

WE TOLD YOU SO!

ANARCHISTS ARE ALWAYS in the unhappy (or happy) position of having their predictions proved correct. Having to say, "We told you so" might help our egos but usually we get little pleasure when our forecasts come true. However what it does prove is that the anarchist analysis of power and its exercise is fundamentally correct.

As anarchists we are opposed to individuals or groups exercising power over others. Whether it is the foreman at work, the boss, the politicians who form the government, the bureaucrats who administer the State, the police and the armed forces, or finally the trade union leader.

The columns of FREEDOM have all along said that the trade unions would not stand firm against the government's Industrial Relations Act. The TUC's policy has been one of verbal opposition with a "wait and see" approach when they were confronted with the law. When a final clash did come with the railwaymen last year, co-operation and compromise were chosen instead of opposition and confrontation. But as the *Guardian* points out in a recent leading article: "Compromise lies at the heart of the political

art". And it is no surprise to us that Hugh Scanlon* should offer the government negotiations if they are willing to change sections of the Industrial Relations Act.

Recently we said that the TUC and the government would "horse trade" over concessions on a wages policy in exchange for amendments to the Industrial Relations Act. The government has kept an open door to the trade unions on this matter and only the week before last Mr. Heath offered them further incomes and prices talks.

Hugh Scanlon seems to be paving the way to just such talks and eventual compromise. His suggestions for changes are that isolated companies or individuals should not be able to take a trade union or trade unionists to the National Industrial Relations Court without the prior approval of the Secretary of Employment, and that trade unions should not have to register to be recognised as organisations subject to tax concessions.

To give "fair dos", Hugh Scanlon's union has so far defied the courts and in doing so kept to the original

*president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers

nal TUC policy of not giving evidence. For this principle the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has had to pay.

But what seems to have made for this change of heart is the government's legislation restricting pay. From April 1st it is unlawful for workers or trade unions to take action to force an employer to pay more than set out by the government. This could lead to just such a confrontation that the TUC has done its best to avoid over the Industrial Relations Act. If a compromise can be worked out on pay then the government would only be too willing to make changes in the Act. After all, the Act itself when it was used to gaoil the five dockers brought about the very sort of industrial action that both the government and the TUC want to avoid.

Both the politicians and the trade union leaders are happy and experienced at practising the political art of compromise. Neither of them wants to see a situation where the working class starts acting for itself, taking independent action to secure the fruits of its own labour. This is what scares even the "left wingers" like Scanlon, who talk about the working class

taking control but in fact want a society with more State control. His very proposal that the government should give prior approval to companies is giving the State that bit more control over our lives.

Freedom, liberty and workers' control are principles that trade union leaders and politicians use as their stock-in-trade only to board up with conditions.

The interests of the worker and the employer, the trade unionist and the trade union leader, the people and the State are opposed. Those who work for wages will always be exploited and treated as second class citizens. We are but paid producing whatever makes a profit.

Hugh Scanlon and the TUC do not want to change the master-slave position of labour. However, no matter how many times we have to say "we told you so", we believe that this position can change when enough people consciously desire it, that people can come together in free association and practise mutual aid, that industry can be run to produce necessary and useful goods by a system of workers' control. Hugh Scanlon and his ilk want a continuation of wage slavery. We as anarchists want to end it.

Editors

MORE SOCIAL INSECURITY

THE MYTH OF THE BENEVOLENT WELFARE STATE HIDES THE REALITY OF THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF POOR PEOPLE IN AFFLUENT BRITAIN WHO ARE FORCED TO LIVE FROM DAY TO DAY NEVER FREE FROM THE ACUTE PRESSURES OF ECONOMIC INSECURITY. THE LOW-PAID, THE UNSUPPORTED MOTHER AND THE OLD HAVE YET TO EXPERIENCE THE MILK AND HONEY WHICH THE POLITICIANS ALWAYS PROMISE BUT NEVER DELIVER. THE TIGHT-FISTED WELFARE BENEFITS, OFTEN UNPUBLICIZED OR POORLY PUBLICIZED, ARE OBTAINED AFTER A DEGRADING PROCESS OF WAITING AND INTERROGATION.

The recently published REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ABUSE OF SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS is symptomatic of an increasing pressure to cut back on welfare payments. The report called for an extension of the already outrageous system of official snooping including random checks on claimants and the employment of more special investigators. For the time being the Government has stated that it does not intend to introduce random checks but it is going to increase the number of special investigators -- at an undisclosed cost. Particularly obnoxious is the harassment of unsupported mothers whose mere friendship with a man is taken as grounds for suspicion that she is "co-habiting" with him and hence not entitled to any benefit.

The insidious attacks on our already inadequate welfare system are always presented in the guise of wanting to eliminate the "fiddlers" in order to "ensure that the really needy cases get what they deserve". In fact, the result -- and probably the intention -- is to increase the totally unjustified guilt of all claimants. To those in power everyone needs to be convinced that his misfortune is entirely his own fault -- i.e. he is too lazy or too stupid -- but never that the fault lies in the kind of society in which we live. The wealthy raise their hands in horror at the prospect that men can live better when out of work than when in work -- but the conclusion which should be drawn is that millions of men and women are paid at less than subsistence level for a week's hard labour.

It is a popular political cliché that the poor can only be helped by "increasing the prosperity of the nation" but all the experience shows that the poorest section of society reaps little benefit from the rapidly increasing wealth of the rich. Governments all over the world exist to rob us of the product of our labours and, consequently, it is absurd to expect any government to attend to the urgent needs of all its people: that is something we will have to do for ourselves when we take control of our own lives and freely organise society for the good of all instead of for the profit of a few.

Terry Phillips

ILL FARES THE LAND

LAST THURSDAY's *Guardian* cartoon portrayed a newspaper-reader outside an industrial slum saying to his depressed wife, "Cheer up, luv, - the CBI geezer says we're going to be peasants in Europe".

The 'CBI geezer' was Mr. Michael Clapham, president of the Confederation of British Industries, speaking to foreign press association correspondents at the Savoy, London. He said, "We now have less capital at the disposal of each man employed than our main competitors have: and unless we put this right we risk becoming the peasants of the western world". Incidentally, the Savoy and any other restaurant or club that Mr. Clapham doubtless patronizes are not especially noted for an efficient use of man- or woman-power. Their keynote is personal service; self-service is strictly for the proletariat. However, let us leave the industrial argument to others.

What is particularly significant about this remark is that the insult to peasants is something Mr. Clapham shares with Karl Marx and other Marxists. Thus is the dialectical process consummated.

During the same week the *Guardian*'s Michael Lake commented on the Minister of Agriculture's opposition to increases in E.E.C. farm prices, which, it is claimed, "breeds inefficient peasants".

Lake says: "The Bavarians are extremely inefficient farmers. They run small plots, unlike their East German neighbours, and they need high prices to offset their inefficiency" and, later:

"The French too, while having some highly efficient farmers, also have some incredibly inefficient peasants who pull up the average E.E.C. prices meted out every year. In effect, the system breeds continuing inefficiency, and fails to provide the spur for structural reform on the land - bigger, more economic farms, fewer people and greater productivity, which the Common Agricultural Policy [of the E.E.C.] is supposed to create"

So Britain is under the impression that in the Common Market we are being asked to subsidize ineffi-

cient peasants. Mr. Clapham, meet Mr. Lake!

The final blow is, as Mr. Lake writes, "Something has to be worked out. . . . A senior expert said yesterday 'I don't know the answer myself. They were trying to sort this out during the Tang Dynasty. Basically, the problem is insoluble. We just have to go on doing our best'."

Meanwhile, "Ill fares the land," in the words of Oliver Goldsmith, "where wealth accumulates and men decay".

Marxism's answer to the peasant problem was a sneer at 'rural idiosyncrasy' and a belief that the expansion of industry would enable the town-dwellers to bribe the food-growers with manufactured products in order to get foodstuffs. The great famine promoted under Stalin was a product of this policy; Khrushchev had a more cunning and productive policy, but even now, disastrous failures of harvests have made rationing necessary and soil erosion is not unknown in Russia as in capitalist America. In reality the peasant has little need of the townsmen but the townsmen have every need for the peasant.

The illusion that the soil is a feature of production like a conveyor-belt is one suffered equally by Mr. Clapham, Mr. Lake and disciples of Mr. Marx. Even Adam Smith saw the difference: "No equal capital puts into motion a greater quantity of productive labour than that of the farmer. Not only his labouring servants, but his labouring cattle, are productive labours. In agriculture too, nature labours along with man; and though her labour costs no expense, its produce has its value, as well as that of the most expensive workman".

Efforts to obtain maximum production from the land are not only shortsighted but pay no regard to the quality and nature of the produce. If nourishment is the end of agriculture much of its mass-produced, battery-induced products fail in that aim. If usefulness is the aim, the fields given up to beet and barley (for inferior chemi-

Continued on p.4...

REVIEWS SILVER AMONG THE

Threads in the Black Flag.

Compiled by David DeLeon

Research Group One, 50p

THIS 24-page pamphlet, the twelfth report of Research Group One (2743 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21218, USA), is described as "A Bibliographical Outline of Anarchism". David DeLeon states that it is "the most utilitarian, general reference for writings by and about Anarchists", and adds: "While I dare to claim that this is the best reference, it would be absurdly presumptuous to claim that it is perfect." He even suggests that "You should find in this bibliography - somewhere - everything you ever wanted to know about Anarchism but didn't know where to look." Threads in the Black Flag certainly contains a great deal of information, but it is useful mainly because it is virtually unique, and it is indeed far from perfect.

Several hundred items are listed almost all in English, and most from the United States. There are five sections -- bibliographies and encyclopedias; general studies and anthologies; activists and theorists; some American episodes; and a "Grab-Bag". The first two sections are arranged in alphabetical order of writers, with virtually no annotation to distinguish between the various kinds of material, good, bad and terrible, which is strung together. The coverage is uneven and incomplete, and sometimes highly eccentric.

A bibliographer's dozen of thirteen activists and theorists are covered, again in alphabetical order -- Godwin, Stirner, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Johann Most, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, and Warren, Ballou, Spooner, Andrews and Tucker (on whom DeLeon has written a thesis) from the American tradition; there are also two "Recent Anarchists", Herbert Read and Paul Goodman. The treatment is generally pretty good, though there are many omissions both of primary texts and of secondary commentaries, and it is easy to think of other figures who deserve individual consideration.

Four American episodes are covered -- the Haymarket affair, the McKinley assassination, the International Workers of the World, and the Sacco and Vanzetti case. Again the treatment is generally pretty good, though there isn't enough annotation to distinguish between the many biased works listed.

The "Grab-Bag" is a miscellaneous section, again arranged in alphabetical order of writers, mainly concerned with American topics and Tolstoy, but also including books on a few other countries and individuals. Here the treatment is really pretty poor, and it would have been better either to omit the section or develop it properly, or else to incorporate it into the section on general studies and anthologies.

On the technical level, the production isn't bad - typewriter setting and offset printing, like FREEDOM - but there are rather too many mistakes, especially in the spelling of people's names, from Max Nettlaw to Colin War! A serious error of judgement means that many classic works are given only the dates of recent reprints, so there is no way of telling when they were first published, or indeed whether they have been previously published at all. This is particularly serious because of the absence of virtually all critical or even factual annotation. The result is that readers are simply given a list of sources with almost no comment to guide them further.

The items listed are almost entirely books or articles. There are very few pamphlets, though these represent a particularly important category of writings by anarchists, especially militants. Then the articles listed are seldom from anarchist periodicals, though these also represent a particularly important category of writings by anarchists, again especially militants.

Even in the area of books, there are many obvious gaps - nothing by or on such figures as Winstanley,

THREADS GOLD

Humboldt, Fourier, Herzen, Sorel, Makhno, Gandhi, Serge, Buber, and a host of anarchist writers below the first rank: little by and nothing on such figures as William Morris and George Orwell; too little by Dwight Macdonald and Max Nomad; nothing by such modern figures as Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, the Cohn-Bendit brothers, Roel van Duyn, the Our Generation group, the Black Flag group, Solidarity or the Situationists; nothing on Chinese or Japanese anarchism apart from the booklet by Scalapino and Yu, nothing on French anarchism or syndicalism apart from the book by Longoni; nothing on such episodes as Kronstadt 1921 or Paris 1968, the New Left or the nuclear disarmament movement; and so on.

Recent publications

DeLeon is rather out of touch with developments in this country, which isn't his fault. But he should have kept up with recent publications in America - such anthologies as Paul Berman's Quotations from the Anarchists (Praeger, 1971), Frederick C. Giffin's and Ronald D. Smith's Against the Grain (Mentor, 1971), Priscilla Long's The New Left (Porter Sargent, 1969), Carl Oglesby's The New Left Reader (Grove, 1969), Massimo Salvadori's Modern Socialism (Walker, 1968), Marshall S. Shatz's The Essential Works of Anarchism (Bantam, 1971), Henry J. Silverman's American Radical Thought (Heath, 1970), and Laurence Veysey's Law and Resistance (Harper, 1970), and such documentary histories as Jeremy Brecher's Strike! (Straight Arrow, 1972) and Richard Hofstadter's and Michael Wallace's American Violence (Knopf, 1970), all of which contain relevant material. There have also been many expositions of anarchism, such as Richard and Ernestine Perkins's Rational Anarchy (Perkins, 1971), and many anarchist critiques of society, such as Richard S. Sennett's The Uses of Disorder (Knopf, 1970), which are missed here.

On the other hand, some items are superfluous. Thus the A.B.C. of Anarchism and What is Communist Anarchism? are listed separately, without any indication that they are two versions of the same work by Alexander Berkman. And in the section on general studies and anthologies there is one item which has been copied from an earlier bibliography but which is in fact completely imaginary; it would be wrong to identify it, since its reappearance in book is a revealing feature of this kind of work as well as a source of amusement for the people who are alleged to have published the item in question!

So you will not find in this bibliography everything you ever wanted to know about anarchism; but you will find a great deal, and it will be useful until it is replaced by a more complete, more careful, and more critical guide to the literature of anarchism.

N. W.

Letter

THE AGE OF UN-REST

Dear Editors,

Jack Spratt in 'The Age of Un-rest' writes like those tweedy essayists who deplore the loss of values in this materialistic age, or like the earlier writer who complained that the peasants were getting too soft because they had acquired wooden pillows. Doesn't he realise how hard most people have to work, and for how little reward? Doesn't he know about the night cleaners, the farm workers, compulsory overtime, the 2-3 hours daily travel (plus unpaid lunch hour on the boss's premises) which make a mockery of even a 7-hour day? Doesn't he realise that half the world's work, the domestic work - which is more than half if you only count useful work - is done by unpaid labour working unlimited hours?

All this work isn't done because of the workers' artificially stimulated greed for TV sets etc.

A WOMAN'S PLACE

WOMEN, RESISTANCE AND REVOLUTION, by Sheila Rowbotham, Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, £2.95.

Sheila Rowbotham traces the history of women from the days of the Puritans to the present day, ending with accounts of the status of women in China, Vietnam, Cuba and Algeria. In the first two countries it is not too bad, in the last two pretty awful. In fact from the seventeenth century to our own day the attitude of men engaged in revolutionary struggles to their comrades who happen to be women has been consistent. A woman's place is to make tea, nurse the wounded, run errands and play a supportive role generally. Men plan, organise and fight. In England today the anarchist movement is predominantly masculine.

It's a good book, but it's a depressing one. It seems so obvious that revolutionaries fighting for the freedom of humanity should include women in that category, but not a bit of it. It's difficult not to feel, after closing this book, that there is an element of humbug and concealed power-urge in most revolutionary struggles, not just among the leaders but throughout the rank and file also. For many men power over a woman is a necessity if they are to feel fully virile. Why? What's the point of it? The whole thing's senseless.

Machismo, male chauvinism, reaches absurd heights in Cuba and Algeria. Wherever Catholicism or Islam have the upper hand you get these extremes, but male dominance exists almost everywhere. The revolutions in Russia, in Cuba and in Algeria all fizzled out. As part of their decline the status of women was lowered, and the gains women had made were lost. In Russia since the death of Stalin some of these gains have been recovered, but the situation is not good.

The Freudian, and the popular, standard theory is that male dominance is natural, and has always obtained, but there is at least some evidence that what we take for granted today was not always accepted by humanity. Sheila Rowbotham however is concerned with modern times, and does not devote much of her work to speculation as to why men should feel such a deep need to have women (or indeed other men) in a state of subordination to them. As a Marxist she finds it disconcerting that Marxism and feminism seem to go together so uneasily.

Unlike so much modern revolutionary writing that I have seen lately this book is free of rhetoric, stream-of-consciousness writing and Marxist jargon. It is a work of historical research, and deserves to be widely read. If it is not exactly cheering at least it tells the truth, in a simple, readable way. And that is something that is becoming more and more uncommon.

John Brent

It's done because, in the case of the unpaid work, it's necessary (and custom + capitalist wage-labour demands prevent its being more evenly shared) and, in the case of the paid work, it must be performed to the boss's requirements, including hours, if the employee is to earn a living at all - rent, utilities, food clothing. If the worker gave up whatever manufactured luxuries he could afford and spent his spare time in worthy pursuits like gardening and handicrafts, it wouldn't much change the quality of his life or the condition of society - both of which are defined by the fact that the boss owns the shop.

This fact is even more important than the actual dearth of leisure and disposable income which so contradicts Jack Spratt's projection of a nightmare of telly-watching. He doesn't say for whom in his anti-utopia those 16 hours a week at most are to be worked, and who therefore (beyond, vaguely, 'an organization called Manna') is going to be distributing the consumer goods, necessary or unnecessary. But that will be the main question in the future just as it is now, whatever the level or application of technology or the tastes of the public. 'Consumerism' is a completely nothing issue, usually taken up by those whose class interest obliges them to be economically blind when for some reason they want to pose as social critics; I'm surprised to see it being taken up by an anarchist.

Yours sincerely,
K. Perlo
London N5



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Jack Spratt replies:

It may have escaped K. Perlo that the scene of the anti-utopia was 2073. Satire (which it was also meant to be) is primarily reducing to an absurdity tendencies which, by themselves, are harmless. Science (or fantasy) fiction is the process of extending into the future technical and social processes which can be observed. The idea of an utopia of complete leisure and absolute consumption seems not only to be the idea of advertisers but also, in their dimmer moments, some leftists and libertarians. It seems to me as much a hell as the hard work which is, at the moment, the lot of many of us.

Jack Spratt.

IMMIGRANT WORKERS' STRUGGLE

BURIED UNDER piles of publications, newspaper reports, official reports, Trade Union reports and statistics on immigration there lies a human element - the immigrant workers themselves, and their struggle to survive in a capitalist society that often they do not understand.

Forced to leave their native land because of economic reasons emanating from the failure of their own government to satisfy the most elementary needs of the working population, immigrants arrive hopefully in this country to work, and are immediately fed by the British immigration laws into the huge machinery of human exploitation, greedily oiled and managed by groups of companies specialised in catering and hotel-keeping, by shark-landlords and also by the STATE, who "manages" our Hospitals and other Welfare services, as a back up service to the capitalist system.

Human waves of would be waiters, cooks, assistant cooks, kitchen porters, hospital ancillary workers, mainly white immigrants from southern Europe (Portugal, Spain, Gibraltar, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Malta, Cyprus and Turkey) arrive daily in this country, some already with "work permits", others entering as tourists, and are given visas of entry ranging from 3 months to 1 year. The workers admitted as tourists will seek later employment in London in hotels and hospitals, using the "services" of private employment agencies for which they have to pay exorbitant fees, and jointly with the others already in possession of such authorisations, they will start a year of sweated labour in hotels and hospitals (with posh and charitable names), under the most degrading and depressing conditions of work, alongside a few British or Irish colleagues, who are in many cases too poor or too unskilled to hold a more lucrative job in other industries, under the "protective shield" of strongly organised Trade Unions.

A Change in the Law

This foreign labour's dependence on the "work permit" system, administered by the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour (sorry ... of Employment and PRODUCTIVITY) is in fact the base of its own exploitation, as these workers are unable to change jobs frequently and force the employers to compete among themselves in offers of good salaries and conditions of work, turning to the workers' advantage the chronic shortage of staff in hotels and hospitals.

Every year the situation of each immigrant worker is reviewed just before termination of the "work permit" and normally another year of stay is granted, in accordance with the needs of the industry. Usually, after 4 years of consecutive work, immigrants are given a "free permit" and are allowed to remain in this country without having to go to the local Police station to register name of new employer, new address etc. ... as in the previous 4 years. But rumours are circulating in the foreign communities in London that, under the new immigration law, this "privilege" will be abolished and that the newcomers will not be allowed to stay indefinitely in this country.

Once more we can observe a change of law that favours employers, who will benefit from a turn-over of staff, non-permanent, for which they will not have to cater in social, educational and recreative facilities, avoiding the burdens of an organised labour force demanding full employment, pensions schemes, holidays, sickness benefits as in other industries.

This form of modern slavery is created, condoned and legalised by the immigration laws, that, as any other law operating in this country, favours the rulers and masters and oppresses the weak and the dispossessed.

Miserable Unions

The TUC and Trade Unions traditionally "responsible" for these industries (NUPE, COSHE, GMWU and TGWU in hospitals and GMWU in hotels) have in the past miserably failed to denounce such a state of affairs and combat this open exploitation by organising in these places of work to fight for human salaries and better conditions of work.

And we should not be fooled by the latest wave of militancy shown by the above Unions. Only the push from below

initiated by the militant workers (of different political persuasions) in hospitals and hotels has forced the mighty Trade Union bureaucrats to make faint noises about the future of the low-paid workers. Thanks to the militancy of a group of shop stewards unofficially organised in the LONDON ALLIANCE OF STEWARDS OF HEALTH WORKERS (1) (LASH) non-official strikes have been called in favour of £8.00 a week increase in salary (against the £4.00 suggested by NUPE and associates) and lately more strikes have been organised in protest against the "freeze" which will cut down the £4.00 agreed by the employers to £1.80.

In hotels, once more it was the initiative of workers outside the Trade Union bureaucracy that laid the foundations of THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS BRANCH - TGWU. (2)

In December 1970, a group of Portuguese workers, members of the London anti-fascist PORTUGUESE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL LEAGUE (3) decided to approach the TUC, TGWU, GMWU, COSHE and NUPE and ask assistance in the setting up of a special Branch for Portuguese workers in London. Surprised by this move, and by the willingness of foreign workers to participate fully in trade union affairs, the Unions contacted responded with courtesy and promised to help in this new venture. After consideration of the answers received, these Portuguese workers finally selected the TGWU as their best bet, taking in consideration that TGWU is a multi-industrial Union covering the industries in which foreign workers and specially the Portuguese are working (hospitals, meat industries and hotels, the last being an open field due to the lack of militancy and non-recognition in the majority of hotels).

International Workers

Quickly a Portuguese Workers' Branch was set up and hundreds of workers of all nationalities responded to this initiative to such an extent that the name of the Branch had to be changed to INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' BRANCH. This Branch has today more than 700 members and its first victory was scored with the Branch's recognition by The Talk of the Town management (after notice to strike), that employs daily a large force of foreign workers.

Since then, an overall improvement in wages has been noticed in the hotel industry in an attempt to calm and water down the recruiting campaign of this Branch effected daily all over London. Wages have been brought up to the minimum required by the Catering Wages Council, which are on average at £11.00 per week for 42 hours of work.

But not surprisingly, an increase in harassment, victimisation and sackings have been noted also, in order to get rid of the militant worker. In a London hotel a group of Filipino chambermaids specially "imported" by the management from their native country, have been told by managers that IT WAS ILLEGAL UNDER FILIPINO LAWS, to join trade unions in this country. ... And in a London hospital notices have been pinned on the Staff Board stating that striking could affect the renewal of work permits by the Home Office.

Under constant threat of dismissal, blackmail in relation to the renewal of "work permits" and difficulty in understanding the political situation and laws of this country, our foreign brothers are showing a lead in militancy in fields never touched by unions before, and such initiative should be an inspiration for everyone involved in Trade Union struggle. We should support today their cause hoping that tomorrow, when we are stronger, holding in our own hands our power, we will be able to strike together at all levels and develop our own brand of society, free of human exploitation and forced labour, free to experiment in the art of being human beings.

Bureaucrats and Demagogues

Meanwhile, we should also identify and fight our common enemies, wherever they are operating, in the Ministries, in the City, in the Churches, newspapers, radio and TV stations, universities and even in our Unions.

We should not forget that Trade Unions are contaminated with opportunist bureaucrats, making fat careers at the expense of the Unions' members, aspiring to be

Lord Citrine, Wendencks, Feathers, powerful demagogues of the working class. And if you believe that these are strong and unfair words, please read the advertisement published in the FINANCIAL TIMES (6/2/73 page 11), in which Mr. Feather, we are told, is helping to raise, in collaboration with an assorted collection of lords, bankers and other public spongers, the modest sum of £2,500,000 to pay for the modernisation of the BRITISH LIBRARY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCES. This library, I am sure, has never failed in the past and never will fail in the future to provide books, grants and other facilities to those of our enemies interested in learning new theories and techniques of oppression and human exploitation.

What about donating a few thousand pounds from Unions' funds, Mr. Feather??? What about auctioning dried human skins (foreign workers' human skins), Mr. Feather ... and raise some money for your City friends?

Claudio

- (1) LASH Secretary: Mark Palmer, 76 Ilfley Road, London W6
- (2) International Workers Branch - TGWU Secretary: José Neves, 21 Theobald Road, London WC1
- (3) PORTUGUESE LEAGUE Secretary: Afonso Teixeira, 21 Theobalds Road, London WC1

GUINNESS IS BAD FOR YOU!

I RATIONALLY FAIL to understand what makes people like Mr. Jonathan Guinness, banker, chairman of the Monday Club and owner of the Guinness breweries, hate so much the victims of this capitalist society of which Mr. Guinness is himself one of the influential harvesters.

Not content with profitably intoxicating into stupor with his beer a part of the working class in this country, not content with reaping the rich profits of his banking transactions, not content to poison daily with his fascist and racist propaganda the defenceless minds of our children, Mr. Jonathan Guinness now needs and demands blood!

Suggesting, as he did during the recent Lincoln by-election that razor blades could be left in murderers' cells so that they could kill themselves, or proposing, as he did, that capital punishment should be reintroduced and extended to other crimes, such as incitement to murder -- betrays in Mr. Jonathan Guinness's mind a grave pathological condition, against which the working class of this country should protect itself.

If it was his duty to do so, he would gladly pose as our executioner, we are told by the daily press, reporting Mr. Guinness's intervention at the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders.

Anaesthetic pills, followed by any other form of execution (?) including beheading were suggested by Mr. Guinness as official forms of justice and crime prevention. "Only by extending the power of the State can we produce a good society" !!! As in Vietnam, in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Palestine and other countries where people have been and are still being murdered in the name of christian civilisation by Mr. Guinness's capitalist friends, Mr. Guinness tells us that in this country, in order to produce a good society, the State must seek revenge and cowardly murder our brothers and sisters that have not been strong enough to survive in this capitalist jungle.

If anyone must be disposed of, let it be the Guinnesses of this world. They are the real criminals, that during the past centuries up to our present age, have developed the most inhuman and barbarous economical and social systems, without having a second thought before using slavery, child labour, apartheid, worker-exploitation, foreign labour exploitation, legalised murder, in order to propel themselves into the bloody position of power that they enjoy today.

C.

ECHOES FROM THE PAST

TO SUGGEST that we are facing a potential fascist threat can easily seem ludicrous when fascism is regarded in terms of the superficial form it took in, for instance, Nazi Germany. A strutting little man in uniform is out of time and place as the Hitler-worshippers of the National Front have come to realize. However, the political and economic base for fascism is clear to be seen.

The Right-wing Monday Club which has in the past acted as a pressure group within the Conservative Party is now under pressure from within its own ranks to convert itself into a "populist movement" which will openly challenge Heath and the Conservative leadership. The proposals come from a group of newcomers who have availed the ranks to something like 9,000 in the last two years and the intention is to attract the members of the National Front to a "rejuvenated" Monday Club with a mass membership and no insistence on loyalty to the Conservative Party. Significantly, last year a number of young members of the Club attended a conference of the MSI, the neo-fascist movement in Italy.

Last week three millionaires said to be "major City and industrial leaders" financed a national campaign to promote Enoch Powell's popularity within Conservative constituency parties. A letter sent to all Conservative Associations explains how and why Powell appeals to the "ordinary man-in-overalls". The fact that Powell has been for so long an advocate of "free enterprise" capitalism and a defender of "market forces" underlines his extraordinary turnabout in defending the Government's decision to inject £5 million into Manganese Bronze to buy the ailing BSA motor cycle firm. The high priest of unfettered capitalism now says of State intervention in industry that "in the modern world there is no alternative, for competition and private enterprise have been replaced by the power politics of State capitalism." The consequences of his laissez-faire economic views were the major barrier between himself and working-class support gained through his racist outbursts - and that impediment has now been conveniently disposed of.

Powell waits in the wings.

Terry Phillips

'T WAS EVER THUS

There is, in fact, no opposition; and this is felt by the whole nation; and this is the reason why the people now take so little interest in what is said and done in parliament, compared to that which they formerly took.

This is the reason why there is no man, or men, whom the people care at all about. A great portion of the people now clearly understand the nature and effects of the system; they are not now to be deceived by speeches and professions. If Pitt and Fox had now to start, there would be no 'Pittites' or 'Foxites'. Those happy days of political humbug are gone for ever. The 'gentlemen opposite' are opposite only as to mere local position. They sit on the opposite side of the house: that's all. In every other respect they are like parson and clerk; or, perhaps, rather more like rooks and jackdaws: one caw and the other chatter; but both have the same in view: both are in pursuit of the same sort of diet. One set is, to be sure IN place, and the other OUT; but though the rooks keep the jackdaws on the inferior branches these latter would be as clamorous as the rooks themselves against felling the tree!

WILLIAM COBBETT

Rural Rides
(1825)

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Viciously Atrocious Trickery!

CAPITALISM, that inhuman method of ordering everyday affairs, whereby a fractional minority of exploiters plausibly manage to persuade the unthinking, gullible majority of men and women to entrust their lives, liberties and happiness to their rulers, leaders and 'governors', has committed crimes galore over the centuries. This cruel authoritarian mode of subjecting human beings all the globe over to endless exploitation, robbing the workers at the point of production has now been compelled to fall in line with the European Common Market system of Value Added Tax.

A massive publicity campaign (paid for incidentally with taxes filched from us) launched by the British government, sets out to inform the public how the household spending money is affected by the change-over from, in many cases, purchase taxes plus selective taxes, now replaced by Value Added Tax. To most housewives, and others who buy the needs for self and dependants, VAT causes more problems than ever before, when deciding how best to spend the wage earner's pay, so as to obtain the maximum benefit for the minimum monetary outlay.

Food, so the government declare, will not go up in price because of VAT. Sounds fair enough, for those folk willing to accept governmental declarations. Experience teaches us to be wary of anything and everything emanating from governmental spokesmen and spokeswomen. The truth is, very many of us from time to time, when working long distances away from home, are compelled to eat out in restaurants or cafes or pubs, or else go hungry.

FIGHTING ON THE WRONG FRONT

Richard Handyside, publisher of *The Little Red Schoolbook*, said in London this evening that the battle against censorship "is all too often fought on the wrong front, at the wrong level, in the wrong way, and consequently fails to bring us nearer to what I would call freedom of expression". Mr Handyside was speaking at a dinner organised in his honour by the National Secular Society. He continued:

"The big literary censorship cases receive generous support from the liberal community and wide publicity in the media, but countless cases of more direct censorship receive little or no publicity and scant support. Clearly there is an element of self-protection involved on the part of the small minority of the population who actually read books.

"However in the last analysis it comes down to a question of class interests. For the middle class, homelessness, unemployment, police harassment, race discrimination, inadequate education, industrial diseases and accidents are largely problems of conscience rather than issues that affect them directly. Direct concerns tend to be things like the environment, sexual freedom, drug laws, literary censorship. Couple this with the fact that most of the media are owned or effectively controlled by a tiny minority of the rich, and the result is fairly inevitable; the more directly a publication, speech, action or movement threatens the interests of those in control of our society, the more seriously its suppression is attempted and the less this suppression is likely to be publicised.

"Freedom is indivisible, and freedom of expression can only be meaningful if everybody in society has not only the legal right to express themselves but, more importantly, the means of doing so. The majority of ordinary people tend to be inarticulate - at least in terms normally acceptable to the media - as a result of inadequate education; unlike liberal pressure groups they don't have contacts in the media through whom they can place stories; and a long working day in a factory or on a building site leaves little time or energy for writing letters to the editor. Until these barriers to self-expression are removed - and this would inevitably involve a fundamental restructuring of society - freedom of expression is likely to remain a dead letter, and the fight against censorship will remain an interesting but largely irrelevant diversion".

Press Release

Already, commencing All Fools Day, April 1st (isn't it positively astonishing how those in power who rule, school and fool us arrange the latest act of infamous folly to coincide with the proverbial All-Fools'-Day) a considerable number of eating establishments in ever so many parts of the land have upped their prices. Menus printed in readiness for AFD (All Fools Day) when compared with menus formerly provided in the same eating places - for those folk who have not already forgotten prices formerly charged - show, not the 10 per cent governmentally decreed tax called VAT but, in lots of cases, advances of 15 and even 20 per cent. on prices charged up to March 31st.

For millions of households VAT will mean permanently VERY AGONISING TROUBLES, higher prices payable when eating out will be merely the tip of the iceberg in the vast ocean of domestic storms, just a small part of the increased cost of living inflicted upon the long suffering multitudes who sheepishly swallow hook, line and sinker all the lying propaganda churned out by every crook, swine and stinker, in pursuance of capitalist objectives, best summed up in the phrase, Man's domination of his fellow male and female creatures.

A huge number of household necessities never before subject to purchase tax and/or selective employment tax are now raised in price by ten per cent, this VAT: Violently Annoying Tormentor. Bad enough that millions of hard working folk have a terrible struggle to make ends meet and keep body

A LIBERTARIAN ANTHOLOGY

Keith Paton and Tessa Forrester, 53 Kitchener Road, Selly Park, Birmingham 29, telephone number 021-472-2945, are planning a new anthology of libertarian writings. Although a number of old anarchist material has been republished in recent years they feel the time has come to collect pieces which relate to the struggles of today.

They have already considered a rough plan, under the following headings:

- 1) Class Struggle
- 2) Imperialism/Racism
- 3) Post Scarcity/Alternative Society
- 4) Anti-Role/Subverting the Professions
- 5) Women's Liberation
- 6) Living Our Movement/Organising
- 7) Info Section (especially for getting new people actively tuning in).

They would welcome lists of articles/pamphlets which people think should be included, preferably material which is down-to-earth, not highly philosophical and theoretical. "If you think," they say, "that we'll have difficulty in finding any of the stuff you are recommending, then send it and we'll send it back without fail." They hope that, apart from the political value of the book, its sale will raise £200 towards a movement printing press in Birmingham.

M.H.

PRESS FUND

Contributions received 22-28 March
COTTON, Minn.: C.C. £1.10; BOULDER Colo.: R.J. 10p; London N.19: R.U. £2; ARVKA, Sweden: R.S. 65p; WHITTIER, Cal.: E.V. £5; NEW YORK: N.M. £3; SHEFFIELD: P.L. £1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 50p; J.K.W. 10p; ST. CLOUD, Minn.: M.G.A. £26.45; NEW YORK: P.A. £2; LEAMINGTON: M.E. 15p; NEW YORK: L.M. £1.85

TOTAL: £43.90

Previously acknowledged: 560.53

TOTAL TO DATE: £604.43

THE LAND continued from p.1

cally-aided beers) and wheat (for the pallid sponge-like pap that passes for bread) are wasted, before the soil is exhausted.

If the measure of efficiency is the absence of manpower, farming sheep (prone to all diseases and supremely destructive of grassland) is the most efficient. As

and soul alive. By the imposition of this new and heavy iniquitous burden VAT, such elementary essentials for so many homes: examples polythene dustsheets, polythene bags for food storage, paints, wall coverings, door closers, hand-tools, just to mention a few household needs are now increased in price by 10%. This of course when the retailer adheres to the regulations. But we all know how prone so many shopkeepers are to take liberties with profits at the expense of the purchaser.

As sure as night follows day, in the foreseeable future this VAT will go up and up, for all experience, proves, undeniably, taxes don't come off, they tend to increase. This in spite of the government's pretences of holding back further inflation.

When we awaken to the facts of life that all taxation is for the purpose of maintaining the status quo of the State; the State, that ugly, vile and monstrously horrific Machine which makes uninterrupted slaughter viz War, inevitable, when we come to our senses and decide to strike, not for more pay to meet the increased cost of living (in truth the cost of killing), then when we decide to strike for the ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SLAVERY MONEY, then, and not before then, dare we look forward to a truly Free Society, a Society wherein all humans the globe over participate in nature's boundless abundances, a society forever stripped of the plagues of Poverty, War, Crime and Social Injustice.

Mark William Kramrisch

regard conversion into foodstuffs a cow is the most inefficient method of conversion.

There is a superior efficiency in conservation of the soil between arable and animal husbandry with the waste-products of one supporting the other. There is an efficiency in keeping the soil in a good state for the next generation. This has no relation to size, indeed there is a spurious efficiency in the larger unit with its monoculture. It is a fact that the smaller units produce more food, and a variety of food per acre, than the vast hedgeless prairies.

This is, of course, because with true peasant-cunning the peasant feeds first himself and his family from his smallholding. If the factory workers and farm labourers are content with what passes for food in towns he can grow that too - if the price is right.

The European Economic Community is not concerned, in any case, with maximum production of food to feed the world's starving. In the first place the starving have not the money to buy the food; secondly, a shortage of foodstuffs will suit the agro-industrialists' book more - and they mean the cash-book.

It is easy to wax romantic about 'return to the soil' and 'the sturdy peasant yeoman' but it is a fact that true independence of spirit can arise from self-sufficiency in foodstuffs and that a productive small-holding will save one from utter dependence on the capitalist system. At the same time it could provide the blueprint for a society where agriculture was not only integrated with the life of the society (no more sneers of 'peasant') but agriculture and industry could once more contribute to each other. Industry could supply the small power-tools which would make agriculture neither the dusty chemical production line it has become or the dreary back-breaking drudgery it can be. The interchange of labour between agriculture and industry in summer and winter would make for a more balanced healthy individual.

No longer need the village be deserted as it sometimes is now (except for commuters and two-house families) for as Goldsmith notes,

Princes and lords may flourish or
may fade;
A breath can make them, as a
breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their
country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be
supplied.

Jack Robinson



HEMEL HEMPSTEAD area - anarchists/libertarians interested in forming group please contact Roderick Parkes, 90 Queensway, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.

KICK OUT CARS IN CROYDON. Church Street (Croydon) will be closed to traffic at 3 o'clock on **Saturday 7th April**. Bring your friends! Phone Kevin (777 2822) for details.

THE MENTAL PATIENTS UNION will be holding a general meeting on **SATURDAY 7th APRIL** at 2 p.m. in the Polytechnic Hall, 60 Malden Road, N.W.5. Phone Andrew Roberts 804-2357

Teachers wanted for Free Schools. Write to: Tony Brantingham c/o Dwarf News, 14a Hansard Mews, London, W14 8BJ

Will all organisations please note there is a new secretary of Harlech Libertarian Group (including ASA and ORA): Bob Long, Coleg Harlech, Merioneth, N. Wales

LONDON ASA meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. at 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange, N5. Black & Red Outlook always available, by post 5p + 2p

NOTTINGHAM: Trent Polytechnic new anarchist group forming. Contact Shirley Moreno and John Hinsley through Fine Art Dept., Dryden St., Nottingham.

Schools Anarchy Propagation Action Group for non-collectivist school anarchy. Contact SAPAG, c/o 1 Springbank, Salisbury, Blackburn BB1 9EU

CARDIFF: Dwarf Group starting. Contact Ian Matheson, 35 Corporation Road, Grangetown, Cardiff.

NEW YORK LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB LECTURES, fortnightly on Thursdays 7 p.m. at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave, corner 29 Street, admission free. April 26 Abe Bluestein: The Spirit of Freedom in America; May 10 Nunzio Pernicone: Terrorism and the Italian Anarchist.

"Alternative shop" opening this summer needs advice, suggestions; in particular legal help. Please write Box 103

Comrade has to move in four weeks' time, would appreciate knowing of 1-2 unfurnished, or large furnished room. In any case has furniture to give away but it must be collected. D. Tullman, 248 Haydens Road, Wimbledon SW 19

MICHAEL TOBIN DEFENCE COMMITTEE 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY Committee, 54 Harcombe Road, London, N.16

STOP THE FRENCH TESTS. Contact Greenpeace, c/o 176 Finchley Road London, N. W. 3.

S.E. London Gutter Press, contact Vera Krishek, 01-852 8879

Libertarian Struggle, monthly paper of ORA, 5p + 2p post, or sub £1. for 12 issues from 29 Cardigan Road, Leeds (also in Freedom Bookshop)

"Spies for Peace" the INSIDE STORY March/April issue, also containing more on prisons. 20p + 3p post from 3 Belmont Road, S. W. 4 or Freedom Bookshop.

Marked for Life, anarchist booklet against exams in univs. & colleges, 18p from M.F.L. 36a Fairfield Gardens, N.8 or Freedom Bookshop

Ian and Peggy Sutherland revised new address: 13 Deincourt Close, (Plot 38), Pheasant Field Development, Dale Road, Spondon, Derby

Subscribers change of address: please notify us if you can at least a week before operative date

We welcome news, articles letters. We go to press Monday so latest date for receipt of MSS & Notices is the Monday in each week of publication.

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