, if he and his colleagues had the courage to launch an open attack on the International money lenders, seeking as his allies the millions of people in this country who are from birth to death virtually in pawn to them.

We somehow don't think Mr. Wilson's cabinet have the kind of revolutionary spirit that is required to launch such a missile into the enemy's camp. But there is no question that it would make things hum a bit if they did!

## ... ANOTHER KENNEDY?

THE announcement by Mr. Wilson that no further arms are to be exported to South Africa from this country is to be welcomed. The fact that the order by South Africa for Buccaneer Aircraft is going to be reviewed is also worth a little applause because Dr. Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister, has threatened to disallow British use of the Simonstown naval base in South Africa if the Buccaneer order is not fulfilled.

The outcry from the Conservatives and from the capitalist press was to be expected. Where a conflict arises between principle and business the capitalist is not usually strong in his actual support of principle (as opposed to verbal outpourings). What must be emphasised, of course, is that the South African arms embargo is a very limited achievement for the anti-apartheid movement.

Unless European nations accept United Nations advice not to supply arms to South Africa then Dr. Verwoerd is only faced with the trouble of directing his orders for arms to France or West Germany. France, I believe, has a plane

similar to the Buccaneer which she would readily sell. Also as Verwoerd has said himself, the South African whites, if they need a supply of arms to put down internal rebellion, can provide their own supply.

One needs to mention therefore that the arms embargo is too late and too limited. It is to be welcomed because it shows that the movement towards an economic boycott of South Africa is still worthy of consideration. With strong pressure from the British people, coupled with action by workers "black-ing" South African goods, the Government might be forced to live up to the multi-racialism it espouses.

On reflection, therefore, the comment that Wilson is becoming another Kennedy—with all the sinister implications this comment holds—is rather too cynical even for this observer. It is however reasonable to inquire what is to become of those arms not being sent to South Africa. I can hardly believe they will be used to destroy a threatening scourge of leprosy.

J.W.

## FRANCO'S PEACE

MADRID, NOVEMBER 17.

Spain's public order court today sentenced Bernardo Mateos (37), a mechanic, to 16 years' imprisonment following several trials involving alleged secret Communist cells in Cartagena, Lorca, Alicante, and Valencia. He was accused of being secretary-general of the outlawed Communist Party in Cartagena.

Sixteen other Cartagena men accused of illegal propaganda, eight of them tried in their absence, were given sentences from two years to four years. (Reuter).

MADRID, NOVEMBER 18.

Allegations of torture by police were made when 37 men and a woman went on trial today on charges connected with strikes in the Asturian coalfields, Northern Spain, last year.

The woman, Constantina Peret-Martinez, aged 40, said police shaved off her hair while she was detained in Oviedo. All but two of the defendants

said in reply to questions by defence lawyers that they were maltreated during interrogation.

One man, Horatio Fernandez Iguanzo, for whom the prosecution is demanding a 26-year sentence is being tried in his absence. All those before the Court, pleaded not guilty. (Reuter).

MADRID, NOVEMBER 19.

Señor Daniel Lacalle, son of Spain's Air Minister, General José Lacalle, will appear for trial before a Madrid court on December 2, charged with illegal association and illegal propaganda, official sources said here today.

Señor Lacalle, an aviation engineer, was detained on April 28 after police had raided an alleged Communist centre in Madrid. He is still held in prison and faces a maximum sentence of 25 years. He is being tried with 12 other people. (Reuter).

## ANARCHY 46

OUT NEXT WEEK, DISCUSSES

## Anarchism AND THE Historians

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## Continued from last week

In the beginning of 1964, the miners got tired of the same old situation and held four American officials and sixteen local ones as hostages. President Johnson sent word to Paz: "Give them up for dead and attack." Mourners went to the mines, to find the hostages still alive, in good health and well treated. The Bolivian miner is not a savage. He will fight like a savage in actual combat, but once he wins, he forgives. To forgive so easily seems to be a fault, for the forgiven all return to attack again.

A small aeroplane crashed in the morning of the day when the tanks would be used for the first time. In it were two dead generals. In La Paz, Paz Estenssoro was negotiating with delegates from the mines, stalling for time. The sealed envelope found in a pocket of one of the generals, contained the plan of attack. It was to take place at four o'clock. The 16 broadcasting stations alerted the miners. The three regiments awaited nearby for orders. So did Paz, until he was given the news at 5.30 that the miners knew all about it and were ready. Paz gave in and the hostages were freed.

Elections came. Paz won again. He had amended the law saying no man could be President a second time running, a few months before. The scrutiny of votes is done by government officials, so Paz won, with Barrientos as vice-president. The day before polling-day, Lechin was given a beating in Political Control. Legally, as he was running for President, he could not be shot. They let him go with several fractured ribs. He hid in the mines. Siles and others opposed the irregularity of the elections. After all, it was supposed to be Siles' turn next. Siles and his gang became a nuisance for Paz E., so he had

# BOLIVIA-3

## BACKGROUND STORY BY A BOLIVIAN CORRESPONDENT

them exiled. If Paz had shot Siles and his group, the public cry of "tyrant" would have ousted him with a rope round his neck, not because Siles is loved, but because a pretext is as good as any for mob violence.

The violence finally came in another form, the classical one which communists favour. They did it to hang Villarroel, together with the fascists. They agitated in the universities and the students, overwhelmed by the word "dictator", made demonstrations demanding Paz's resignation. A student was shot by the police. It always happens. The students barricaded themselves in the universities, so the shooting with the police produced 50 more dead. The Church stepped in, a cardinal or something like that, and convinced them to give up.

Barrientos resigned, but Paz did not give in at the sight of a rat abandoning ship. He is not a man to like hanging by a mob, but he loves power and he clung to it until the last moment. He had a pretext to help him cling on: his gang, the gang he had laboriously formed by making them rich, allowing them to have tiny slices of his cake. That was his policy to keep power, to avoid betrayal. So he clung to the last moment, causing more shots to be fired, more students to be killed, more workers to be tricked into death with the slogan: "The fascists are attacking!", just

to defend him. Finally, Paz Estenssoro decided to forget megalomania for love. Love for his account in the Swiss bank. He left, ousted by a revolt produced by Barrientos. Then came the surprise: Lechin was among them.

"Vengeance is mine", said Anna Karenina. To declare an open military dictatorship, Barrientos had to quieten the miners. To quieten the miners, he had to disarm them. Otherwise, he will regretfully have to massacre them to the tune of 50,000. Lechin, the frustrated President, the man hiding in a mine, persecuted by Paz Estenssoro, protected by miners was the answer. Offer him free elections, the possibility of becoming President, as he had wanted when he forced Paz to have him as Vice-President so that the next term would be his, and Lechin will serve Barrientos' purpose. He will disarm the miners, he will dismantle the 16 broadcasting stations that saved his neck so many times, he will place the shackles on. As in 1944, RADEPA takes over again. This time, the sucker is Lechin, not because he is naive and with good intentions like Villarroel, not because he likes classifying papers and keeping files, but because the very white and very blonde call-girl is lying on the bed pre-

pared for him in a bedroom where no bullet will be fired as it might offend the girl underneath him into not lending herself again for such tricks. In those cases, a knife is used. And so ambition makes men go to sleep.

But Lechin forgets several things which will eventually lead him to hang from a lamppost or join Paz Estenssoro with Perón in Madrid, if Barrientos decides to keep him on drunk with call girls. Not only the miners, but also the peasants and the working-class have to be disarmed. He forgets that in them all, 1952 still lives. They destroyed a modern Army with their bare hands, a feat no other Latin-American country has done in 500 years of exploitation. He forgets that they distrust him now, for how can the image of one Lechin nestling in a cocoon made of generals and colonels hoodwink anyone? He forgets that syndicalism in the mines and the factories is definitely anarchistic, as is proven by the miners themselves publishing Kropotkin's Mutual Aid and the ideas of Malatesta and others. He forgets that when the law is decreed that it is illegal to possess weapons, everybody will hide what they have, waiting for the opportune moment. He forgets that the middle class who wanted a dictator like Paz Estenssoro ousted, could only see a dictator on whom to blame everything, but they will soon have a rude awakening. Teachers will not get better pay, houses will not be built.

The Americans rule. And he forgets, that if he is successful in his betrayal, another twenty years will go by wherein men will die assaulting police-stations and barracks for weapons. They will die in their thousands, because tanks take time to break down into little pieces to assemble later in some hiding place. Not that Lechin cares. He forgets, as do the middle class, the danger offered by the fascist guerillas in Santa Cruz, the creation of new fascist groups in the cities, where children are made killers, where the word "Indian" will again become a word to show hate, as the word "nigger" shows hate in South Africa, or the United States, or England. He forgets that the country is on the verge of a civil war.

General Barrientos hates the miners because he was twice humiliated by one, a man called Natalio Mamani, who has the character of a good soldier Schweik. Barrientos is the man the Americans favour—for the moment. So the Red Indian runs around everywhere in Bolivia like his brother the galloping Cosack, not seeing what is really going on under his nose.

Little men cannot favour anything but themselves, be they named Paz Estenssoro, Johnson or Wilson. But then, where freedom is concerned, the last word can only be said by people not politicians. The Bolivians have not yet learned about the little men. But who has, in all the world?

NOBODADDY.

## SACKINGS AVOIDED AT ROOTES

Workers at the Rootes plant at Linwood, near Glasgow, have successfully resolved the dispute with the management over five-day working. Rootes had wanted to sack 400 men and so make it possible to work 5 days instead of the present four, but this proposal was rejected and the management was told that action would be taken if they continued with the plan of sackings.

The talk of action by the men brought union leaders hurrying to Linwood to tell shop stewards to avoid strike action at all costs. I suppose the cost of men's jobs did not matter as long as production continued. Anyway the officials were not needed, for the shop stewards and the men came up with their own plan. This is the working of a five-day week on a rota system, with 300 or 400 different workers laid off each week, giving one week's unemployment in five instead of a day off each week for the whole factory. This will prevent any sackings.

William McLean, chairman of the shop stewards' committee, said that the

management had agreed to this plan and "Although the scheme means that there will be some transfer of labour inside the factory, and a small number of men will go onto a lower wage rate, the majority of the workers felt this was better than 300 or 400 of their work-mates losing their jobs. It will meet the management's case for a general rise in productivity and efficiency, and we expect the new system will start on November 30th."

The case for a "general rise in productivity and efficiency" sounds a bit ominous to me, but is this to be achieved through the actual five-day working and not by any further efforts by the workers themselves? The introduction of this rota system illustrates the solidarity that does exist at the Linwood plant. It is also an example of control being maintained by the workers themselves of the job and conditions instead of it being the prerogative of the management. The workers are capable, with their own organisation, of running the whole plant themselves. P.T.

## Anti-Election Campaign in Notting Hill

later that day, Des MacDonald gave bloodcurdling revolutionary speeches and, after a street meeting, we ended up by demonstrating outside one of the many unused houses in the area. The crowd stared at the crocodile, if nothing else.

Fewer people in North Kensington voted in this election. I doubt whether our small numbers can have had much effect; maybe we prevented a few X's from going on the ballot papers. There are many reasons for this decline in voting, but one thing is certain:—people in this area are becoming increasingly disillusioned with conventional politics.

ANDREW LLOYD.

After meandering through the summer without much activity, the Notting Hill anarchist group started their anti-election campaign in conjunction with the West London Working Group of the Committee of 100.

We produced the "Why Vote?" leaflets and managed to distribute them throughout most of the houses in North Kensington; more were handed out during the street meetings we held on Saturdays in the Portobello Road (olde antique quarter) and Golbourne Road (slum quarter). These meetings attracted little attention at first, but during the fortnight preceding the election, we managed to get small audiences. In the poorer area there was some sympathy for the idea of refusing to vote; in spite of successive electoral promises, the area has remained one of high rents and poor housing. One old man I met declared himself a nihilist who had always had a soft spot for the anarchists; he also "hated the coloureds". Mosley may have declined, but the West Indians are still blamed for the bad conditions in the area; colour prejudice will remain for a long time, and it is not something that can be defeated by any ideological crusades.

Our pub meeting (to which the local candidates were invited) was mentioned in the local press, but was attended only by a handful of anarchists. The West London papers often give a fair coverage to our activities. During the summer, there was a large column devoted to our anti-election campaign and briefly summarising our philosophy; and a couple of us were treated to a front page column after we had been arrested for fly-posting the "Greatest Circus in the World", and other posters. The local police are quite fair, really; they'd been chasing Tory fly-posters a few nights before they got us.

Fly-posting:—we put up a few "circus" posters and produced the "Why Vote—It's a Double X" stickers; but we relied mainly on slogans printed on walls and pavements with the ingenious "politslog" device.

On the Saturday before the election, we paraded down the Portobello Road, carrying posters and "led" by the papier maché crocodile/politician that was used in the Trafalgar Square entertainment

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## SWF Conference Report

THE Sixth National Conference of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation was held in London on Sunday, 15th November.

The Secretary reported that steady progress had been made over the last year, but there had been the problem of moving premises, although they had received the full co-operation of the landlord who had paid all expenses. Membership had doubled in the last year, but this was still very scattered. The opinion was voiced from the floor that the Federation should not be just a card holding organisation, and everyone agreed that an active membership was what was needed.

In the election of officers, Bill Christopher and Mark Hendy were re-elected as General Secretary and Treasurer respectively, and with six other members would form the National Committee.

Reports from Groups: The London members had taken part in a number of demonstrations and played their part on the Christie-Carballo Committee. Regular Sunday meetings at Speakers' Corner had been arranged, at which literature was sold. A number of leaflets have been produced and S.W.F. members of the Notting Hill Anarchist Group, together with the West London Committee of 100 had helped with the Anti-Parliamentary campaign.

Groups in other parts of the country reported on the various activities in which they had taken part. The delegate from Tunbridge Wells Group told how they had assisted tenants who had

been threatened with eviction and were still carrying out a campaign against a property company which was responsible for this.

The National Committee of the S.W.F. reported that a 50% increase in the circulation of Direct Action had been achieved in spite of the fact that they had been handicapped by the move and the theft of type. The pamphlet, "How Labour Governed" had been reprinted, but so far, they had been unable to bring out the pamphlet "Methods of Struggle in Industry", which had been mandated at the last conference.

The question of printing facilities was an important item. A new printing press was badly needed and there was general discussion on the pros and cons of co-operation with other organisations of similar views who might be considering buying a press. Most members were not in favour of joint ownership of a press and felt that the S.W.F. should try to buy one of its own.

A Birmingham member had written in criticising the article, in the September issue of D.A., on the arrest of Christie and Carballo and his letter was read out by the Secretary. He wanted to know if the conclusion that Christie was framed had been based just on the statement "Please believe me. I am innocent". He also felt that the subject of the arrest had been used for a general attack on the Franco regime instead of helping Stuart. There was no discussion on this because a motion to move onto the next business was passed with a vote

of 20-15 in favour. At the end of the conference some members protested at the way this had been handled and deplored the fact that the Birmingham member's question had not been answered, neither had any discussion taken place.

The question of "Industrial Activity" came up and it was hoped that committees could be formed in different areas to carry out this work. One had already been formed in London and was going to organise factory-gate meetings and the sale of D.A. to industrial workers. Broadsheets on different industrial disputes were also discussed as well as the possibility of doing something for workers in the catering trade, whose pay and conditions were very bad.

On "Relations with Other Groups", it was felt that the S.W.F. could work with these on certain things where common agreement existed.

The conference closed with a short discussion on "International Relations". Members deplored the fact that while the Secretariat of the International Working Men's Association recognised the minority group in Argentina, calling themselves the true F.O.R.A., they refused admission of the majority organisation of the F.O.R.A. to the association. The Conference expressed the wish that these groupings could come together, but from reports, this seems impossible, at least for the time being.

Following this, a Southall member proposed a resolution, which was passed, that S.W.F. members should do their utmost to combat racial discrimination. The Conference was then closed. P.T.

## WHO WILL FIGHT POVERTY?

Continued from page 1

economies for decades to come, obviously raise the standards of living of limited sections of the workers by offering them higher wages than on the land, as well as creating possibilities for a new class of managers, technicians, salesmen and so on. It does not solve the problem of food shortages, except in the financial sense that industrialisation provides more money with which to buy food. But that is assuming the food is available. A writer in the *Sunday Times* quotes the figures for production of food grains in India as having risen from 55 million tons in 1951 to 80 million tons in 1961 but that production "has remained at about that level since". Bearing in mind the annual population growth of over 8 million (partly accounted for by the rise in life expectancy from 27 in 1947 to 46 now) and that higher incomes has meant greater demand for more and better food, the failure of Indian agriculture to expand during the past three years must have repercussions not only in India but outside, for it means that what supplies it can buy from America and Canada will not be available for other countries in much greater need in that they are for various insurmountable reasons at present unable to produce all the food they need.

Obviously the poor countries need all the things that we take for granted in the "rich" countries. Of course they need industrialisation if it is geared to speeding up the production of the basic necessities of life so that they become available to all the people in these countries in the shortest possible time. There are two ways of tackling this problem. Mr. Clark in the paragraph quoted above has pointed to the wrong way. The question is whether the right way is possible at government level so long as the political and financial set-ups in the giving (or lending?), and receiving, nations are what they are.

If not, and we suspect they are not—Mr. Wilson's opening speech at the Conference (as reported in the *Guardian*) was that of an accountant rather than that of a socialist—then it were time that other people than governments tackled the problem as a direct one between people of the have and have-not countries. After all the finance and the personnel that would be at the disposal of governments don't come to them from outer space; we the people create the wealth and provide the personnel which governments manipulate; why don't we learn to use our resources ourselves?

(The pretensions of government were illustrated so well only last week when it was stated that for the Kennedy Memorial Appeal for £1 million "the government would match pound for pound what was contributed by the public"—out of the Cabinet Ministers' increased salaries, or out of the taxpayers' pockets, willy nilly?)

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WHEN one comes to examine the possibilities of such direct action one is assailed by a kind of pessimism, for the question that comes to mind is: "What in fact have we done in our own country about the problem of the poor?" Ask anybody this question and they will almost invariably agree that as a community we have done very little for the old, the sick and the lonely-poor in our midst. Their demands are much more on our

attention—that is our time, than on our money, and as a community we have both to spare; as individuals it often means the complete sacrifice of one generation to another which, as a community, we should not tolerate for one minute.

As anarchists we should launch the idea that *solidarity* starts at home in order to be on strong ground to argue that because the world is our "home" we must also play our part in helping the peoples of the poor countries to raise themselves out of their situation of despair.

Why are we, as anarchists cynical of the intentions of the American or British governments so far as the have-not countries are concerned if not because of the cheese-paring way they tackle the material problems of the poor in our midst?

Similarly we should be the first to understand the problems that could be created for large numbers of workers, as wage earners, by a policy of unrestricted immigration, without, for one moment, overlooking the urgent, vital problems that oblige the immigrant workers to quit the familiar surroundings to which they are probably deeply attached. And one can, we hope, do this without earning the charge of being either racialists or nationalists. It is surely obvious that but for the availability of an unlimited supply of labour power from other countries to fill jobs which were too badly paid to attract the number of workers needed, those jobs would today command much higher rates of pay than they do. For the boss class, and the professionals, immigration is if anything an asset: cheap fodder for the unskilled jobs, for the public services as well as for domestic service. For a large number of native workers they appear as a threat to their living standards so long as they do not succeed in understanding or see the possibility of establishing a community of interests and a need to offer a united front to their bosses.

But we would deserve to be considered naive if we thought for one moment that in the present state of human emancipation, a queue of immigrants (Irish, Spanish or Italian no less than West Indian or Pakistani) outnumbering the jobs available by say three to one, would feel inclined to unite to maintain the wage rates (though in fact this would be their best tactic if only they felt linked by solidarity as victims of the same enemy).

But if anarchists seek to be effective in their propaganda they must understand the rational as well as the irrational bases of arguments and attitudes among workers with which they may disagree. Otherwise there can be no real contact, and for them we will appear to be talking in abstractions.

For this reason we fear that our desire, as anarchists to establish a community of understanding and interest between the people of this country and the hungry nations of the world can only result in symbolic rather than real action; that is, until we show ourselves ready and able to confront the real problems on our own doorsteps. And until we do something along the lines we have outlined we must stand by and leave the initiative to the politicians, who, as we were pointing out earlier on, are doing no more than threatening to be "lavish" with the resources which are the product of our labour as wage-earners, and without, as Mr. Clark wrote, "hardly making a dent in world poverty."

SIR FRANK SOSKICE claimed that 31,000 immigrants had evaded the Commonwealth Immigrants Act by staying on, even though only admitted here as visitors, and thereby evading the control. The government decided that immigration control under the Act must go on but the Commonwealth should be brought into the arrangements. There is also going to be legislation to prevent anti-colour discrimination in public places and a study of ways in which the Government can help countries sending immigrants. Mr. Ben Parkin pointed out in the debate that London Transport's recruiting of men from Barbadoes was "one of the wickedest things this country has ever done . . . You are taking the young and active men to this country. What are they going to get in return is a steady flow of elderly, experienced Tube drivers". . . .

THE EGYPTIANS were detected deporting a spy from Italy amongst their diplomatic baggage. An East German who emigrated to the West was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment by the West for deceiving a girl friend to the East and switching her passport to his waiting wife who he then took to the West. The Judge commented: "We understand the deed—but we cannot pardon it". . . .

THE WEST GERMANS were privileged to import the prose works of Prince Charles, the 16-year-old Prince of Wales. The *Daily Mirror* claims that it was offered the publication rights but it rejected them because it "has never been guilty, as far as we are aware, of prying into people's private grief. It will certainly not become guilty of prying into the joy of a schoolboy." The *Express*, less priggish or more wildly threshing for circulation, published extracts of essays on 'Class-consciousness', 'The Press and Radio', and 'On a Desert Island'. The Prince (summarizing Lecky) said: "A political system in which the upper classes frequently contest elections has the advantage that the country is protected from speculators only interested in their personal fortunes and who have no interest in the country." On democracy, the Prince writes: "Only if every adult has the right to vote can one say that democracy has been fully realised. Unfortunately the tendency today is to vote for a certain party and not for individual members. For instance in an English constituency a Labour man could be a magnificent candidate and the Tory candidate most undesirable." Finally says the *Express*, "The Press, writes Charles, might do a great deal of harm in the way it criticises various people and thus embarrasses them. But, he goes on, 'The Press, radio, and television protect the people from the Government in many



ways, by letting them know what is going on maybe behind their backs in some cases." The *Mirror* more coyly says: "If his views on the Press are as stated, they are certainly a step forward from the views of the Duke of Edinburgh. Prince Charles should have a word with his dad. In fact the young Prince's reputed views on newspapers entitle him to a free copy of the *Daily Mirror* for the rest of his life". . . .

MRS. HAROLD WILSON at her press conference to the Ladies of the Press, in reply to a question "Which newspaper do you read?" replied adroitly, "I read them all", the questioner then asked "Do you look at one of the smaller ones first?" [*The Sketch* and *The Mirror* are small]. "Yes—you don't get the marmalade on the small one so often." "What do you read first?" "The leader page, and then the horoscopes." Mrs. Wilson was asked, "In spite of your preference for the simple life is there one really extravagant thing you would like, now it is possible?" Mrs. Wilson, according to the *Guardian*, hardly hesitated. "Yes," she said, "I would like to wear a tiara . . . and a friend is going to lend me one which I hope to wear soon." "But couldn't you have one of your own now?" "Oh no. They cost a great deal. £200 perhaps." Mr. Wilson said in the House of Commons that "The Government do not consider that in the present economic circumstances it would be appropriate for Ministerial salaries to be raised to the level recommended." He accepted an increase of £4,000 per year rather than £8,500 per year. His salary will now be £14,000 per year starting April 1st next. The Bank Rate was increased. More than 7,000 people were jailed for debt last year. Seven times the 1953 total. The cost of keeping debtors in jail was £100,000. Hungry and desperate after being without work for a fortnight, an unemployed man stole £1 2s. 0d. from a man who had befriended him and given him a night's lodging. The detective said the accused had a bad record and

said he did this to prevent himself committing a more serious offence. He wanted a fixed address so that he could draw National Assistance . . . He was remanded in custody at West London for a week. . . .

MR. ALFRED HINDS, late of several of Her Majesty's prisons moved the motion at London University averring that he had no confidence in British justice. He gave as instances of abuses perpetrated regularly by the plain-clothes police. "The stick-up", that is the arrangement of a crime by the criminal police in order to secure an arrest. The "T.I.C.", that is, "taken into consideration" that is it was agreed with the police by criminals that, to clear up crime statistics, additional cases would be "taken into consideration" at their trial and in consideration of this the police would not press for severe penalties. He also instanced 'verbals', that is, the method the police adopted by insinuating criminal slang into reports of conversations with accused men it was calculated to suggest to a jury that the man had a criminal record since he used criminal slang. No real criminal would dream of making such remarks as "It's a fair cop, guv". Nevertheless, Mr. Hinds conceded that the police were an 'unfortunate necessity' and the motion was lost. Mr. Michael Foot claims in a foreword to a new CND anthology that if it had not been for CND "Detective-Sergeant Challenor would still have been accepted as a credit to the force". . . .

C.N.D. ITSELF, it seems, only survived a three-days conference with a split in the executive, by postponing until Whitsun a decision about the future of the movement. "We are," said a delegate, "In Limbo. If we can't make up our minds now which way we're going, we never will." It was felt by Mr. George Clark that a new political situation might be created when Mr. Wilson returned from Washington. However he is not expected to ban the bomb although he did ban the shipment of arms to South Africa, after Verwoerd challenged him and months after the United States and Sweden did so. Dr. Verwoerd said Mr. Wilson's statement was 'inconclusive' and he would wait and see. . . .

MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation said "I can prove that Martin Luther King is the most notorious liar in the country". Mr. King said "Mr. Hoover was a man faltering under the awesome burdens, complexities, and responsibilities of his office. I have nothing but sympathy for this man who has served his country so well." Dr. King is on his way to collect the Nobel Peace Prize.

JON QUIXOTE.

## ROUND THE GALLERIES

A PERENNIAL ploy of the culture-conscious literati is the place of the artist within this or that society and no one rises happier to the hook than the painter. The stream of printed pulp from the expanding and collapsing publishing houses long ago damned the writer as the creature of his belly or his conscience while the fact that economically, poetry is worthless, has saved the good, bad or indifferent poet from the role of singing carion.

But, like postage stamps, paintings can by clever manipulation come to possess a value as a form of international currency in that though they may be aesthetically worthless an international coterie of dealers can and will guarantee that their artificial values will transcend frontiers and on the myth that trivia with a high price tag is no longer trivia many a sad hack of the brush has looked at his own purple daubings, believing that by the mere act of publicly proclaiming that he is an artist, he has divorced himself from the world of the horny-handed and moved a little nearer to the Godhead. If I should sound a little bitter it is that this day I witnessed Frankenheimer's film *The Train*, based on Rose Valland's book *Le Front de l'Art* in which a number of incidents are said to actually have taken place. There within this film we watch the German military enter the Louvre and without even a signed permission proceed to pack and remove various contemporary paintings. The camera plays on the names of Braque and Renoir, etc., stencilled on the sides of the packing cases, while the film audience sweat it out in a cold anger as the Teutonic philistines rape the West of its cultural heritage. The wickedness of this film lies in the acceptance that

French working men and women should be asked and agree to lose their lives in an attempt to stop these canvases being shipped off to Germany.

We are shown time and time again simple men of simple faith and simple minds being slaughtered like dogs to stop the transfer of these paintings while at least one unfortunate promises himself that one day he too will go to Paris to gaze upon this packaged beauty and then he dies for culture.

Five minutes spent in a simple analysis of the situation should have shown that if the Germans had won this war they would take their loot when and how they pleased, while if they lost, the victors would automatically reclaim the various art treasures, as they did, while to suggest as the film does that the Germans would sell the paintings to further their war efforts in the last months of the war must display a deliberate misunderstanding for no society isolated by war from the rest of the world could find a market for a Renoir or even a Mickey Mouse postcard and yet it is said that men and women died because of this!

The same day that I watched this film I later walked into the sales rooms of Sotheby & Co. in Bond Street. Here is the graveyard of the arts when they have no value but the financial value that the pawing dealers place upon them. There through the empty rooms one can wander only to be disturbed by an occasional small-time dealer fingering the cheaper prints and watercolours and scribbling his profit margin in his small note book while there on the walls of grey and brown sacking hang the culture for which these French men and women died. I wrote down the names as I

passed by each canvas: Renoir, Klee, Vlaminck, Yves Tanguy, Pablo Picasso, Jaylensky, Kandinsky, Feininger, Jackson Pollock, Braque, Schwitters, Dubuffet, Miro, Wois, the list unfolded and I disturbed no one, for no one was interested. On an appointed day they would be auctioned off and shipped God knows where and do you or anyone else really care? If our National Art Collectionse pour out their governmental charity to buy a single one of these canvases we shall be told that the Nation has added to its cultural treasure-house yet one could have stood on Sotheby's on that cold winter's afternoon and literally pissed over the painting of one's choice without the single attendant bothering to turn away from his major job of selling threepenny sales catalogues to an occasional prospective buyer for without the big drum of the Bond Street art-huckster to whip up interest, without the sycophantic art critic ready to scream that here is beauty revealed, without an educational system that teaches everything but the rejection of false official values men and women will always be subservient to the tainted and self-deceiving prophets.

If one had to choose between the destruction of every canvas within the National Gallery or shortening the life of a State-convicted man by ten minutes, then there should be no hesitation in the choice for if one hesitates it is to lose faith in our very selves and to believe that we can no longer advance beyond these dead talents enshrined within their State tombs, for the life of an individual can never be of less value than the painted canvas, the carved marble or the chiselled stone. A minor military incident in 1945, an American film and an empty London sales room all interweave the evil belief that the living must be sacrificed to the material, for the gun and the cheque are but the same means to a sterile end.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Government is, in its essence, always a force working in violation of justice.'

LEO TOLSTOY

## Anarchism & Automation

### BRAZIL!

STUDENT LIFE

# 50 Days of Dynamic Inaction

THE Wilson government is nearly halfway through those promised "one hundred days of dynamic action", and whilst no one can deny that the Prime Minister and his colleagues have been busy, it is difficult to detect signs of "dynamic action." Of course there will be no "dynamic action" not because of Mr. Wilson's small voting majority in the House, but because he, no less than his predecessors, is a pawn in the hands of the permanent civil servants, as well as being unwilling to put the bankers, the financiers, the

F.B.I. and the International Cartels on the spot.

It is significant that Treasury red tape does not find any difficulties in increasing the tax on petrol, or levying a surcharge on imports overnight but needs months to sort out pension increases. We are told that there are something like 2,000 different pension rates, and that even if the presses worked night and day the new books will not be available until next March. "Dynamic action" means cutting through the red tape of bureaucracy. Just as every petrol

station in the country changed its prices overnight, so should it be possible to instruct the post-offices throughout the land to honour the existing counterfoils at the new rates.

As to the fate of the pound sterling, for a party which alleges that it seeks to bring about a new social order based on justice and equal rights and opportunities for all, what does it matter what the speculators in the money markets do? Is the Wilson government in office to defend the pound sterling or to ensure

that everyone in this country by their efforts can earn enough to have a square meal every day, a roof over their heads, and other material needs, and services as well as the leisure to do what they like and to live? All the recent government manoeuvres have contributed not one iota to these ends. In defending the pound all Wilson has been doing is protecting the speculators and the bankers at the expense of the people of this country. For the majority of the wage-earning public it matters little whether at the end of the week they are paid in pounds or peanuts—assuming that they can buy their food and pay their rent with peanuts. It matters little to them if the pound is devalued in relation to other currencies though it obviously matters a great deal to those individuals who make their fortunes speculating in the currency markets. The recent "run" on the pound and the "rescue" operations put into effect by the central banks when even the government's two per cent increase in bank rate failed to halt it, were manoeuvres dictated not by public interest but by money interest. Let us quote the *New York Times* editorial (November 30):

The central bankers of the free world deserve credit for responding to the sterling crisis with speed and courage. Their prompt action in backing the pound saved Britain's currency, but even more important, it prevented an undermining of the international monetary framework and forestalled financial crisis. (Our italics).

Note the italicised passage for it is significant as is also the following: "Now, the speculators are in for another beating because the massive resources mustered by the international consortium, together with the protective measures taken

by Britain's Labour Government, are strong enough to weather the storm". For it emerges from the foregoing that the working people are the shuttlecock in a financial struggle between the "international consortium" (i.e. central banks) and the "speculators", with Mr. Wilson playing the game of the banks. Is that the long and short of the "crisis"?

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IF the government were to declare that it could not function without the banks, that at least would be an honest admission, and if it resigned forthwith one would feel nothing but respect and admiration for Mr. Wilson and his colleagues. Of course they will do neither. The desire for office is stronger than either their dignity or their intellectual honesty. It seems to us that if Mr. Wilson had no intention of being the cat's paw of international finance he could have by now demonstrated his dynamic intentions simply by protecting the internal economy from the international speculators. As no mean economist himself, and a professed socialist, has he not during the years in thoughtful opposition succeeded in devising a means whereby it would be possible to operate two currencies one for internal use, the other for the purpose of imports and exports. After all if we cannot export more than we import what better way of keeping the "books straight"—and preventing the situation Mr. Wilson found when he took office of a deficit of payments of about £600 millions which had apparently escaped Sir Alec's notice. And if Mr. Wilson knows, as he does, that there is a large quantity of "hot money"

Continued on page 3

## CONGO - Hell on Earth!

IF there is Hell on Earth then the Congo could be it.

The Belgians were slung out after many long years of a vicious, changing to a paternal regime. The theory that "Africans are like children" was carried out to the letter by the Belgian administration. To them the Congo and the Congolese people were there to be exploited, particularly the jewel of the Congo, Katanga Province, rich in mineral deposits. Katanga was and still is the happy hunting ground for foreign investors.

In July 1960 Tshombe was the self-styled leader of the Katanga Province which broke away from the Central Congolese Government. The issue of the break-away was ostensibly on the question of Nationalism or tribalism. On the one hand was the desire for a strong unitary state in the Congo and on the other, the desire for a federal State based on tribal alliances. This was the direct result of Belgium's colonial policy, to encourage tribal governments, playing one chief against another, the old policy of divide and rule. Belgian and Northern Rhodesian vested interests stood by waiting to pluck the prize jewel from a bewildered Congo, where a yearly output of 300,000 tons of copper were involved.

Belgian troops maintained Tshombe's position in Katanga, he was their puppet. He stated on 21.7.60 that "If Belgium does not want to lose the fruits of 80 years work in the Congo she must recognise our independence. If she does not do this our riches will be lost to the free world for ever."

The Congo Government appealed to the United Nations against Belgian aggression.

On July 7th, 1960 U.N. Security Council recognised the sovereign independence of Congo. On July 14th, 1960, U.N. adopted a resolution calling for the withdrawal of invaders and authorising military assistance to *SUPPORT THE LEGAL CONGO GOVERNMENT*.

U.N. military action in the Congo was one of backing all and sundry. Franco-British financial interests were not happy with U.N. action, and promptly set about sabotaging the whole affair hence the resignation of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien; who raised such a stink that 3 Deputies were suspended from the Dail in Ireland for asking for a debate on his statement. The United Nations left the Congo in June 1964 on a technical knockout.

The Congo has been a cesspool of intrigue since 1960. Lumumba was murdered, Tshombe was thrown out, varying factors have struggled against each other, all to the detriment of the Congolese people. Hunger and disease have spread like wildfire.

In January this year was a full-scale revolt in one of the provinces. It was led by an ex-minister of the Lumumba Government. This revolt spread so quickly that the American magazine *Time* on August 14, had to admit "Slowly but surely the country is slipping out of the Government's grasp. In the seven months since the current wave of revolt began in Kwilu Province, various rebel bands have captured fully a third of the nation."

This situation could not be tolerated by outside vested interests particularly America who were strongly backing Adoula the reigning premier, who couldn't muster a majority in his own parliament. In July of this year Tshombe was brought back—the stooge returned, he was so desperate he freed his bitterest left-wing opponent Antoine Gizenga. Tshombe failed to get support even from Gizenga so the Congo had to be conquered by force to become part of the "free world". The Congolese National Army have had enough fighting, Tshombe has to be propped up by well-paid mercenaries recruited from South Africa. Military equipment and money for this imperialist adventure comes from the United States. With the American's supporting Tshombe as the counter-revolution, the rebels have to be supported by the Chinese, this keeps the book straight. Both sides have a stake in this bloodbath, America wants to save Congo for the "Free World" and China wants the "glorious" influence of "Communism" to spread. What havoc, misery and murder occur in the process, this is the price the Congolese people have to pay, they have no choice.

Stanleyville—one can only express sympathy for all those who were killed

and injured. And for the Congolese still alive, their Hell continues with the possibilities of a typhoid epidemic.

Human beings have gone made in the Congo and will do so again unless some sort of cure is attempted. The Congolese in the final analysis are the only people who can solve their problem and they can only do this when the army supporting the vested interests are kicked out with all the trappings of the power-seeking politicians.

Suez, Sharpeville and now Stanleyville, this is the kind of progress we are making in 1964 plus half-a-dozen was going on to prove we are really civilized. If we really sit and think for a minute we must realise how we, the Joe Soaps, in every country are being literally murdered both spiritually and physically by the system we tolerate. In a few weeks time around December 25th, we shall be treated to "Good will to all men" and all that jazz, but on December 27th, the murder starts again, and will continue as long as we tolerate and accept it.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

### INDUSTRIAL NOTES

## DOCKERS—A CRITICAL TIME

The first report of the Devlin Inquiry averted the official dock strike called for December 1st. Both the employers and the unions have accepted this report, which gives the portworkers rises of 19/2d. for timeworkers and 5% for pieceworkers. The unions were claiming 25/- and 5%, respectively while the employers offered only 12/6d. and 3 1/2%.

The report rejects certain points that the employers made, namely that the dockers' "average" wage compared favourably with workers in other industries and because of the reduction in hours, this has meant that all dockers have continued to work the same amount of hours, but more being at overtime rates. The report says that the dockers' wages have fallen behind those of other workers and that the four hours reduction has meant that more men were taken on at the "proving attendance" and this has actually reduced working hours. It also says, "We therefore conclude that the employers were able to absorb the effect of the reduction in hours by a more effective use of their labour force without an increase in overtime working."

The employers had based their case mainly on this issue of overtime working, for although the dockers have not received a national pay award for 2 1/2 years, the employers claimed that the two reductions in hours, the 42-hour week starting in August 1962 and the

40-hour week of July this year, had in fact meant a pay increase and so they could only offer 12/6d. and 3 1/2%.

The portworkers came out of the inquiry with an average increase in that over a 2 1/2 year period, it conforms to the "norm" of 4 or 5%. Even if an official strike had taken place, it is unlikely that the figures would have been exceeded, for the union leadership were in favour of accepting the employers' last offer but this was turned down by the dockers' delegates. There had been strong rank and file pressure all through the negotiations, but it seems that there was not the support for further action to gain the full 25/-.

There are two other inquiries which commence in the New Year, these being "Decasualisation" and "Causes of dis-sension in the Industry and other matters affecting the efficiency of working". The issue of decasualisation is one on which the docker could stand to lose. Plans for this, drawn up and agreed on by the employers and the unions, have already been rejected, but in this the employers see their chance of bringing the individual worker into a more controlled position and reducing his traditional freedom.

At the present time, the majority of dockers hire themselves out each day, sometimes working on cargoes from which high rates of pay can be earned and sometimes not. Some days he

might not even be picked out and will only receive his "attendance money". With decasualisation he will work for one employer. This could break down the solidarity which exists among the dockers, and although they may have regular work, it could mean a smaller pay packet and worse working conditions. But these are questions which must be decided upon by the dockers themselves and not by Courts of Inquiry, employers or union leaders, who in some cases have never unloaded a cargo in their lives.

The next few months will be a critical time for portworkers. Over the past few months there has been continual publicity given to the question of congestion in London's docks, "restrictive practices", "unofficial strikes", etc. These things are seen as handicaps to what is called "our vital need to export more". The new Labour Government seems far more anxious to do something about this, but will it be at the expense of the portworkers' pay and conditions? Any encroachment on these must be resisted.

With the trade union leadership being unwilling to rock the Government's boat, they will do their utmost to make their members accept agreements which are not beneficial. The rank and file must see that their interests are not sacrificed for those of the Government's policy and the employers' quest for higher profits. P.T.

## ANARCHY 46

OUT NEXT WEEK, DISCUSSES

## Anarchism AND THE Historians

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 2s. on the first Saturday of every month