

'Wealth is acquired by over-reaching our neighbours, and is spent in insulting them.'

WILLIAM GODWIN

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

Unemployment again

IN November 544,451 people were out of work and all but 47,000 are wholly unemployed. The figure is the highest November figure since 1940 when, as a *New Statesman* writer succinctly put it "war, the super-Keynesian, solved the problem of the Thirties". We do not believe that the situation has been reached where war will again be used to solve the problem . . . of the sixties, though since the Korean war proved to be an effective, even if temporary, tonic or pick-me-up for certain sections of the American economy, it will be interesting to observe how the American and British governments react to the local war between China and India, the prolongation of which will depend on the extent of Western intervention with military and other "aid". But we were saying, that in spite of growing unemployment, the problem today is not identical with that of the thirties. Apart from the pockets of high unemployment in Scotland, Northern Ireland and the North of England, the national average of 2.4 per cent. is still within the kinds of limits which Beveridge and other advisers to the ruling class on "full employment" considered necessary to keep the working people on their toes and prevent them from "slacking" or changing their jobs every few months for more money. To paraphrase Orwell, full employment is good, not-quite-full-employment is better! But mass production needs mass markets; finance companies need workers in jobs if their instalments are to be paid, and if they are to extend their tentacles to those schoolleavers who join the labour-force. The uneven distribution of unemployment is against their interests. It does not achieve the

desired ends where it is virtually non-existent; and where it is particularly acute it affects the "prosperity" of the community as a whole by a kind of chain reaction, for the simple reason that nearly half the working community today are engaged in providing "services". Acute local unemployment results in less spending on food and services which, if it shows no signs of improvement, inevitably results in unemployment in the distributive trades and in the entertainment and other services, thus setting in motion a snowball of unemployment and financial depression. The *Financial Times* had this in mind when in an analysis of the present situation it concluded that it was only in the North, North-East and in Scotland that "unemployment needs careful watching, to stop its possible economic benefits from being more than offset by social loss". (Our italics).

We invite every reader to re-read the foregoing italicised passage, not that we believe most of our readers have anything but a healthy cynicism so far as the capitalist system and its defenders are concerned, but in order that they should savour to the full the hypocrisy contained in the references to "economic benefits" and "social loss". We would rewrite these conclusions in less euphemistic terms: "Up to 3 per cent. unemployment evenly spread over the whole country gives employers the weapon they need to control their operatives, and to

black-list the 'agitators' and the 'inefficient'. Uneven unemployment means that increased productivity and increased production potential will be nullified in areas of high unemployment by an all-round decrease in 'spending power', whereas in the areas of 'high spending power' productivity, etc. will not be increased because labour demand exceeds supply".

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IF "social loss" refers to the interests of society, it must take into account the needs of every member of the community. And even if one applies the sanction that "he who does not work neither shall he eat" or the collectivist concept that "to each according to his deeds", both presuppose that every individual has the right and possibility of working to live. The fact that the capitalist system does not in principle recognise either these rights or possibilities, condemns it for what it is: a system which exists to perpetuate the privileged status of a minority irrespective of the needs and aspirations of the majority. Without minimising the achievements of the revolutionaries as well as the sincere reformists and pioneers of the Trades Union movement of the 19th

century it would be unrealistic, and for anarchists foolish, to attribute the improvement of working and living conditions in the "West" to the revolutionary agitations and the pressures of the reformists and the bourgeois do-gooders without taking into account the potentials, so far as the common good was concerned, of the Industrial Revolution itself. Clearly, what we are arguing is that

the defeat of the anarchists and revolutionary socialists by the parliamentary socialists in the late 19th century and the subsequent improvement of the lot of the workers, viewed from this age of (Western) affluence, cannot be either attributed to irresistible forces of progress or ignore that in pursuing its narrow material interests a section of the

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CHINESE STRATEGY

ONLY an envious politician or a Nehru could deny that the Chinese cease fire and voluntary withdrawal to the line they occupied in 1959, was a brilliant tactical move and beautifully timed. It has caused consternation in Indian circles and made the horde of American and British advisers, who descended on Indian soil to see how they could keep the military pot boiling, look more than a little foolish.

It was obvious that Nehru should express all kinds of doubts as to the genuineness of the Chinese

move, and yet one cannot help feeling that after all the blustering he will have to accept the *fait accompli*. What alternative has he?

As to the Chinese attack itself, the Chinese have made it clear that the action they took was forced on them not only by military provocation by Indian troops on the frontier, but also by Nehru's refusal to settle the frontier dispute. Their attack was an example of "politics by other means", and Mr. Nehru should understand this language, since it is exactly what he himself did over the problem of Goa. For years he had sought to solve the problem with the Portuguese by diplomatic means without response from the Portuguese. So without asking anybody's permission he sent in his army and solved the problem that way. The Chinese it could be said were rather more subtle in the way they went about it. Having negotiated the most difficult, and mountainous, terrain, and having open before them the Assam plain they halt their advance and withdraw their troops from the occupied territory, so that discussions can start. Obviously Nehru finds himself in a position of inferiority, but still, what's all the fuss about? A few mountain-ranges, which as the Chinese have shown are not impregnable defences. So why not get the business settled and get on with the much more important business of feeding India's hungry millions!

ANARCHY 22

presents a conversation between

MARX & BAKUNIN

and other features

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Hennessy rides again

THE Chairman of Fords, Sir Patrick Hennessy, has re-opened his campaign against unofficial stoppages. His attack this time is levelled against the workers who are employed on the building of the new Fords' factory at Halewood, near Liverpool. According to Hennessy, the work on the factory is six months behind schedule, the cause of this being the loss of 81,000 days of work due to the number of disputes on the site.

The Liverpool area has for a long time been hit by unemployment and in order to relieve this situation, the Board of Trade, by devious methods, persuaded several of the large firms, Fords included, to open new factories on Merseyside. This was some time ago, but so far, however, the Fords' factory has not produced a single car.

In his attack on these building workers, Hennessy laid emphasis on the fact that he considered it heartbreaking that, with so many thousands out of work in the Liverpool area, the factory was unable to get production started. We all know, or should know, that these are only crocodile tears, for Fords are always

ready to sack men when it suits them. Of course, the real reason that Hennessy and the rest of his co-directors are so worried about the situation, is because the delay is estimated to be costing the Company in the region of £70,000 per week.

Hennessy even went so far as to say that they were reconsidering the question of further expansion in the area, a warning of this having been given by Mr. Kuiper, the Ford Manager at Halewood, last September. At that time, the Building and Engineering Unions offered to discuss the problem of the hold-ups in the work with Mr. Kuiper and to arrange talks between the unions and contractors. These offers were turned down and Mr. Kuiper, according to the unions, stated quite firmly that he wanted no publicity over the hold-ups as it would be bad for the firm. Obviously Hennessy had conveniently forgotten that this warning had been given and that the unions had been given a flat refusal to their offer to discuss the situation in an attempt to solve the problem.

The Union officials in reply to Hennessy's statements denied that the job was six months behind because of the disputes. Two years ago it had been four months behind owing to subsoil trouble, but since then, the job had been kept well up to schedule. They also stated that his estimate of 81,000 man days must have included delays due to the weather and the two weeks' annual holiday. Mr. Kuiper, being a loyal servant, countered that if the weather and other difficulties were taken into consideration, it could be said that the job was a lot more than six months behind schedule. One union official said that the number of stoppages at the Ford site was not excessive considering the size of the job. However, due probably to the stand taken by Fords of Dagenham, labour relations had been deliberately worsened by many of the contractors.

According to reports, Hennessy was

astonished that the number of stoppages was not considered excessive. In reply to the accusation by the unions, that his warning was provocative and irresponsible, he said that the threat to reconsider the building of an extension to the £30 million factory was used only in the hope of putting an end to the disputes and delays. This extension is estimated to cost another £9 million and to employ an additional 2,500 men, but who knows, this may be no idle threat. With the probable entry of this country into the Common Market, it may be more profitable for Fords to have this extension added to one of their plants on the Continent.

It is a well known fact amongst building workers that delays are part and parcel of their jobs. A building site isn't a factory where materials are fed in at one end and a shiny new building comes out at the other. There are many problems and difficulties to contend with, both for men and management. The weather, which usually isn't very good can play havoc with the schedule, and if the men are unable to work they are

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This Year's

Anarchist Ball

will be held next year.

On January 25th at Fulham Town Hall

with Mick Mulligan & his Band and George Melly

Guest Artists will include Sidney Carter, Bob Davenport, Red Nerk, Redd Sullivan, Wally Whyton.

Price 6/-, Refreshments available.

TICKETS AVAILABLE SOON

UNEMPLOYMENT AGAIN

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community realises that these interests cannot be satisfied without the uncritical acquiescence of the majority both as producer and consumer.

How successful the ruling class have been and how unsuccessful the Trades Unions and the reformists is surely shown by the fact that on the one hand we now have the know-how to satisfy the needs of mankind, and on the other at least half mankind is living on starvation rations. Again, we have the possibility in the industrialised countries of applying the principle of "to each according to his needs" and yet the reality is that besides economic and status distinctions we have in this country more than half a million people who are not allowed to work and thereby earn the currency without which they and their dependents cannot live as normal human beings.

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In the interests of peace, apart from the fact that every worker is in any case obliged to contribute a part of his earnings every day that he works for the day he does not, the ruling class are prepared to give a part of their profits to provide the bare necessities for those workers who cannot find employment. Last Sunday's *Observer* glaringly demonstrates that in spite of the "affluent society" the dole today as a percentage of the average weekly earnings (for single men) is much lower than it was in the "hungry thirties". Taking 1935 as our index, "unemployment benefits" for a single man were 27 per cent of the average earnings; today they are only 19 per cent.

The least, therefore, that unem-

Why no education by the TUC ?

WHAT does the T.U.C. General Council offer as the solution to growing unemployment? In a letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer it takes the view that the growth of unemployment — of "wholly unemployed" — has taken place in spite of government measures to "stimulate activity" and in spite of the fact that "industrial production has been rising in recent months". In simple language it could be summarised in last week's *Tribune* headline "Poverty amid Plenty is Back in Britain". But is this so. Is there ever in fact "plenty" under capitalism?

There is only one solution to the problem of unemployment, and we repeat it for the *n*th time, and it is that once production is geared to the needs of the community, and once the community can satisfy its needs, the term unemployment, as well as hunger disappear from our vocabulary. For then unemployment is a maldistribution of the tasks by which society satisfies its needs; and hunger would be the result of calamity of nature, or an administrative mistake. Today, unemployment (which means penury in spite of the individual's willingness to work), shortages, and surpluses, are artificial, man-made situations which have meaning only in relation to an artificial economy which penalises the producers and favours a minority of parasites.

The T.U.C. points out that unemployment has increased "in spite of the fact that industrial production has been rising in recent months". If we were the government we would reply that the number of unemployed must be viewed in the light of the ever-increasing labour force, in part the result of the abolition of conscription and the drastic reduction of personnel in the armed

forces. Curiously enough or significantly neither the Government nor the Labour Party opposition have referred to the relation between unemployment among school-leavers and the abandonment of conscription. Do neither side want us to point to the relation between the cold-war and full-employment in the cold-war economy and full-employment in the capitalist society now that they are meeting for the 850th time in Geneva to discuss disarmament?

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THERE are in this country, in spite of their wishes, half a million people who are unemployed, that is, people who are denied the possibility of offering their labour in return for a wage, which in turn will give them access to the means of life for themselves and their dependents. What should they do? Firstly they should agitate for unemployment benefits no less than the national average wage. On this being refused by the government Tory, Liberal or Labour they should refuse to pay their landlord more than the percentage of their wage that they themselves receive as dole, and should be prepared to resist, with the aid of their friends the tough boys that the landlord will employ to evict them for non-payment of rent. Parallel with this direct action those of us who still retain our jobs or our well-paid emoluments should contribute "more than we can afford" to establish a fund to provide the necessities for those who have the opportunity, but can ill-afford, to challenge the *status quo*. For instance the families that resist eviction by the thugs employed by landlords (referred to in the Commons last week) should know that supporting them is a body of their fellows who will

automatically assume responsibility for their dependents, and will support them morally and materially in their resistance to eviction. They must not feel that it is a question of "Brown versus the State", but of the "Community versus the Ruling Class". When individuals feel that their actions are not only acclaimed but nurtured by their fellow beings it is surprising what you and all of us are capable of in the way of imprisonment persecution and unemployment!

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THE age of automation should also be an age of education. We need more school blocks and fewer office blocks; more teachers and fewer shorthand typists; more further education and less 11-plus. We need more houses and fewer slums. In the Liverpool area which has an above the average unemployment rate, as well as slum rate why isn't there a massive demand for work to be intensified on housing? Why do ship-building workers insist on building ships when the world is cluttered with idle ships, instead of insisting on building houses. As it is there are more than 70,000 construction workers on the dole, of whom 4,000 are in Liverpool alone.

The *Sunday Citizen* to our mind makes a good point when it suggests that idle plant and labour should be used to produce rolling stock and other industrial goods to

be given to underdeveloped countries. "If we can give arms to India to fight Communism, cannot we give the goods of life and peace?" All the financial measures proposed by the TUC to stimulate consumption "and thereby increase investor's confidence", or the suggested cut in Income Tax by the government, are simply stop-gap measures, which when they temporarily cure the complaint invariably are the cause of other complaints for which other measures have to be taken and so on. There is no way of reforming capitalism by legislation or by complicated economic theories. Capitalism is based on injustice. What we are witnessing today with thousands of people homeless, and hundreds of thousands and their families having to make do on a pittance because "there is no work for them" are examples of this injustice. All the talk about demand falling off, markets being competitive, etc., are problems of capitalism and could be solved if most of us not only believed in social justice and equality but were also prepared to act to bring it about. The Trades Union leaders today are part and parcel of the capitalist system. The initiative to end the system of exploitation and production for profits must come from the people themselves. What about the unemployed making a start instead of sitting at home moping?

Dr. Cyril Bibby president of Kingston-upon-Hull Training College said that sex prejudice was a root cause of race hatred and that when Oxford and Cambridge were struggling in the 13th and 14th centuries, the University of Timbuctoo was flourishing and had been for centuries. A Mr. B.K. (no relation) Nehru was reported in the *Seattle Times* as saying that the Mississippi crisis "could never happen in India. Discrimination is barred in our country, very strictly. Nobody would dare stop an untouchable from going to school in India. In fact we have special seats reserved for them." The director of the Internal Affairs Department of the World Jewish Congress claimed in Leeds that anti-semitism was becoming an international conspiracy. A branch leader of the National Socialist Movement resigned after nearly being hit by a brick thrown through his bedroom window, he said, "I never realized public opinion was so much against the party". Mrs. Meredith, speaking of the recent situation in Oxford, Mississippi said, "I don't see why they just use tear gas. With all the new things they've got pouring out of Cape Canaveral they must have something better." She suggested that they could envelop Mississippi with a non-lethal, but very permanent black dye. A Negro girl has applied for admission to the all-white University of Alabama. The University's only other Negro student was expelled in 1956 after three days for accusing officials of conspiracy. Over 100 white students left the University of Mississippi because of James Meredith's enrolment. A Southern Rhodesian Bishop objected to an election advertisement against 'enforced integration' showing white and brown schoolgirls' legs walking together as "insulting to any human being and to the Guide movement." The American Academy of Arts and Letters has ceased giving literary fellowships to the American Academy in Rome because the American Academy accused them of refusing to ratify a fellowship to John Williams, a negro novelist, this was denied by the Rome Academy. Centre for Research in Marketing of Peekskill, N.Y. polled 3,016 Negro families and found that Negroes like "to buy where they can work". 42% indicated that they patronised stores which had "positive" attitudes to negroes. A third said they will specifically select brands of companies which they believe have favourable policies towards Negroes. More than a quarter said they would not buy the products of a company that they thought had a "poor" attitude toward Negroes. Indeed, many Negroes considered their purchasing power a weapon in the battle for rights. The report concludes: "Such findings are becoming increasingly important to businessmen trying to make a sale". As William Capitan, president of C.R.M. summed up, "Understanding will open the way to more effective advertising, promotion, and distribution policies for those manufacturers who want to take advantage of the growing market". The Citizens' Council of Jackson, Mississippi has issued a pamphlet suggesting that

any school or university that the government "seizes by force" should be closed and reopened as a "private institution". John Frazier, aged 21, a Negro, announced he would apply for enrolment at the University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg. Mr. Barney Desai, a Coloured, was elected a city councillor in Capetown but was warned by the chief of the Western Security Branch that if he took his seat he might be committing an offence. The Reverend P. E. Blagden Gamblen of St. Bartholomew's, Derby, writing in his parish magazine said, "Christ died for all, black, white, and yellow, and we must love them as individuals, but that does not mean that there must be inter-mingling . . . Am I a Fascist because I think . . . that the will of God is that He made some white, and some black, and that He meant it that way, and not willed a coffee-coloured humanity?" In the same copy of *Combat* which quotes the Reverend subscriber's words with approval, they quote the statement of the physician in charge of the Department of Venereal diseases at two London hospitals that 50% of the men attending V.D. clinics in England and Wales were born abroad and men from the West Indies contributed 25% of this figure. The Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health confirms this increase, and immigration as it reason but adds, "But most infections among immigrants were contracted in Britain, many from prostitutes." Incidentally, in figures for 1960, half the cases treated were from the "normal population", one quarter West Indians, and one quarter infected abroad. 32 Filipino sailors on leave in South West Africa have been granted "full European rights". The Philippines are South Africa's biggest customers for canned fish. South Africa sold £2,500,000 of maize to Communist China last month. South Africa House concluded its series advertising column in the British press with a homely dialogue Q. "But does this conviction that you are right justify your treatment of some of your opponents? House arrest, for instance, appears to be an inhuman and unjust way of silencing your critics". A. "I do not think our measures against Communism call for an apology"—Q. "Surely you do not expect me to believe that every one who radically opposes your policy is a Communist?" A. "No, I don't. Those who oppose us



are certainly not all Communists. But more of them are than you might think . . . Thus many true Communists in South Africa have become accepted by many people abroad merely as good 'liberal democrats'. The dialogue finishes, "We insist, quite simply that self-determination is indivisible. If all African peoples are entitled to self-determination then we are too!" This space was not paid for by South Africa House. . . .

AN ACCOUNT of an artillery officer's imprisonment under Stalin was authorized by Krushchev's government and described by the Soviet Armed Forces *Red Star* as one of the most outstanding works of Soviet literature. The profit motive reared its ugly head in *Pravda* where it was considered as a possible method of increasing production. The Moldavian Supreme Court sentenced four men to death and imprisoned four others for a total of 62 years for currency speculation. Moscow's first Jazz Festival was held at the Ice-Cream Café on Gorky Street. The new British Ambassador in Moscow, Sir Humphrey Trevelyan, loaded most of the 100 seats in the RAF Britannia taking him there, with his eight tons of baggage, including a great deal of frozen food. News of the West in *Izvestia* is headed "Behind the Iron Curtain". *Pravda* complained that 'amateur' footballers from a collective farm named "The Road to Communism" were, in reality, professionals paid £20 a week for their football skill, plus fringe benefits. The Sunday supplement of *Izvestia* complained of the laundry services and the writer said, "The leading comrades are men. They don't know what a sink is and they should be compelled to do the washing once or twice—and the problem will be solved." It was approved at the recent plenum of the Soviet Communist Party that greater influence should be given to the 'workers' production committees" in factories to confer with management on planning, work norms, and organizational questions. However, emphasis was laid on the purely consultative nature of these bodies. Factory directors retained the final word. Confirmation was lacking of a Washington report that riots took place last summer in a southern Soviet industrial city of Novochevchinsk in protest against price increases in meat and butter, food shortages and work speed-up. . . .

THE ADVISORY County Cricket Committee, meeting at Lords decided to abandon the distinction between amateur and professional status in English cricket thus abolishing the appellation "Gentlemen"; The scruple will be abolished with a new bill before Parliament; The Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court suggested the development of the profession of counsellors in ethics who would prove helpful to other professionals "who wish to discern the right". He said the law was sometimes unable to solve problems of ethics. "Not everything which is wrong can be outlawed".

JON QUIXOTE.

be given to underdeveloped countries. "If we can give arms to India to fight Communism, cannot we give the goods of life and peace?" All the financial measures proposed by the TUC to stimulate consumption "and thereby increase investor's confidence", or the suggested cut in Income Tax by the government, are simply stop-gap measures, which when they temporarily cure the complaint invariably are the cause of other complaints for which other measures have to be taken and so on. There is no way of reforming capitalism by legislation or by complicated economic theories. Capitalism is based on injustice. What we are witnessing today with thousands of people homeless, and hundreds of thousands and their families having to make do on a pittance because "there is no work for them" are examples of this injustice. All the talk about demand falling off, markets being competitive, etc., are problems of capitalism and could be solved if most of us not only believed in social justice and equality but were also prepared to act to bring it about. The Trades Union leaders today are part and parcel of the capitalist system. The initiative to end the system of exploitation and production for profits must come from the people themselves. What about the unemployed making a start instead of sitting at home moping?

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Hennessy rides again

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sent home with a resulting wage loss. A fairly common occurrence is an alteration to the architect's plans due to a client suddenly changing his mind. This hardly makes for good relations when work which was erected a few days previously, has to be pulled down. The nature of the Building Industry, is such that the struggle to obtain good working conditions is made more difficult than normal, for the work is casual and a man may work for a number of employers in each year.

It has been reported in several papers that men working on the Halewood site have been earning high wages. The craftsmen have been getting £24-£27 per week and the labourers about £19-£21 per week, but it must be borne in mind that this is not the flat rate and it includes overtime and bonus. The basic union rates are very low and it is hard, especially for a man with a wife and family, to manage on a wage without overtime.

An outcome of all this has been the announcement that the Minister of Labour, Mr. Hare, is to instigate a probe into strikes in the Building Industry. He feels that there have been too many stoppages and in an effort to overcome these disputes he plans to have talks with employers and union leaders from all sections of the industry, concentrating on the problems of the big sites.

Of course there have been disputes and strikes, for this is the only weapon the workers have and the right to withdraw their labour must never be lost. On the whole it can be said that it pays workers to strike, for a well-planned, well-timed strike wins demands. P.T.

