

SOLIDARITY

FOR WORKERS' POWER

Volume 1 Number 10

6_D

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

AND THE STATE

The bill for our nuclear 'defence' goes up and up. The latest item is an estimated £18,000 for the 'protection' on December 9, of American and NATO rocket bases in England.

No figures are available for the salaries of Special Branch men watching members of the Committee of 100, for the phone-tappers and for the mail openers. Their cost is greater than the cost of the 5,000 airmen sent to 'protect' Wethersfield, greater than that of the R.A.F. police, Air Ministry police, Metropolitan police and Essex County Constabulary massively mobilised for the great occasion. It is greater than the cost of police dogs, of tear gas 'held in readiness', greater than the cost of the Special Courts and of Mr. Amery's helicopter. For it is a cost measured not only in 'taxpayers' money' but also in the loss of some of our vaunted civil liberties!

In our last issue we wrote that as the Campaign against the Bomb gained momentum 'the Government would be compelled to withdraw the iron fist from the velvet glove... and to administer justice along increasingly obvious class lines'. We warned that the Government would 'attempt to intimidate' and that in the process 'it would reveal still further the fraudulent nature of capitalist democracy'.

The events of the last few weeks have amply confirmed our warnings. On November 8, 1961, George Clark, a leading member of the Committee of 100 was sentenced to 9 months in gaol 'for inciting people to obstruct the highway in the anti-nuclear demonstration near the American Embassy on September 6, when 150 people were arrested'. (Daily Telegraph, November 9, 1961).

At 7.50 am. on December 6, Special Branch officers acting under the direction of the Director of Public Prosecutions, i.e., under Government orders, raided the Finsbury Park headquarters of the Committee of 100. The police showed Mr. Cooke, manager of Goodwin Press, their search warrant 'and said they wanted to walk around the factory and look at documents connected with the Committee of 100. They took away 22 packets of work dockets' (Evening Standard, December 6, 1961).

The Secret Police then proceeded to the Committee headquarters above the printshop. According to Mrs. Helen Allegranza, the Committee's Welfare Officer 'the Inspector said I could either help him by giving

him what he wanted or he would search for it himself. With his men he then proceeded to search the office... the woman police officer searched my handbag... the officers went through the mail, telephone message file on the wall and all the leaflets. They also searched briefcases left by members. The officers then left taking with them certain files and maps.' (Evening News, December 6, 1961).

That same morning, at 7.50 am., the police also raided the Lewisham home of Committee treasurer Trevor Hatton, the Stoke Newington home of Michael Randle, Committee secretary, and of Hugh Brock, editor of 'Peace News', and the 'community' home of committee members Ian Dixon and Terence Chandler. The latter stated 'They produced their search warrant and said we were not to use the telephone or leave the house during the search. They took committee meetings minutes and the names of marshals for Saturday's demonstrations. They turned the whole place over.' (Evening News, December 6, 1961).

Two days later, on December 8, a crude and obvious attempt at intimidation took place. Some of the most active members of the Committee of 100 were arrested. It would be foolish to deny that this 'show of strength' had an effect on several of the Committee's supporters and that it contributed, together with many other factors, in restricting the numbers participating in the demonstrations outside the bases, the following day.

The activities of the Special Branch did not stop following the demonstrations. On Monday, December 11, at 10.15 pm., two officers raided a meeting of the Working Group of the Committee of 100, held at the Duke of Edinburgh, in Fonthill Road, N.4. They stated they were looking for 'vanished' Committee member Pat Pottle, for whose arrest they had a warrant. They seized the occasion for a good scrutiny of all present. A few days later they raided the home of another Committee member, again allegedly looking for Pat Pottle. At about the same time they called on one of the active members of the recently formed Docks Group of the Committee and questioned him (doubtless as to whether the dockers had crated Pottle for export!)

THE MEANING OF THE RAIDS

We have documented as many of these facts as have come to our notice. We wish to show Committee supporters some of the forces we are up against. And we wish to warn the Labour Movement of what lies ahead.

Raids and arrests on this scale, carried out in 'peace time', have not been witnessed since the early 1920's. They reveal, more clearly than anything else, how the Establishment will react to real threats - however limited their scope. It is a symptom of the profound degeneration of the traditional Labour organisations that there has

INDUSTRY

I. BRITAIN: ENGINEERING

by Jim Petter, AEU.

The AEU is the second largest Union. Through the years the leadership has usually been on the right, with a militant rank-and-file membership which has been able to frustrate the more abject betrayals of the full time officials. It has suffered consistently from ultra-right wing Presidents, but has managed to avoid 'names' like Bevin, Deakin and Lawther. The Union boasts a set of rules which provide a model of democratic control by the ordinary member. In fact the constitution was largely the work of the late G.D.H. Cole, who based his advice to the newly Amalgamated Engineering Union of 1920 on his ideas of Guild Socialism.

When I joined the Union nearly thirty years ago, there was still a will on the part of the membership to make the constitution work. At that time there was a big struggle being waged by the Communist Party to 'capture' the Union, much in the same way that the Communist Party later 'captured' the ETU. Two things have happened which have made ordinary members increasingly cynical about their union. First, the pressures and

tactics employed by the C.P., which have been to smear any genuine militant, who was not at least a C.P. sympathiser, with being a reactionary or a careerist. Secondly, the actions of the succession of ex-CP members who now hold full time office and who have become reactionary class-collaborating bureaucrats. Can we blame the ordinary member for caring little whether the C.P. or Catholic Action controls the Union? As a matter of fact it makes little difference who controls the Union; the big trouble is to convince members that Hobson's Choice is not inevitable, that a third party can do the controlling, and that is the members themselves.

So long as members can see no alternative we are bound to have Carron - or possibly Birch. And you can bet that Carron knows this. He must know it, otherwise he would not so confidently assume the role of the infallible, the indispensable, the irremovable. He has recently given us three further examples of his contempt for our constitution.

- 1) His assumption of the post of acting general secretary in the

absence of Cyril Hallett, on delegation to the Soviet Union. In the ordinary way, for a short absence of this nature, the assistant general secretary, Ernie Roberts, would deputise for Hallett. But Roberts is known to have slightly unorthodox views, to support CND and Victory for Socialism. Apart from Berridge, who as an avowed C.P. member is regarded as a prisoner anyway, Roberts is the only official at Peckham Road who carries a tinge of pink in his outlook. Carron has submitted Roberts to every form of indignity, and although the membership elected Roberts to a position of trust - in the face of a Carron-inspired campaign in 'IRIS' - Carron has the effrontery to proclaim that he does not trust Roberts and will not let him perform the duties to which he was elected.

2) During the BLSP strike a statement appeared in the Press, and was not denied, that the AEU Executive Council (read Carron) had considered expelling the strikers from the union. It did not matter that Tory economic policy openly proclaims the theory that industry requires at least two per cent. unemployment, and that the strikers were challenging just that damnable policy; Carron not only refuses to support his own members, but insists that they grovel to the management before returning to their jobs.

3) A circular was recently sent to District Committees which threatened dire penalties on shop stewards who attend meetings in their own time, at their own expense. It can only be presumed that if some unfortunate member is reported to Peckham Road - by an 'IRIS' or Economic League spy - the big stick will come out, and Cardinal Carron will proclaim excom-

munication more in accordance with his religious beliefs than in conformity with the AEU constitution.

There is nothing in the AEU rules which gives the President, or the Executive Council, powers to act in this way. Any member who is 'disciplined' under a Carron ukase may be sure that our Final Appeal Court will not uphold the decision. Unfortunately, any appeal will have to wait until October 1962 before it can be heard. No doubt the timing has been deliberate.

Whether we should fare any better under Birch is doubtful. The record of the ETU suggests that the C.P. would be equally ruthless. In the ETU the C.P. amended rules so that the ordinary member was denied any rights of dissidence at all. We can only conclude that so long as we fail to challenge full time officers, we can expect to be sold down the river.

We should examine carefully what we mean by 'challenging' full time officers. To pass condemnatory resolutions in our branches will get us nowhere. Not within living memory has any branch resolution had any effect upon the E.C. Nor will appeals take us any further; in recent years the EC have thought up the doctrine that Final Appeal Court decisions are not binding when they conflict with rule - and this masterly deception is put forward in spite of the fact that the Court is the final arbiter of what the rules proclaim. If Carron seriously intends to challenge the basic rights of members, our only answer is to defy him to challenge the whole membership. We have had strikes because misguided and obstinate workers have refused to join a trade union, or because management has victimised militants. What about strikes because Union bureaucrats

threaten to expel militants from membership? Union bureaucracy is only the reverse side of capitalist exploitation, and it is as ready to use the weapon of victimisation as the management. Workers' control of industry will be built on workers' solidarity in the workshop, and this must recognise the challenge both from the official management and their willing tools in the Union general office.

2. FRANCE : IRON-ORE MINING

The following account is based on material published in 'Informations et Correspondance Ouvrières' (November 1961) and in 'Lutte de Classe' (December 1961)

Our rulers and their government, attempting to 'rationalise' their economy, decided some time ago to close down 'non-profitable' mines. For the miners this meant sackings, the loss of qualification and possible later re-employment as unskilled or semi-skilled labour - in other words a very definite loss of earnings.

Recently the Metallurgical Society of Aubrives Villerupt - at Crusnes (in Lorraine) decided to sack 28 iron-ore miners. Refusing to allow 28 of their mates to be sacrificed in this way, 75 iron-ore miners at the Aubrives pit staged a stay-down strike. They spent three weeks there, day and night, sending up delegates periodically to fetch food, to contact families, and to enlist the support of other workers in the area.

The strike started on October 17. On October 19 the press reported one of the miners as saying: 'Sure, we're gold. The damp doesn't help the bronchitis most of us iron-miners suffer from. We'll hold out. We'll stay to the end in that bloody hole. What have we to lose?'. That same day 40 pits in the area came out on a 24-hour solidarity strike.

On October 21 all the miners in the area took part in a great solidarity demonstration at Villerupt. The steel workers in the Aubrives factories also came out solidly. There had been talk some time earlier of the closing down of a blast furnace which would have led to 250 of them being sacked.

Eight miners from the Aubrives pit lead the march through the town. Red flags everywhere. Then hundreds of women. Then the bulk of the procession. Posters demanded the 'right to a job', 'work for all', 'no sackings'. But soon the slogans become more radical. 'Down with the bosses', 'Down with de Gaulle', 'The bosses down the mine'. The procession sang the Internationale.

At the meeting the C.G.T. bureaucrats and the bureaucrats of the Christian unions yapped away. A young miner of 20 stated quite simply: 'With your help, we can hold out'. That evening the miners' delegates returned to the pit bottom, where they were to hold out for another 2 weeks.

On Saturday, November 4, after a meeting held at Metz, the management announced that it was suspending the sackings. The next day, at 11.15 am., the miners decided to come up again.

Just before the strike, the Lorraine Federation of the C.G.T. (the Communist Party influenced union federation) had called for 'a fortnight of meetings, deputations and petitions' (Humanité, October 16). The miners were not impressed. Their reaction was to take action into their own hands and to occupy the mine. Throughout the struggle the C.G.T. and l'Humanité presented the struggle of the iron-ore miners as a 'struggle for the national interest'. On October 21, for instance, l'Humanité wrote that the employers' plans were 'only to exploit the richest veins of ore, until they were exhausted... to the detriment of the national interests'.

If 'the plan' had been drawn up by the C.G.T. (as in 1946) or if the ore was being sent to Russia (instead of Germany) we don't doubt that the 'national interest' would not have been infringed. The 'strategic interests of the USSR' would doubtless have passed before the interests of the miners.

What a tragedy to see 75 miners struggle in order to remain miners all their lives... instead of seeing the 20,000 other miners in the area struggle together to impose a reduction of the working day! What matters? l'Humanité was able to publish nice photos and tear-jerking accounts of 'bearded miners coming up out of the mine, singing the Marseillaise and embracing their wives and children'. (And long live France! And down with the Germans who are taking all 'our' iron ore!).

3. U.S.A: AUTO WORKERS

While negotiations concerning the renewal of labour contracts were going on last summer between Walter Reuther and other 'leaders' of the United Automobile Workers Union and the motor magnates, a group of rank-and-file members of the Union produced the following leaflet. It was widely distributed in auto plants in the Detroit area.

'Up until now, the main issue that YOU face daily has not been mentioned, and if this kind of bargaining continues, the next Contract will represent absolutely nothing.

Every auto worker - Chrysler, Ford, GM and the Independents - face the same issue. CONDITIONS OF WORK AND RULES OF WORK ON THE JOB.

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STALINIST
SWAN SONG

Uncle Joe lies at the bottom of the garden;
You'll find him underneath the Kremlin walls
We used to go and see 'im
In Lenin's Mausoleum
Till they said his teachings were... a load of balls.

So we closed the Mausoleum to 'repair' it
And we carted Joe away from Lenin's side
While the painter and the brickie
Were preparing it for Nikky
We took our Uncle for a final ride.

But we couldn't bury him back in his hometown
Or lay him down near dear old Mrs. Joe
For in China and Albania
They've still got the Stalin mania
So beneath the Kremlin wall he had to go!

There he lies at the bottom of the garden
Awaiting his return to Power and Fame
When the workers' I.C.B.M.
Sends his old pals up to see 'im
Singing 'Glory to Big Brother once again!'

E. Morse.

DEMOCRACY AND HOUSING

A fundamental characteristic of contemporary society is its division into those who own, manage and decide, and the majority who are forced to comply, either explicitly or implicitly, with decisions which they themselves have not taken or had any part in formulating. This is seen whether we look at industry, the political parties, the educational system, the trade unions, or for that matter any of our traditional institutions.

Housing is no exception. It is 'made available' to us through three different mechanisms: the private landlord, the local authority and owner occupation. Although each of these appears to offer widely different opportunities for exercising 'choice', in reality there is little difference.

PRIVATE LANDLORDISM

In 1914 over 90 per cent of the houses in England and Wales were rented from private landlords. Today the figure is probably nearer 40 per cent. Private landlordism developed primarily in the nineteenth century in response to the rapid growth of population and urban expansion. It flourished in the congenial atmosphere of unrestrained capitalism. Whether the landlord happened to be a speculative builder, an employer, or an individual making an 'investment' the antagonism between him and his tenant was as obvious as the conflict between boss and worker.

The antagonism between the landlord (owner, decider, and manager) and the tenant has in certain respects become modified during this century. It is less harshly obvious except perhaps in properties decontrolled since the Rent Act and in tied cottages. Rent control has been with us since World War I. Minimum building standards and public health legislation have been introduced. The State has taken some responsibility, through the local authorities, for slum clearance, and so on. Private landlordism has become regulated. It has also declined in importance partly because of the growing participation of local authorities in the provision of houses and partly because of the rapid development of the Building Societies and other credit organisations which encouraged owner occupation. Added to which of course most slum clearance has been of landlord-owned property.

Although private landlords still own and control some five million houses, they are in fact a dying institution. Apart from a few 'big time operators' in the larger urban centres the incentive for private enterprise is to get out of and not to enter the field of landlordism.

Does this then mean that, if private landlordism disappears, the contradiction between those who own, manage and decide, and those who have to comply with their decisions (classically illustrated in the tenant-landlord relationship), will vanish from the housing scene? Will increasing owner-occupation and council housing put paid to the concept of powerless householders? It seems unlikely that any change in the basic situation will occur if this happens. The reason is obvious. Both of these alternative forms of housing provision harbour similar contradictions.

OWNER OCCUPATION

Home ownership is probably the aspiration of most tenants. Why is it that most people wish to own their own house? Why will sitting tenants with controlled rents buy poor cottages without amenities, built perhaps 50 or 75 years ago, from landlords anxious to be rid of them? Why will young couples, and not-so-young families burden themselves with crippling repayments, often amounting to a quarter or more of their incomes, to become owner occupiers?

There are several answers to these and similar questions. The sitting tenant who buys, for example, sees owner occupation as an opportunity to become his own manager and decider, to be in a position to make decisions about his own home, to be free from a landlord for ever perching on the roof. For the sitting tenant the house does not change. It is unlikely that it will cost him less. Only the pattern of ownership is different. Likewise the person who leaves his rented house and buys, whether to get something more suitable to his needs or preferences or to escape from fantastic rent increases, will be motivated in some degree by the wish to be his own 'boss'! For those who have been sharing a house with a parent or other relative, to buy often means to escape from as hopeless a relationship as that of landlord and tenant. Through house purchase these and other people will feel they are becoming 'freer' or more independent. In most cases they will welcome at least this aspect of the situation. How far are their expectations fulfilled?

They will certainly be more free to make many minor and unimportant decisions. But other, more vital, questions might be asked. For instance, what control do house purchasers have over the final price they pay? If interest rates rise they become committed either to a longer period of repayment or to higher 'instalments'. The shareholders in a building society might have some say in this (although this too is unlikely!), but the mortgagors certainly have none. What choice do most house purchasers have in the type of house which they buy? Look at the possible range at prices most can afford. Where are the large houses for the large families or the small ones for the childless? In most cases would-be buyers are faced with 'choices' about type and size which are no choices at all. One three-bedroomed house, whether built in 1930 or in 1960, is about as badly planned and ugly as the next. Even when a

new house is involved, what say does the buyer have about finish, fittings and standards - the things which make all the difference when actually living in a house. What consideration does the builder-cum-designer give to the implications of his house plan in terms of subsequent maintenance and repair costs to the occupier? How many housewives can exercise any control over the design of their working conditions? Who ever thinks they should be consulted?

We have assumed of course that it is a modern house which is being bought. There are though older type terraced cottages - or worse still the back-to-backs - which can still be sold to sitting-tenants or desperate house seekers by landlords anxious to get out of this worn-out industry. No bath; perhaps an outside and shared W.C.; no garden; nowhere to dry clothes properly; the road for the children to play in. This is 'choice', the 'freedom' of home ownership. Certainly such purchasers swell our 'property owning democracy'. But does not this sort of home ownership smack of an illusion? The landlord has perhaps disappeared, but his going has altered very little. The 'owner' is still circumscribed by material constraints, by the exorbitant costs of a mortgage loan - if he can get one on an older house (and who decides whether he can or can't) - by mounting bills for repairs, or by the cost of improvements he may wish to make.

The question too of where you can buy your house is pretty well predetermined. If you can just afford to buy a three-bedroomed semi-detached, this will tend to be in the same part of any town or conurbation, in the suburbs, on the fringe - well away from most peoples' place of work. These dormitory areas tend to be provided with the minimum of amenities, the minimum of pleasant layout and the maximum of unrelieved monotony.

From whichever point of view one regards home ownership, for most people it provides only a minimum of additional choice and only very small possibilities of making decisions about important things, at critical times. It nevertheless maintains and in many cases increases the basic antipathy between those who decide and manage (the Building Societies, the builders and developers - and often the landlord who decides when he is going to sell his worn-out investment) and those who are compelled to accept the conditions laid down for them before they can buy their limited 'freedom'.

LOCAL AUTHORITY HOUSING

What then about local authority housing? Here there would seem to be better opportunities for democratic control in the fullest sense, of housing provision and management. There are councillors and probably a Housing Committee. But what control do tenants and prospective tenants really have in this field? Lets take building design. How

(continued p. 16)

HUMPTY SPLITS AGAIN

A POLITICAL PANTOMIME

Humpty Dumpty, having sat on the fence too long, fell heavily on his Four Claws and split' em.

Enter all the King Street Horses (some riderless, after a recent faction fight), shouting noisily and waving long resolutions.

'Oh, the vanguard of the working class undoubtedly are we;
All the problems that confront them very clearly we can see;
And to lead them and to bleed them is our divine destiny;
We're the Red Resolution boys.

(Tune: John Brown's Body)

Another faction fight ensues (some think the Albanian horses are really mules and should be excluded from the Equine Club). Amid great confusion they ride off, purging violently.

Enter a gleaming gold-plated coach. Sir Richard Whittington, O.B.E. a responsible trade union leader, steps out, pauses, surveys the pieces of Humpty and starts reading from the new rule book:

'My dear Humpty Dumpty, your state I can see,
Dear Brother, dear Brother, dear Brother,
Is somewhat disrupted and fragmentary,
Dear Brother, dear Brother, dear Brother.
But surely you know that to have such a fall,
Without our permission, is unofficial;
So before we can help you, GET BACK ON THE WALL!
Dear Brother, dear Brother, dear Brother.'

(Tune: Tit Willow, from The Mikado)

Sir Richard had not seen it was a fence, not a wall, from which Humpty had fallen. Nikky, the fat fairy, suddenly appears. Waving hammer and sickle, she calls up a legion of Peoples' Mice. Overnight, they build a wall eight feet high and twenty feet long.

Enter three little gnomes (Gee and accomplices), trotting furiously. The accomplices carry piles of books (which Gee says he has been reading for the last 30 years). Gee looks at Humpty and asks:

Gee: 'Where do you stand? Arrrh, errh!'

Humpty: 'I was just sitting on the fence.'

Gee: 'Are you a Marxist? Where d'you stand on the Wall?
(pause) Are you for the defence of the Wall? Urrrp!

Humpty: 'I don' want to defend the Soviet... I mean I don't
want to defend the Wall.'

Gee: 'You were never a Marxist! It's a Workers' Wall!'

First Accomplice: 'A Bureaucratic Workers' Wall!'

Second Accomplice: 'A Degenerated Bureaucratic Workers' Wall!'

A Peoples' Mouse: 'With Socialist foundations...'

First accomplice thumps Humpty with a shoe, splitting him a bit more. The three gnomes then dance round singing raucously:

'Oh, Nikita's made the Workers' Bomb;
He's built the Workers' Wall,
To keep the Workers' fall-out in,
And save the workers all.
So when the Revolution comes
And the Workers' Bomb shall fall,
We'll all fall-in for the fall-out, boys,
Upon the Workers' Wall.'

(Tune: Dear Old Donegal)

Exit the gnomes to their Labour Party Ward Meeting, where they are once again to go through the experience of expulsion.

Humpty's plight is now hopeless. He splits even wider. Enter Dr. Greatskill, renowned for lumping everyone together (as 'fellow-travellers', and other such rude things). The Doctor is in genial mood:

'Come cheer up, my lad; 'Tis to glory we steer!
The Party's united, at least for this year!
Though on things like 'The Market' we have no idea,
We think we're in favour... of Wales having beer.

All together we stand,
With the Bomb in our hand.
Though Conf'rence defeat us,
They never, never beat us:
We fight and we fight and we fight, once again.'

(Tune: Hearts of Oak)

Humpty collects his fragments and attempts to move off, but is spotted by Chief Inspector Stravid Datton and two coppers who drag him away to scramble him. While in the process of confessing Humpty hears the lugubrious incantations of a CND priest proclaiming:

'Onward Christian soldiers,
March again this year...

Humpty can stand no more. Through a great effort of socialist will, he reunites himself on the basis of proportional representation at all levels. Great jubilation among all factions of the cast, each claiming full credit for the fusion. All join in chorus of 'Solidarity for ever' thus making sure of appearing in next Sunday Telegraph's feature on the 'Syndicate Rank and File Movement for Reaffirmed Workers' Party power in the Islington Borough of Maida Vale.'

E. Morse.

YOU PAYS YOUR MONEY...

AND YOU TAKES YOUR CHOICE !

'The wilful defiance of the pre-requisites of good order in our streets is contributing to a major breakdown in the normally peaceful structure of our society.'

'Police Review', October 6, 1961.

'Our allies, the Americans, cannot and will not tolerate trespassers surrounding their nuclear bomb dumps. Nor will they permit this rabble to lie down or sit under the wheels of their aircraft on the runways.'

'Daily Mirror', December 8, 1961.

'The purpose of Saturday's demonstrations... is plainly a dagger aimed, however thoughtlessly and feebly, at the very heart of civilised society, and those who hold it, however absurd, are in essence a revolutionary movement.'

'Daily Telegraph', December 8, 1961.

'It took three years for the leaders of CND to become "respectable"; it has only taken a little over three months for the Committee of 100.'

'The Newsletter', September 9, 1961.

This is the text of a leaflet produced by our Belgian comrades and widely distributed in the industrial town of La Louvière, on October 15, 1961, during the meeting to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the great 'Broken Rifle' demonstration of October 1921.

**DOWN
WITH**

**THE ARMY !
THE PACIFISM
OF LEADERS
AND BOSSES !**

LONG LIVE THE POWER OF THE WORKERS' COUNCILS

Today we are demonstrating against the Army. Well and good!

Are we hoping to 'pressurise' the Socialist and Christian-Democrat ministers who have just voted to increase the number of tanks available to the Gendarmerie? Are we hoping to 'pressurise' the Heads of State for whom the atomic bomb is the ultimate custodian of their right to exploit 'their own' workers without outside interference?

Are we hoping to impress the M.P.s?

We have just seen how little a vote is worth as a means of realising the wishes of the people.

We must understand once and for all that they are trying to turn our attention away from our total demands - which include peace.

The strike last winter was not directed only against the 'loi unique'. It was about all our demands (peace included). It was an insurrection. That is why those who claim to 'represent' us helped to put it down.

We must assimilate that experience. We must take it further, without allowing ourselves to be robbed once again of our strength.

They allow the young Walloons to play with Comrade Renard Federalism. The young revolutionaries are allowed

to play with antimilitarism. But when they are asked to take collective action... it is to stick bills for Comrades Spaak and Renard!

This is the natural fate of partial demands. As a worker at Esperance-Longdoz said: 'Since 1936 I have been fighting for higher wages. My father before me had done the same. We have always been the suckers'.

He at least had understood that partial demands cannot change our lives. One cannot remove one aspect of barbarism, one can only suppress barbarism as a whole, including poverty and war.

The history of working class struggles shows that after protesting against war, the leaders vote the war credits and the ranks put on their uniforms. The revolutionaries of 1914 had the shock of seeing the leaders of their International become, overnight, ministers in the cabinets of the countries at war. We shall have less right to be shocked at the future behaviour of citizen Spaak,... for we know him well.

And if the Walloon region becomes autonomous, and Comrade Renard in power puts down strikes, we shall have no right to be surprised. He showed last January that he knew how to break a strike. There was talk then of withdrawal of maintenance... as there is talk now of withdrawal from NATO !

Comrades,

The only thing to do during strikes, the only thing to do now, is to organise the autonomous action of the workers, to free it from the 'leaders' who are nothing but touts for the present rulers.

During the Russian Revolution the Workers' Councils, during their brief existence, imposed peace. In 1956 the Stalinist bureaucracy smashed the Hungarian Workers' Councils as soon as they were formed in Budapest. They had proclaimed their withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact.

The history of the Twentieth Century knows of no examples of peace decided by the people and guaranteed by all, other than those imposed by the Workers' Councils.

The 'leaders' will always seek to destroy these committees in the name of their social peace. For the Workers' Councils alone are capable of imposing peace, just as they are alone capable of changing the intolerable conditions of our life.

Long live the pacifism of the Workers' Councils !

* * * *

WHO SAID IT ?

(Answer page 18)

'I myself, rightly or wrongly, have decided that the activities of the Committee of 100 are a hindrance to the fulfilment of the aims of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.'

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Canon Collins. | 3. Michael Foot. | 5. Gerry Healy. |
| 2. Peggy Duff. | 4. John Gollan. | 6. Stephen King-Hall. |

DEMOCRACY & HOUSING (cont'd from p. 10)

often are the views of those on the housing list canvassed when new housing - to meet their needs - is being planned? How often are established tenants asked specifically to comment on the drawbacks or advantages of traditional housing or on what improvements might be made? Or again, who really decides when Labour or Tory councils decide to increase the rent?

Generally speaking council tenants - even Tenants' Associations - are reluctant to complain, for this is a field in which they have much to lose. Most council tenants know what it is to be without a house. Most are only too thankful to become council tenants. Many are told, and believe, that the rest of the local citizenry is paying for them to enjoy this privilege. Can one wonder that they are inhibited about complaining or actively making their opinions and preferences known. They are caught in the most undignified position of all - of being indebted, of feeling under an obligation of gratitude. When scarcity prevails one tends to guard what one has and do nothing to prejudice one's chances of retaining it. What for instance, happens to prospective tenants who refuse the first offer of a tenancy for one reason or another? Even if their subsequent chance of getting a house is genuinely unaffected by this action, how many believe this to be the case? Anyway, if one is desperately in need of a house, one doesn't delay for a further unknown period.

EXTENDING CONTROL

Is there any way in which people can exercise real control over their own housing?

A complete solution would require a fundamental change in the whole structure of our society, in its values and in its priorities. It would imply interest-free loans to individuals or groups of individuals and the ready availability of cheap yet reliable raw materials. This in turn would imply the elimination of the middle men who make profits out of peoples' needs. But a start can be made.

In Scandinavia, a form of co-operative housing has been considerably developed. Householders and potential householders do exercise a certain degree of control. The prospective occupier has some chance of being consulted at the planning stage. Designs and layouts are submitted for consideration to those who will be living in the houses. Day-to-day management is in the hands of estate committees which in many cases take responsibility for decisions about maintenance, landscaping and so on. Admittedly the range of possible decisions which such committees can take is limited - and always will be limited under capitalism. The Scandinavian system by no means solves the basic question. It does however point a possible way ahead and could be vastly extended under a radically different social system.

In this country a few groups have been formed on a cooperative basis, in the first instance to beat the Rent Act. These are tentative experiments in democratic housing. Tenants in at least three parts of London have come together to purchase their houses from landlords. They have remained tenants but have become to a large extent their own managers and deciders. The rents, which they partly fix themselves (but within limits fixed for them by the necessity of getting external loans) compare very favourably with their old rents and with rents of similar properties. The difference is sometimes of two or three pounds a week. Not only rent decisions but the amounts to be allocated for repairs and decorations are made collectively. There is no financial penalty involved if a member wishes to leave the scheme.

It should not be impossible for people to get together in similar ways, so as to exercise the maximum possible control over this very important part of their lives - until such time as control is completely theirs.

JOHN REYNOLDS.

INDUSTRY: U.S.A. AUTO WORKERS. (cont'd from p. 6)

TIME FOR ALL U.A.W. MEMBERS TO ACT.

In order to impress upon the Union leadership that these problems should be the main issues instead of the issue of fringe benefits, we believe that IT IS URGENT TO MOBILIZE ALL THE SHOPS TO REJECT ANY CONTRACT THAT FAILS TO:

- (1) Stop the speedups by controlling the work standards.
- (2) Extend seniority to its broadest level, so that seniority will rule in the industry, and the senior people will get the full protection they are entitled to.
- (3) Control the hours of work which means (a) 30 hours work for 40 hours pay; (b) No overtime when people are laid off.

If the contract is not signed by the deadline, our policy should be simply this: NO CONTRACT - NO WORK. We urge you, for your own benefit and protection, to take a giant stand now! To do so, we must organize so that you, the membership, will decide the kind of contract YOU have to work under.'

The leaflet emphasises 2 points we have repeatedly made in 'SOLIDARITY'. Firstly that throughout the world, workers are struggling themselves to determine the conditions of their own employment. Secondly that bosses and union leaders are quite prepared to negotiate 'wage increases' in return for 'increased discipline' at work and the perpetuation of brutalising and inhuman conditions in plants and factories.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND THE STATE (Cont'd from p.2)

been no such threat to the Establishment for many years. 'Revolutionaries' may pass resolutions in deserted Labour Party ward meetings to their hearts' content. They may march to, from, or around Aldermaston till the soles rot off their boots. They may collect signatures or send postcards to Tory MPs till they are all crippled with writers' cramp. They may fill their journals with endless doctrinal squabbles till they knock one another 'theoretically' dizzy. They may proclaim that Socialism alone will end war - which is true - till they die of old age. They may even proclaim the 'need to build the revolutionary party' in every article they write. Provided they behave, stay at home, keep off the streets and obey the laws, our 'democracy' will piously protect their right to verbal and ineffective dissent.

We appeal to all of them. Not since the days of the General Strike has the State had to mobilise such might against an internal opposition. Recognize, we beseech you, a real movement when you see one. Abandon your safe, silly and sectarian isolation. Join our ranks. Voice your criticisms from within the developing mass movement. Bring with you your traditions of working class struggle, of militancy, of solidarity. Help us overcome our all too obvious organisational weaknesses and shortcomings. If we are defeated your democratic rights, even to verbal dissent, will not be worth much.

FOR EFFECTIVE MASS ACTION

The vital distinction between the Committee of 100 and the old Direct Action Committee is the former's recognition that only mass action can be effective. This is a difference of quality, not just of quantity. A clear understanding of what we are up against and a dynamic growth of our numbers (rather than sacrificial zeal by a few stalwarts) is the law of our existence. It will determine our eventual success or failure. This emphasis should find reflection in all our actions. We must create, in our forms of protest, imaginative ways of applying the characteristic ethic of the strike: equality of responsibility and solidarity against victimisation. These are, we believe, even more relevant to our present situation than the ethic of example by suffering, of openness of intentions or even of non-violence itself.

We should think soberly about the next stages of the campaign. We should realistically assess both our successes and our failures. We should avoid both overestimating our support... and indulging in endless

(cont'd p. 30)

ANSWER (see page 15)

Canon Collins (in Christian Action Newsletter, Autumn 1961)....
but they all think it!

ALGERIA

NOVEMBER 1ST.

The following text appeared in the November 1961 issue of Pouvoir Ouvrier, agitational paper of our French co-thinkers.

Two hundred dead. Several hundred wounded. Such was the score claimed by the French forces of 'law and order', on the evening of November 1st. The Algerians had not come down into the street looking for bloodshed. The FLN orders were quite explicit: 'Peaceful demonstration. No collision with the authorities'.

We publish below an account of that first of November, as lived and reported by a 'non-political' young Algerian who has recently written to us. His account refers to Constantine - the biggest Muslim town in Algeria - and the one place where the demonstration developed fairly peacefully. The document gives some idea of the frame of mind of the Algerians that day, of the atmosphere of celebration they intended to impart to it, and of the ferocious repression it gave rise to.

'At last the long awaited day arrived, spreading over the Algerian land glory, honour, charity and justice. As soon as the bells struck 8.0 am., I was already in the street, in gym shoes. I met many of my friends. They were already there chatting and laughing away, waving their arms, jumping for joy. What happiness! A friend arrives on his scooter. "Come on, he says. At B., they're at it already. What a row! Let's go and see!"

We proceed to B., on foot. There, our elbows on the parapet of the Boulevard Bir-Hakeim, we can see the whole of the old town. Listen, listen. What a clamour rising into the air. A thunder of shouts. We can't distinguish the words but we can guess them. We can see the whole district. Three processions, with brilliant colours, were marching up and down the streets, FLN flags in front. Then all three processions would retrace their steps, pouring out into a vast meeting place, where they would merge into a solid sea of people. Then reforming again, the procession re-enters the streets, shouting "Yahya El Djazair - Long Live Algeria!"

A little further on, we reach the "Kovas" the old part of the town. We see two processions there. They were marching, shouting rhythmically "Long Live Ben Khedda" and "Long Live Free Algeria".

We then return to Bellevue City. We learn that the inhabitants had formed a procession which had been dispersed - one, two, one, two, with rifle butts. My poor mother had taken part in this procession. But she couldn't run. She had returned home as soon as the procession had dispersed. "Ouf,

she said, I cant carry on any more. Enough demos for me! I'll stay at home from now on. I'll stand on the balcony to see my son march past. Daughters, give me the perfume, the sugar pot, and the flowers. Quick, the procession is coming! Quick! While I pour the perfume and the sugar, you start shouting "You - You"!!

Just as we turn the corner of H-block, four jeeps suddenly appear. Steady now, lads. They drive straight at us. Let the flag-bearers move aside. We're staying right here. I don't move. The jeep comes at me. I feel a pain in my knee. It's not serious, I tell myself. As soon as the jeeps pass, the procession reforms, bigger than before. We march forward again. We demonstrate till 3.0 pm.

We are not only celebrating the anniversary of our Revolution. We are not only demonstrating for self-determination, but also loudly and noisily to show that 'self-determination', as big Charlie sees it, is a thing of the past, a thing outdated - as outdated as that September 16, 1959, which had given rise to the idea.'

The French papers gave a very different version of events. 'The Algerians were urged on by intransigent leaders'. It was claimed that in the big towns the demonstrations were a partial failure.

Speaking of Algiers, Le Monde (November 3) wrote: 'The green and white flags with the crescent and star appeared numerous in the morning... but not as numerous as in December 1960'. They weren't as fussy at the time!

It isn't really surprising that 40,000 police in a single town should succeed in breaking a demonstration. In December 1960 the demonstrations were un-announced. Today the Algerians no longer play hide-and-seek. They announced their plans well in advance.

Two hundred dead. Hundreds of wounded. 'The road to negotiations is now open' the papers proclaim. In Algiers a procession of women and children is shot at: 4 dead. At Diar-El-Mahcouf helicopters spray tear-gas on the demonstrators. But from the balconies the women pour buckets of water to dispel the fumes. At M'Cil tanks and aircraft are used against the crowd.

The demonstrations continued for several days. The shooting too. 'The return to order required a tough campaign'. People, including women, are chased into houses, over terraces, over roofs..."We had never seen anything like it" a woman said. "People had the impression of being pursued into their own houses. They felt they had no refuge whatsoever..."

* * * * *

In its next issue 'Solidarity' hopes to publish a full analysis of events in Algeria and an account of the demonstrations of Algerian workers in France.

ABOUT OURSELVES . . .

'Solidarity' sales have continued to increase. No.9 sold 810 copies. A number of very welcome subscriptions have been coming in. We need still more of them (9/- for 12 issues, post free) to put us on a really sound footing. New friends are acting as sellers in various parts of the country (Newcastle-on-Tyne, Leeds, Derby, Nottingham and Cambridge). Since our last issue we have also established contact with like-thinking groups and individuals in Germany, Canada and Australia. We are very anxious to get more contributors and more suggestions as to how we can improve the paper.

Several of our comrades recently toured the Midlands doing meetings and seeing sympathisers. A well attended meeting, organised jointly by the Young Socialists, YCND and the University Socialist Society was held at Newcastle.

We have just produced our magnum opus - a fully annotated reprint of Alexandra Kollontai's 'The Workers' Opposition'. This text, unavailable in Britain for 40 years, describes the struggles in the Russian Bolshevik Party in 1920 and 1921. It analyses the roots of the bureaucracy in an extremely far-sighted manner. It is a basic reaffirmation of socialist ideas and an important contribution to the 're-thinking', so necessary if the 'left' is to break out of the intellectual desert in which it has been floundering for the past few decades.

The production of Solidarity No.10 has been delayed due to financial troubles, arrests, the concentration of our meagre resources on the production of 'The Workers' Opposition' and the pressure of other work. We hope to have our pamphlet on the British Light Steel Pressings strike out early in January.

We are at present quite badly in the red. We also need capital for some much needed technical improvements to our paper. Our regular readers will know that we have never so far appealed for money. We have decided, as an exception, to break this rule. We urgently ask readers who feel sufficiently in sympathy with what we are trying to do to send us what they can. We need about £50, we need it badly. This is a special appeal and will not be repeated.

Our press notices continue. The Sunday Telegraph (Nov. 5, 1961) and the Economic League Bulletin (No.93) continue their clumsy witch-hunt. The Sunday Telegraph recently wrote to Eric Morse, requesting information about 'Solidarity'. We apologise for the delay in replying and for being somewhat uncooperative. The reason is clear. In their issue of July 16 they referred to one of our regular contributors, Mr. Ken Weller, as having spoken on 'ways of fermenting (sic!) unrest'. As we have no brewing licence, we have to be very careful. We trust all readers will understand!!!

THE REAL CONSPIRACY

Can anyone doubt that the State, its Armed Forces, its Police and its Law Courts are weapons in the hands of the ruling class? The Government is quite prepared to use them when its usual techniques of mystification fail. Under ordinary circumstances it prefers to maintain a 'democratic' facade (Parliament, loyal Opposition, Hyde Park's Speakers Corner, right to march to Aldermaston and back). When people begin to see through this deception the Government shows its true face.

Of all the weapons of mystification none is more subtle, nor more pernicious, than the widespread belief that there is a 'free', 'neutral' press, solely concerned with the publication of 'news'. In reality the Press cynically 'selects' facts, suppresses others and slants information. It seeks to mould people's minds, to make them conform, to prevent them from thinking for themselves. The existence of a so-called 'Opposition' Press - which does exactly the same thing - only adds to the general confusion. All this is part and parcel of the whole process of mystification.

During disputes workers realise how the Press distorts aims, suppresses statements, fabricates evidence and raises red herrings. Supporters of the Committee of 100 are now going through much the same experience. Few things show the whole shabby business up more clearly than the Press treatment of the Pottle affair.

THE POTTLE AFFAIR

On Friday, December 8, the London evening papers had appeared with screaming headlines 'BAN THE BOMB ARRESTS - YARD SWOOP ON COMMITTEE OF 100 H.Q. WARRANT OUT FOR 6th OFFICIAL'. The arrests were a last minute attempt at intimidation. The press campaign had included whole columns of denunciation and talk of tear gas, dogs, machine guns... and 14 years prison sentences. The previous evening 'warnings' had been uttered in Parliament by David Renton, Minister of State at the Home Office. They had been echoed by the 'Opposition' spokesman, Mr. Brown. This worthy had even called for 'plans to be laid in advance' to cope with the demonstration.

Four members of the Committee of 100 (Ian Dixon, Trevor Hatton, Terence Chandler and Helen Allegranza) had been arrested at Goodwin Street, shortly after midday, on December 8.

An hour after the arrests, according to the Guardian (December 9, 1961) 'three plain clothes men returned to the Committee offices and asked if anyone knew the whereabouts of Mr. Randle and Mr. Pottle. The Inspector in charge said: "If you divulge the whereabouts of the others it would make it easier for those already arrested". The people in the room said that they felt sure the police were efficient enough to find them without their help'.

Mr. Michael Randle, who had been giving a Press Conference in a public house in Tudor Street was arrested shortly afterwards.

The five arrested members were remanded at Bow Street Police Station later that afternoon. The charges alleged conspiracy under the Official Secrets Act. The five were released on bail. The Police were unable to execute their warrant for the arrest of Pat Pottle, who could not be found.

On Monday, December 11, the Daily Express published a column headed 'ANTI-BOMB MEN HUNT LEADER WANTED BY POLICE'. The article claimed that 'The Committee of 100 had asked branch secretaries to find 23 year old Patrick Pottle - one of the leaders of the big anti-bomb Trafalgar Square rally - who vanished 12 hours before the Special Branch raided their headquarters last Friday'. The allegation was completely untrue. No such call to its supporters had ever gone out from the Committee. Press and Police were clearly working in unison.

On the same day the Daily Mail titled, over a whole page: '100 PLEADS: FIND PAT POTTLE'. One Gerard Kemp wrote 'The Committee of 100, baffled by the disappearance of one of its leaders, appealed last night to its supporters "Find Pat Pottle".'

A monstrously distorted image was being created by the two mass circulation dailies. The Committee of 100 was apparently working hand in hand with the Police, seeking to hound one of its own leading members! The Committee promptly wrote to the Press, pointing out the complete inaccuracy of the statements. The corrections were, of course, not published.

On Wednesday, December 13, the Daily Telegraph reported that 'a letter purporting to be signed by Mr. Patrick Pottle, 23, of Westbourne Terrace, Paddington, field secretary of the Committee of 100, was received by the Exchange Telegraph News Agency last night'. The Daily Telegraph continued: 'A spokesman for the News Agency said: We do not intend to publish the text of the letter. We are not certain it is from Pottle'. The report stated that "Special Branch and Scotland Yard were told of the letter as soon as it was received".'

We understand the Committee of 100 also received a copy of Pottle's first letter. So did a number of daily 'newspapers'. The Committee was in no doubt that the signature on the letter was genuine.

They informed the Press to this effect. The Daily Mail mentioned the fact. It even published excerpts from Pottle's letter. But the rest of the 'free' press maintained the conspiracy of silence. A letter to the Press from someone 'on the run' is surely 'news'. But not, apparently, when it indicts the Establishment.

The technique adopted by the 'News Agency' for not conveying news should be carefully noted. Also the line-up between the 'news agency' and the Political Police (euphemistically called Special Branch).

The Daily Telegraph of December 13 went further. Its readers had to be given some inkling of the contents of the mysterious letter. After all, they do pay for news! So a 'reporter' wrote: 'I understand the letter contained criticism of the Government on a number of points. Among these was telephone tapping'. This surely takes the cake. Let readers judge. We were lent the letter by the Committee and reproduce it in full (Appendix I).

On December 15, Pottle again wrote to the Press, this time protesting at their failure to publish his first letter. He sent a copy of this letter to the Committee. The Socialist Leader (December 23) printed this second letter. The remainder of the press, 'right' and 'left' (you too, Tribune?) kept discreetly mum.

We are publishing this second letter (Appendix II). We are also publishing a memorandum (Appendix III) Pottle sent to the Committee and which was read out at its last full meeting. We are determined, despite our limited means, to help Pat Pottle break the conspiracy of silence and distortion around what he has done.

On Friday, December 22, Bertrand Russell, on behalf of the Committee of 100, issued a statement to the Press Association. The statement (Appendix IV) dealt in full with the Pottle affair. Not one of the leading dailies saw fit to publish it the following day. So much for the 'democracy' under which we live! The Establishment - and its hacks in Fleet Street and Westminster - needn't whine when people seek new methods of action!

* * * * *

APPENDIX I

Copy of letter received at Committee office on 12 December 1961.

'Five of my fellow members of the Committee of 100 were arrested on Friday 8th of December and were charged with conspiracy under the Official Secrets Act. A warrant was issued for my arrest on the same charge but it has not been possible to put it into effect.

'The authorities and the public know that it is the Committee of 100, as a body, which prepares demonstrations. The Government seeks to victimise individuals. It is afraid to charge all those who oppose it because there are far too many.

'Every sane human being should pause and ask himself a simple question: who are the real conspirators? Us or them?

'The Government uses secret police to break into offices, to steal papers, to open letters. Its agents search people in their homes in the early morning. It taps telephones, sends spies to meetings, whitewashes its own brutality and lies in Court.

'The real conspirators are those who prepare mass murder and lie to our people about it. Wethersfield is a base from which the extermination of millions of men and women will be launched.

'The Committee of 100 offers people a method of struggle for decency and dignity. It says to people: see the evil and act for yourselves. Do not expect the corrupt politicians to act. Do not expect the kept Press to tell the truth. Do not expect the courts to do justice.

'We say to the people: learn from your experience. As you become more effective, the government will seek to destroy civil liberties. They bring in troops. They talk of conspiracy. It is the Government itself which is an evil and criminal conspiracy. It risks our lives, plans to kill millions, says war is peace and lies the truth. It seeks to intimidate those who struggle for human survival. The mask is off. The people shall see and resist.

'The Committee of 100 organises resistance to nuclear suicide. I am proud to be associated with this work. I have made a personal decision, and hope for a while best to help the Committee in this way. The Government's victimisation must not be allowed to go unchallenged.'

Pat Pottle.

APPENDIX II

Letter to Press from Pat Pottle.

16th December, 1961.

'Dear Editor,

On Friday the 8th December, five of my fellow members of the Committee of 100 were arrested on a charge of conspiracy under the Official Secrets Act; at the same time a warrant was issued for my arrest, but so far it has been impossible for the police to implement it.

'On Tuesday, 12th December, I wrote to the Exchange Telegraph and to a number of our daily newspapers explaining why I had taken this course of action and pointing out that the real conspirators were not my fellow committee members but the Government.

'The Government are conspiring on the one hand to annihilate millions and on the other are conspiring to destroy basic civil liberties, through raids on peoples homes, telephone tapping and sending police spies to meetings.

'My last letter was not published by our 'Democratic' press, no doubt as a result of higher instructions. So much for the freedom of the press.

'I am writing to urge that both this letter and my previous one should be made widely known.

'I intend to continue working for the Committee of 100 in what I think is the best manner.'

Pat Pottle.

APPENDIX III

Memorandum from Pat Pottle submitted to Committee of 100.

15.12.61.

'Dear Committee Members,

I feel I must give you some explanation as to my recent decision not to allow the Government to get away with intimidation and selective arrests.

'As you all know there are various views on the Committee as regards openness with the authorities, and how we see the future development of the Committee.

'I feel the Committee has got to decide how it sees itself. Is it to be another protest movement? Or is it to be a serious movement of resistance?

'I am sure all of us realise the consequences of being a member of the Committee and are prepared to accept them. I hope you do not see my action as trying to get out of this responsibility and evade going to prison. Unlike some members of the Committee, I believe that non-cooperation starts before you are arrested and not after.

'I hope that the Committee will now start to think seriously about the future of the movement. Where do we stand in relation to the State? Are we to be just a group of martyrs willing to give ourselves up on a silver plate? Have we not left the days of the D.A.C. and the Jumble Sale Brigade?

'Their actions against us show we are becoming a serious threat to the State. Let us make adequate preparations in setting up a vast movement of resistance with contacts all over the country, so as we are prepared when the government take stronger action.

'I am sorry to have had to take this decision before we had time to discuss it on the Committee. The decision was not with us and someone has to take the first step.

'I shall continue to do what work I can for the Committee and will be writing to you from time to time. I am convinced my action will eventually further our aims. I hope I have your confidence in doing this. Please help me break the conspiracy of silence and distortion around what I have done.'

Pat Pottle.

APPENDIX IV

Statement submitted by Bertrand Russell (on behalf of Committee of 100) to Press Association on December 22, 1961.

'Pat Pottle is one of those who has led our movement conspicuously and courageously. He has been arrested for sitting, and charged for the planning and leading of our great triumph on September 17.

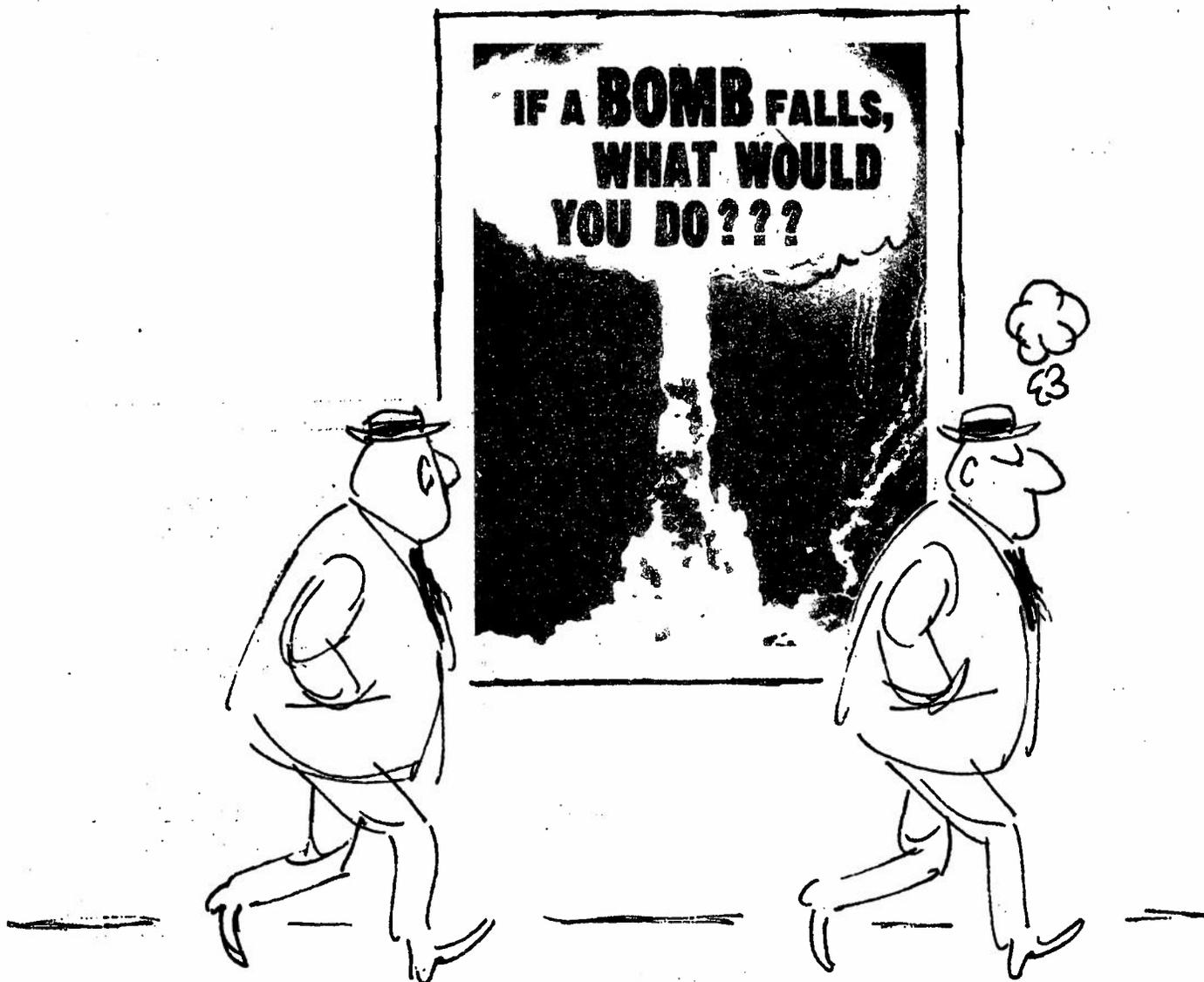
'He faced incitement charges for his work, and was sentenced. Now he is charged again for an offence for which the entire Committee shares responsibility, if it is a proper charge at all. Far from reflecting upon the decision he has taken, the Committee of 100 wishes to acknowledge its intense admiration for all that he has done.

'He has taken a decision which is difficult, requires great courage, and shows the utmost determination. He has decided to defy the attempt of the Government to victimise him, and to work under the shadow of their search.

'We have said as a Committee that we defy the law on grounds of conscience and as a contribution to human survival. We have said we are prepared to take the consequences of that violation. That we have done, and Pat Pottle more so than most.

'He believes he can be more effective to our cause by seeking to work and not by giving himself up to the authorities. This is a decision that must be made personally by each one of us in terms of how we believe we can best struggle for the common end. I do not believe the decision to go to court to be one which should be imposed on individuals any more than the decision to refuse to do so.

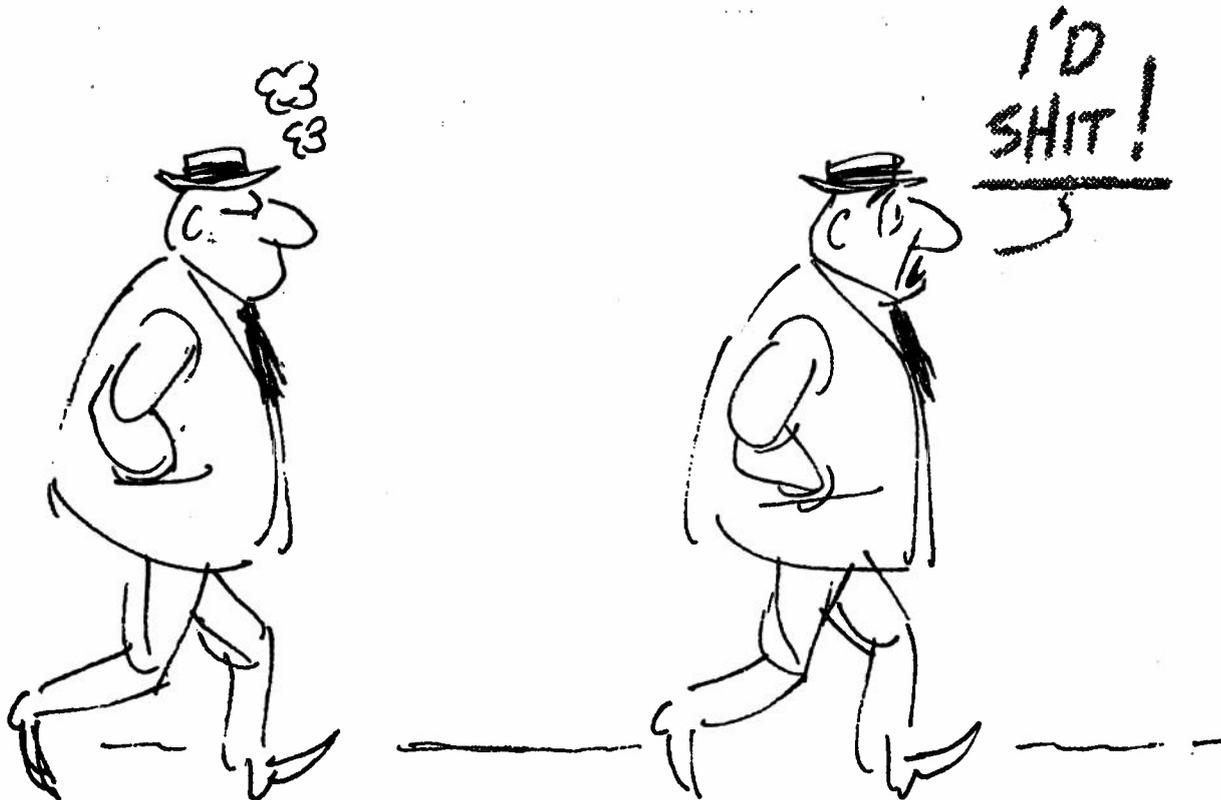
(cont'd opposite)



'as the Government seeks to destroy our work, to raid our offices, to punish the few severely rather than to apply the law fairly, we must look to the new situation created and respond intelligently and without rigidity or dogma.

'The Committee of 100 believes in Pat Pottle, respects his decision, and stands by him in his courageous action.'

Bertrand Russell.



INTERLANTI

post-mortems. We must be both 'down-to-earth' and 'go-ahead'! We must systematically develop the work in industry. Many aspects of organisation need tightening up. The convenor system must be further developed. The dissemination of information is inadequate, particularly in relation to prisoners. Links between the Committee and its supporters need strengthening at all levels. Regular supporters meetings are essential if the 'leadership' is genuinely to reflect the feelings of 'the ranks' and if a conservative, 'office-bound' bureaucracy is not to develop. New people must constantly come forward as the movement grows. Several new regional committees have recently been formed. Still more are needed. We must develop a network that covers the whole country so that hundreds of thousands can be mobilized at very short notice.

We should also look at our security arrangements. Increasing police interference will compel the movement to reassess its previous methods and to modify them where necessary in order most effectively to meet the changing nature of the opposition. In the past, Committee policy has been able to reconcile a whole set of beliefs, ideas, attitudes and tactics (mass-action, willingness to defy the law, non-violence, openness about intentions, equal responsibility, the right of individuals to choose their own level of participation, decentralisation of decision-taking). The list does not come from Mount Sinai. The ideas will be tested in the course of real struggle and not all will be found equally practicable and relevant.

Mr. Butler at least has learnt something from his Trafalgar Square fiasco. Intimidation, injustice, and assaults on civil liberties are becoming increasingly selective in their application. We may soon have to choose between the desire to conduct our preparations openly and the need to protect individuals from blatant victimisation. No new departures are called for. Supporters files have always been kept secret. The 'Voice of Nuclear Disarmament' has from the onset been an underground operation. What is entailed is a constant awareness that the movement must grow, that it must meet the challenge of persecution, that it must meet it effectively and that this may require the jettisoning of some cherished doctrinal beliefs.

We should begin to think in terms of a mass Resistance Movement with deep roots all over the country. In France such a resistance movement is already developing. Thousands of young men have refused to be called up. They have refused to fight and die in French Imperialism's criminal war against the Algerian people. They are 'on the run', sheltered by thousands of ordinary people who think as they do, but whose circumstances prevent them from taking similar action. They are a symbol of the new society within the old. The day may not be very far off where the Committee is declared illegal. The implications should be discussed quite realistically. Plans should be laid, from now, to enable the campaign to continue, whatever the Establishment does. We must not be obsessed with this possibility, to the point where it paralyses our practical work. But it would be criminal irresponsibility totally to dismiss it.