Teenage Thing - p. 4

"You can never get me to regard freedom as synonymous with political liberty."

-HENRIK IBSEN.

Vol. 21, No. 9

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Threepence

## Reflections on that Promise of a Four-minute Missile Warning in 3 Years' Time!

# IS POWER POLITICS A HOAX?

ONE member of the serious press, The Guardian, admits in an editorial on the subject of how much warning of a missile attack will be obtained from the radar chain now in course of construction, that

only in a world gone slightly mad can there be serious argument about whether Britain would have four, five, ten or fifteen minutes warning of the surprise attack from Eastern Europe.

But being also one of the serious pillars of this "world gone slightly mad" the Guardian hastens to add:

Yet the argument is serious, for on it depends whether the bombers and missiles based on Britain can be counted as a deterrent to major war.

And this of course is the official line put forward last week by the government's spokesman when discussing the Defence White Paper and explaining why, after all these years of goodwill missions, disarmament conferences and even the recognition, last year, by Ike and Mr. K. that neither considered the other a warmonger, Defence expenditure will be £116 millions more than for last year!

It is to our minds sheer lunacy to believe that a nation deciding to launch a missile attack on other nations will be deterred by such considerations as to whether the other nation will be in a position to get enough H-bombers into the air before the missiles destroy them on the ground. None of the nations possessing nuclear weapons have any illusions about the boomerang effect of starting a missile war. Once started only wholesale extermination can be the outcome for mankind, and everybody knows it, and for this reason no one will knowingly start the conflagration.

WHAT we have been experiencing since the end of World War II is unprecedented, and the result of the revolution in mass communications and in science and technology which was sparked off during the last war. We would suggest that power politics prior to 1939 was a much more real and potentially dangerous phenomenon of capitalist society than it is to-day. Then, whole continents were the prize over which the colonial, the naval, powers manoeuvred for advantages, for conquest. With the growth of nationalism and the liquidation of old style colonialism (accelerated by the military needs of the colonial powers in their armed struggle against the military might of Germany and Japan), the power struggle between the nations has been modified radically. That is, the real struggle, for it is an undeniable fact that however much frontiers may be modified, or countries "occupied" there can be no

#### MISSILES FOR INDIA

According to British aircraft industry sources, the Bristol Aircraft Company has been negotiating with the Indian Defence Ministry for the sale of its Bloodhound missile.

Bloodhound missile.

This was reported from London in the Times of India of January 30.

Later that day a Ministry spokesman in New Delhi declined to comment, but said that even if India were buying the missiles, they would not be equipped with atomic warheads, the use of which India had steadfastly opposed.

Peace News 12/2/60.

return to the approach of old-style colonialism. And this fact is all the more significant when one bears in mind that in terms of military weapons and techniques alone there is no reason why the colonial powers should not be in a better position now than they ever were to physically occupy and grind down the peoples of these territories.

It is equally significant that the military occupation of W. Germany has not prevented that country from rebuilding its industrial potential and raising the living standards of its people to among the highest in Europe. In world markets to-day W. Germany and not Russia is Britain's most serious competitor.

W/HAT then is the struggle for power all about? For many of us this is a question which has long ago been answered To some of us it is simply the ambition of some nations for world domination; for others it is a question of economics, a struggle for markets in a world of shrinking markets. We believe that there are politicians whose lust for power is so great that they dream of world conquest. On the other hand we believe that in the world we live in there are too many ambitious politicians and industrialists as well as "unco-operative masses" to make the realisation of such personal dreams of world hegemony impossible. We are even coming to the conclusion that economic issues are no longer the dominating factor in the power struggle that they once were.

INDEED we are inclined to the view that the "power struggle" in international politics is a huge con-

fidence trick in which so many people have a vested interest, that it is virtually impossible for any body of citizens to break the vicious circle. Apart from the "summit" leaders whose most pedestrian utterances are repeated by the Press and flashed on the T.V. screens in millions of homes throughout the world, every minor political leader has an interest

in the maintenance of international "tensions" and of playing his role in the alignment of world power. But for it Nkrumah could not dream of pan-Africanism nor Nasser of an Arab federation. And feeding the leaders are the hundreds of thousands of advisers, delegates and civil servants whose status and livelihood depend on the perpetuation of the

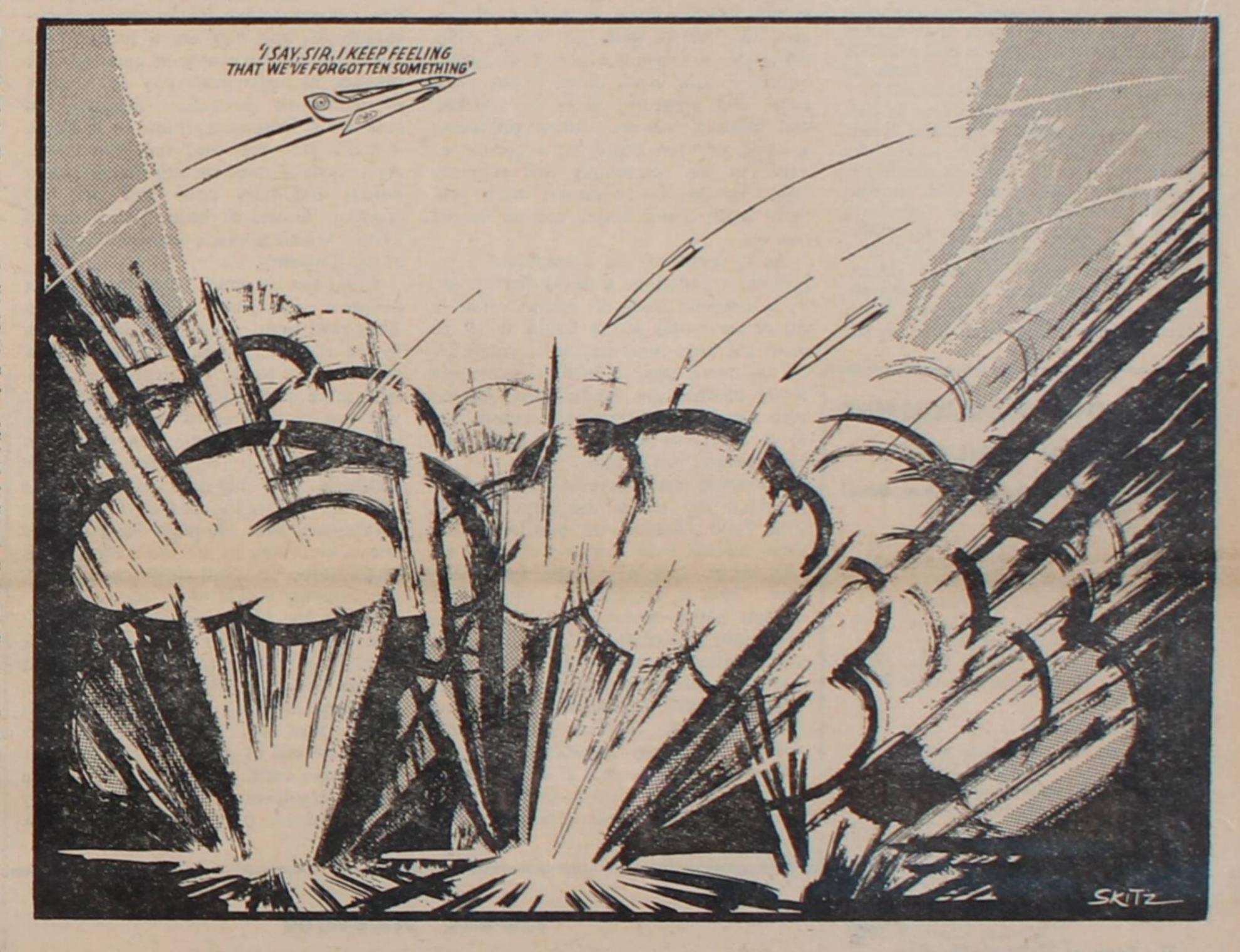
power-political struggle. Again how would the thousands of political journalists earn their livings, as well as pontificate on T.V. and Radio, if there were no international political crises to unfold and to analyse?

Think of the number of career-

men in the Services whose jobs and pensions would be affected if the Powers were to agree on disarmament! The Defence White Paper was a tonic to them. As the Guardian put it so tactlessly last week

The Defence White Paper ought to please almost everyone . . . The con-

Continued on p. 3



### Boycott South African Goods

MANY of us have been carrying out our own individual boycott of South African goods ever since it was first asked for by opposition South African organisations last autumn.

Next Tuesday, however, we are to be joined by most sections of the official Labour Movement (whatever that means) who support the boycott in principle, but are chary about how it is to be applied.

The organisations calling for the boycott include the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the Liberal Party of South Africa, and in a message to the people of Britain, leaders of these organisations have said:

This year it is proposed to conduct a limited boycott of South African produce in Britain for a period of one month, starting on March 1st. The boycott is a protest against Apartheid, the removal of political rights, the colour bar in industry, the extension of passes to women and the low wages paid to Non-White workers. In the towns and cities of South Africa over half of the African families live below the breadline.

Economic boycott is one way in which the world at large can bring home to the South African authorities that they must either mend their ways or suffer for them

hem.

This appeal is therefore directed to the

people of Great Britain to strike a blow for freedom and justice in South Africa and for those whom the State would keep in continuing subjection in the Union. If this boycott makes the authorities realise that the world outside will actively oppose Apartheid it will have struck a blow for freedom and justice in our country.

#### Much Controversy.

During the months following the first introduction of the boycott idea, the organisers have been busy, gaining much publicity and arousing much public controversy. They have succeeded in getting their proposals discussed at highest levels of the Labour and Liberal Parties, the TUC and the Co-operative movement.

It is the acceptance of the idea in principle by these organisations that gives March 1st its significance as the beginning of the month's official boycott.

But we must refer again to the equivocal manner in which the Labour movement has faced this issue. The Labour Party has officially supported the idea of a consumer boycott. This is the least it could have done, but unfortunately the immediate effect has been to give the boycott a party political flavour. (Mac went out of his way

in his Capetown speech to attack the boycott on those grounds). The same could be said of the Liberals, but oddly enough nobody ever thinks of them as of any significance in party politics.

It is in the reaction of the Trades Unions and the Co-ops that the chance of effective action has been thrown away. These associations of producers and distributors have all refused to accept responsibility in these functions, supporting the boycott only to the extent of urging their members to operate a consumers' boycott.

As we have pointed out before, this means that trades unionists will transport South African goods all the way to the shops and then refuse to buy them. While the official Coop attitude is that it is not for distributors to curtail their consumers' choice, only for the purchasers themselves to refrain from buying.

#### Limited Effect.

This half-hearted approach, plus the fact that the action is only to be supported for one month will mean that the actual economic effect of the boycott will be strictly limited. The proportion of South African imports which are perishable is small anyway. It won't hurt retailers—

and wholesalers even less—to have their stocks of South African preserves or wines or tobaccos on their shelves one month longer than usual.

And, of course, perhaps the most important of all South African imports are gold and diamonds. How do we boycott these?

But it is not in the hopes of immediate economic effect that we should support the boycott. It should be done as an expression of revulsion against the practices of the South African Government and of solidarity with the oppressed African and coloured peoples there.

It has been suggested that participants in the boycott could send the money they save to refugee funds, and this is a most laudable suggestion, assuming that boycotters do not accept the produce of other lands instead of South African goods.

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#### NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD!

OTTAWA, FEBRUARY 17.

Canadian unemployment was estimated at 504,000 by the middle of January, about 134,000 higher than in December, but 34,000 below 1959 averages, says a Government statement.

Building industries accounted for more than a third of the increase.

British United Press.

### How to Screw your Neighbour in 13 Easy Chapters

WALL STREET.—The inside story of American finance, M. Mayer,

. . . A few years ago Marks worked out a scheme by which the Italian government could redeem \$40,000,000 of its \$132,000,000 debt (then selling for only \$160 per \$1,000 bond), merely by paying the interest. Marks outlined the deal which involved several bank loans and the use of the interest payments every year until 1967 to retire the loans. The Italian government took his outline over to a Swiss banking house, which offered to do the job for less money than Marks would charge. 'That was fine with us, Marks said. 'We saw the deal starting, because you can't buy that many bonds without making something of a stir in the market. So we bought a couple of million dollars of bonds, sold at a higher price, and made more money than we would have made if we had done the deal ourselves'."

... But Lichtenstein is obviously a man incapable of gloom or depression. 'Life dazzles me,' he says. He runs an insurance business somewhat similar to Gus Leby's insurance business; but while Leby buys from underwriters perfectly good securities that have been overpriced, Lichtenstein buys junk. Unless a corporation has surrendered its charter (which means that the stock represents nothing, and cannot even be transferred), Lichtenstein will probably be willing to bail a broker's customer out of it. He does no business with the public directly, and most of the business he does with brokers will involve stock that neither the broker nor Lichtenstein nor anybody else ever heard of before a customer called up and said he wanted to sell it.

'The idea', Lichtenstein says, 'is that out of every thousand stocks that I buy, one or two or three or four or ten will suddenly come to life and get profitable. I have better odds than most people, because I have ways of checking whether the corporation is still sufficiently in business to give the stock a chance. Even when I can't check, though, I'll sometimes take a gamble, because that way I do a service for a broker and some day he'll do a service

up on stocks, because if I did you'd set up in competition with me. This is a profitable business. If it were a sufficiently profitable business I'd be retired. I'm a very lazy man'."

... Wertheim is always ready for special deals; it is the special situations firm par excellence. Its most spectacular and famous deal was in the common stock of Nedick's Inc., the New York chain of hot-dog and orange-drink stands which went bust in the early thirties. The late Maurice Wertheim, one of the founders of the firm (and of the Theatre Guild and half-a-dozen other cultural enterprises), bought the company, very casually, at a total cost of \$36,000, including lawyers' fees. That was in 1934; between 1934 and 1951 Wertheim took out of Nedick's more than \$2,000,000 in dividends, and in 1951 sold it to National Phoenix Industries for nearly \$4,000,000. The total profit was some \$5,900,000, or nearly 10,000 per cent.

This is regarded at Wertheim as a successful deal, but there have been others even more successful, especially in Cuban sugar properties. Cuban sugar he does not even gripe).

for me. I won't tell you how I check properties have gone down seriously in value since 1949, which Wertheim is sorry about-but not hurt. Wertheim sold out in 1948."

> "... Lund is a very cynical man, with the belief that many of the statements made by sellers of stock are pure honey. He has a low view of market forecasters and money managers, and an even lower view of professional traders. When the Stock Exchange cries about volume, Lund is not moved: 'Three-quarters of that volume in 1929,' he said, 'came from professional, inside traders, churning and manipulating the market. Sure, the boys made money; but it was all against the public interest."

Lund's cynicism and expertise make him a much admired man on Wall Street, because the Street in private conversation is pretty cynical about itself."

"... In 1958 he made a lot of money; in 1953, 'I was happy to make expenses and a salary'-in short, that's the way the ball bounces. He may complain gently, but he will not gripe."

(What a hero! One year he fails to make a fortune. One whole year, and

forts and promise of colour TV and the smellies to come, for a primitive social unit based on mutual aid, whatever its rewards in human terms. We should like both material comfort and a libertarian society, but the one bird is in the hand and the other is flying too high; we don't have that much faith in ourselves, let alone the next guy. So, somehow, we must try to find some way of introducing a greater emphasis on human values into a society that must have its motorways, TV stations, universities, cars and aeroplanes.

would be willing to sacrifice their present

standard of living with its material com-

All this means organisation on a large scale; decisions being made by small executive groups that affect thousands who never meet on a personal level. The London-Birmingham motorway was possible only because some group recognised the need for such a road and put the wheels in motion; another group broke the problem down into engineering terms, working out the "cut and fill", the concrete needed, and arranged for the right machines to arrive at the right place at the right time. And somehow the whole project had to be financed, because noone works for nothing in our present society—not even anarchists. The groups in question were government committees of one sort and another, local and national, and private contractors. The money came from taxes that you and I paid, like it or lump it, and over which we exercised no control. In principle, we could throw out the government that chose to spend our money in this way if we felt sufficiently incensed by the time the next election came along, provided our anarchist principles did not prevent our voting. In fact, we shall use the motorway, regretting only that it was not built twenty years ago.

How else might matters be arranged? In the case of the Channel Tunnel, if

ever it comes into being, the government will provide neither the initiative nor the cash; these will come from "private enterprise"-the small groups of men pursuing future profits, and perhaps, as a sideline, the common weal. In Russia and China the private contractor has disappeared; but state capitalism has little to recommend it to anarchists. It has proved to be neither more efficient in terms of productivity, nor more concerned with the rights of the individual.

For some time the Liberals have been plugging co-ownership as more in line with modern ideas of social justice. Workers, they contend, should be shareholders, and thereby have an interest in a firm beyond their weekly wage packet. This is a long way from syndicalism, but it could turn out to be a step in the right direction. Some anarchists would object that co-ownership is just a cunning trap for maintaining the status quo. By giving the worker a stake in his firm he is less likely to oppose the system as a whole because he has been fooled into believing that he is now on the other side of the fence, or that the fence no longer exists. This sort of objection—it usually comes from those burning with revolutionary zeal—can be turned inside out. According to this line of thought every wage increase is to be deplored for the same reason. The better a worker is paid the less will he feel exploited, and the less will he favour any radical change in the system. Anarchists of this ilk should be campaigning for wage reductions as a means of keeping the class conflict alive.

What is it then that anarchists object to in the present system? They want their cars and the roads to run them on, and along with everyone else will take what they can get of the good things of life, whether provided via government or private enterprise.

Basically, what anarchists ought to be objecting to is not the system itself, but the values that support it. There is nothing wrong in principle with an Continued on p. 3

but if it has two hormone clocks running

out of phase, secreting hormone at inter-

vals to say twelve hours instead of

twenty-four, it invariably develops can-

tions an experiment on human internal

clocks made by Dr. Lewis and Dr. Lob-

They measured the excretory

rhythms of groups of people living in

the abnormal diurnal cycles of 22 and

27 hours during the summer months of

continuous daylight in Spitzbergen.

The subjects wore watches which ran

to these periods while apparently read-

ing normal time. Not only was there

variation in the adaptability of indi-

viduals but some failed to adapt at all

to the new routine. These individuals

showed signs of stress, particularly at

those times when their rhythms be-

Dr. Harker comments: "In view of these

findings it is likely that people who fly

east and west with any frequency would

also vary. It is possible that rhythms

would become dissociated, and consider-

able strain would be placed on regulatory

Airline pilots and other flying workers

usually work to timetables based on

twenty-four hour periods and presum-

ably need not worry. The people most

likely to be disturbed are those who fly

from place to place adapting themselves

to the rhythm of each local environment;

having dinner and making a speech at

seven each evening, having breakfast and

inspecting a guard of honour at ten each

morning, and so on, and hopping across

time lines every couple of days. The

Great States of the World, Heads of

State, Directors of Mammoth Enterprises

and what-not have only recently begun

to use aeroplanes. It will be interesting to

see, as they fly oftener, further and

faster, whether they get sicker or more

D.R.

irritable, or die earlier.

came most disorganised.

functions."

ban of Cambridge.

In the same article Dr. Harker men-

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THERE are at least two distinct ways the dividends, which means staying in of looking at this state of affairsthe idealistic and the realistic. As idealists we doubtless deplore the philosophy that holds men mere ciphers to be tossed around in the pursuit of profits. Somehow the values look all wrong. The man who manipulates pieces of paper, sells the right stock short at the right time, and generally plays the market, can make a fortune without producing a thing or even supplying a service of value to the community that supports him. He has to be clever, mark you. Only really good brains can be wasted this way.

As a result of the manipulator's ingenious calculations a navvy finds a job in a uranium mine in Alaska while a miner leaves his pit in South Wales to draw the dole-and they both watch TV on the never-never. Such thoughts can never distract the master-mind playing with his pieces of paper—he knows that it is dividends and capital gains that really count, not people.

Gambling has always been respectable, provided the stakes are high enough. The Field Marshal or politician loses three million lives, not one of them his own, as a result of a slight miscalculation. This is regarded as unfortunate, though highly moral. The investor or speculator (the terms are interchangeable despite attempts by the big gamblers to attribute speculation to the small fry while annexing the halo of investment for themselves. By and large, I invest and the other guy speculates. There is supposed to be a moral distinction in terms of motives and technics. The investor, however, has a larger eye on

longer. Why it should be more moral to be a big-time operator collecting both dividends and capital gains is not clear. It is a bit like murder, it would seem. Kill enough people in the approved circumstances and you are a hero). Getting back to the gentry in question; the investor or speculator may be a bank or mammoth insurance company, an investment trust or Jo Blow in Kokomo -that's you, me, and the cat's uncle. As a result of these investments or speculations industries grow and die, the economy booms or busts. As it did in 1929. Which is where a financier cringes at the obscenity.

When the big crash came the big-time investors rode it out. They were smart. They read signs. They had their(?) cash in the right securities. It was Jo Blow and the cat's uncle who lost their shirts. And serve them right, you may say. If you aim to be a crook you'd better be a good one. Only little men with small ambitions try to blow the safe with gelignite. The big-time operator, the investor, corners the market or organises a take-over bid. He plays the game and cheats according to the rules, earning his just reward. Without such honest crooks the economy would never survive.

Which just about exhausts the idealism and gets us back to harsh realities. It is easy to see the faults in the present system, and it is even easier to picture, in vague outline, an ideal society in which men live according to human values instead of seeking power and their own mean ends. The snag is to offer a cogent argument showing how we may proceed from one to the other. Few

#### Science Note

### How is your Clock?

IN the last fifty years it has become five hormone clocks in its bloodstream

Now, however, Dr. Janet Harker of Girton College reports in the Times Science Review\* that she has tracked one down to a group of four cells in a nerve ganglion under the œsophagus of the common cockroach. Once every twentyfour hours, precisely, this group of cells puts a hormone which initiates activity into the animal's blood. Precisely how it works is not known, but it can be anaesthetised (by freezing) separately from the rest of the cockroach, and its phase (though not its twenty-four hour cycle) altered by this means. When this is done the hormonal "clock" is out of phase with the nervous system, which proves that the cockroach has at least two internal clocks; and if the interval is not too great the hormonal clock will regulate itself to conform with the nervous system again, which proves the clock in the nervous system is the master. For those who have come in contact with the teaching of Wilhelm Reich: the most interesting experiments involve taking the hormone clock out of one cockroach and putting it in the bloodstream of another, when it continues to function as before. A cockroach remains

\*Spring, 1960.

quite clear that animals can measure all secreting hormone at the same time; time in the absence of environmental fluctuations. Cockroaches kept in constant temperature, humidity, pressure and complete darkness will start to run about at the same time every night. Fruit-flies which have been bred for generations in similar conditions and have no rhythm of life, if shown one single flash of light will begin to behave in twenty-four-hour cycles. Rats kept in constant conditions and reared by a succession of fostermothers so that the cycle of feeding times is different from twenty-four hours, and crabs flown from east to west so that any unknown environmental fluctuation dependent on the earth's rotation has a different period, still have twenty-fourhour rhythms. And starlings, which find their way by the sun, will lose it in a room with a fixed artificial sun, because they react as if the fixed sun had a diurnal motion.

The theory is generally accepted that animals (and come to that, plants, which have the same time-measuring abilities) have "internal clocks" or organs which record time in some way. But in spite of all the efforts of biologists none has ever been speeded up or slowed down, and until very recently none had even been located.

perfectly normal and healthy with up to

"FREEDOM" SHOULD HAVE

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### BOOK REVIEW GYPSY LORE

mysterious, though it appears that their language is of Indian origin. It is claimed that they are akin to the Jats of northern India. (Briffault identifies the Jats with the Getae, who were in Southern Russia in Roman times). At all events they are neither Egyptians nor Romans, though they may have passed through Roumania. They are the last survivors of the non-Mongolian nomads, who used to roam the steppes of western Asia till they were driven into Europe, and incidentally into civilisation, respectability and the settled life, by the Tartar peoples from further East. The only difference being that, whereas the other wanderers became in time civilised and "good citizens", the gypsies never settled down as a people, whatever some individuals and families may do.

The gypsies first receive official mention in the fifteenth century, but Bercovici claims that they were known in the time of Homer. The general opinion is that they were pushed westward by the armies of Tamerlane. At any rate, they had soon spread to every part of the continent and the British Isles. When the Europeans occupied North America the gypsies were not far behind.

From their first official appearance till the present day they have been the victims of a steady and unrelenting persecution. Hitler put them in concentration camps along with the Jews. In England they are harried continuously by the police and the school inspectors.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Webb's book\* will do a little to make people feel

\*GYPSIES, The Secret People, by G. E. C. Webb, Herbert Jenkins, 21s.

THE origin of the gypsies is rather more tolerant. I do not know whether he is not perhaps a little inclined to idealise his gypsies. Let's face it. Nomadic people in our midst are bound to be a bit of a nuisance sometimes, however much they desire not to be. I believe that our society has reached the stage when, unless it is to become a sort of utilitarian barbarism, it must be prepared to tolerate things which conflict with its efficient running, whether it be the wild life or the gypsies and other nomads.

According to Mr. Webb's description of them, the gypsies live in a sort of primitive matriarchal anarchy. They have no state. The basis of society is the family group. Their supreme penalty, rarely enforced, is the sending of an individual "to coventry" for life, as among the Eskimoes. The woman is as important a source of the family's income as the husband. When she marries (there may be no ceremony of any kind) she need not necessarily take her husband's name, she just tacks a "Mrs." on to her maiden name, nor need her children. Gypsy children are kindly treated, are not forced to attend school (they have to learn to cope with the gypsy life, in which "book-knowledge" is almost useless), and are not struck.

Although subtopia is closing in on every side, the gypsies show no signs of dying out. It would be a good thing though if the medieval policy of "moving the gypsies on", or of simply exterminating them (Germany and Russia), were to be abandoned. Is this likely to happen?

The book is illustrated with some good photographs.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Vol. 21, No. 9 February 27, 1960

### Is Power Politics a Hoax?

Continued from p. 1

ventional forces are not, after all, to be cut further. . . .

Indeed, larger budgets are allocated to all three services, and by making the pay more attractive and pension schemes more elastic the government looks forward to recruiting more . . . allies!

Think also of all the technicians and scientists who depend on the power game for their well-paid jobs. The White Paper declares that 14 per cent. of Defence Expenditure, that is £100 millions, will be spent on "research and development" this year. No wonder that the fate of mankind has now been reduced to a matter of minutes. After all, one cannot blame these scientists for taking a pride in their work!

W/HAT we have been trying to argue is that the "developed" nations—in science technology and mass communications are the victims of an idée fixe which has no bearing on reality. They have created an imaginary enemy, threatening at their doors, to justify the uncontrolled application of scientific knowledge to the development of lethal weapons and the techniques for their launching. These develop so fast that no sooner has production got under way than new discoveries make them obsolete.

How unreal is the whole armaments race, is surely shown by the recent announcement about the radar chain which the United States is establishing in this country and elsewhere at a cost of more than £100 million. For here we (or rather the Press) are worrying about the fact that we will only have four minutes warning of a surprise missile attack when in fact it will take at least three years to build this detector which will give us four minutes warning of impending annihilation! As realists we ask: "And what kind of an enemy are we facing who is proposing to wait three years to attack us when we know that he is able to land rockets on the moon now? Surely if one is dealing with a potential enemy who may at any moment launch a few nuclear missiles, one does not tell him where one's bomber force is located, nor inform him of one's armaments programme for the coming year. One certainly does not tell him that it will be years before one will possess a radar chain or that one's new tactic is to have mobile missile bases.

In fact one says nothing but acts. For is not attack the best form of defence? And if the West is only concerned with Defence and seeking to develop the finest instruments to this end, why don't we now give the enemy a taste of what he may give us in three years time when we have our detectors working out four minutes warning of impending annihilation?

If it's not all bluff, an expensive racket, why don't the "Democracies" bombard Russia with nuclear missiles NOW!

nanonanananananananananan

You are still in time if you send us your QUESTIONNAIRE Now!

to discus discus

#### 'Freedom' Readership Survey: Fourth Interim Report

### Families, Education, Reading and Politics

REPLIES to our questionnaire received by Saturday, February 20th, totalled 405, of which 14 were from other European countries and 52 from America, Canada or Latin America.

#### Family Life

In questions 2 and 3 readers were asked to state whether they were single, marmied, living in unmarried union, separated, or widowed, and how many children they have. Some people naturally came into more than one category. In the following list 'single' and 'married' are only used for those who come into no other category in addition.

Single	122
Married	213
Living in unmarried union	40
Separated (or divorced)	15
Widowed	9

Of the 185 readers replying who have children, 68 have one, 71 have two, 33 have three, 9 have four, 5 have five and 1 has seven.

Of single readers not ticking any other category, 1 has one child, 2 have two. Of married readers answering, 62 have no children, 52 have one, 53 have two,

32 have three, 9 have four, 4 have five, 1 has seven. Of readers living in unmarried union, 20 have no children, 5 have one, 13 have

two, 1 has three, 1 has five. Of separated, divorced, and widowed readers not included in any other category, 11 have one child and 3 have two. The total number of children is 372.

#### Education

Questions 13 and 14 asked "What types of school did you go to?" and "What training or further education have you had since leaving school?" It is hard to classify the answers accurately because of variations in educational terminology (and for this reason it seemed best not to include in this list the overseas answers, especially as 'public' school in this country means the opposite of its meaning abroad). For instance a reader who has had the minimum statutory education provided in this country might answer Board School if he was at school before the 1902 Act came into force, Elementary if he was at school before the 1944 Act came into operation, and Secondary Modern if he was at school in the last ten years. There are also differences between the implications of Council School and County School for those educated between the wars. Ignoring primary schooling, and using the current terminology, the answers for the 339 respondents in this country are:

remachts in this country are.	
Grammar School (or pre-wa	Г
equivalent)	135
Secondary Modern (or	
pre-war equivalent)	123
Secondary Technical (or	
pre-war equivalent)	24
Public School	46
Private School	6
None	2
No answer	3

#### Further Education

The number who attended a university (or took university degrees through parttime study) is 74, (45 Grammar, 4 Sec. Mod., 22 Public, 1 Sec. Tech., 2 Private).

The number who attended Schools of Art or Architecture or Technical Colleges is 51, (33 Grammar, 10 Sec. Mod., 2 Public, 4 Sec. Tech., 2 Private).

The number who have attended Evening Classes, W.E.A. Classes, etc., is 78 (26 Grammar, 38 Sec. Mod., 6 Public, 8 Sec. Tech.).

The number who had some other form of further education or training is 35 (12 Grammar, 16 Sec. Mod., 3 Public, 3 Sec. Tech., 1 Private).

Thus the number of the 339 respondents in Britain who had some kind of further education or training after leaving school is 238. Many others of course, reply that they have educated themselves through reading and private study.

#### Politics Past and Present

In questions 7 and 8 readers were asked to name any political parties or groups they had belonged to in the past, and of which were they still active members or supporters. Some readers explained in their answers that they were supporters but not actual members of the parties named, some indicated that their membership was a long time ago, while others, especially in the case of the Communist Party, indicated that their membership or support was transient. Some readers appeared to have gone through the whole gamut of political affiliations before moving out altogether. We assume that, in the list which follows, showing the answers of the 339

respondents in Britain, those organisations which are not actually political parties are under-represented,

Pro	esent	Past
Labour Party	11	65
Communist Party	2	34
Independent Labour Party	2	19
Liberal Party	3	15
Socialist Party of G.B.	2	10
Trotskyists	1	7
Conservative Party	1	6
Scottish or Welsh Nationalist		5
Common Wealth	2	5
Social Credit	-	3
Peace Pledge Union	19	24
Campaign for Nuclear		
Disarmament	13	13
Direct Action Committee		
Against Nuclear War	3	3

#### Electoral Behaviour

Question 9 asked "Did you vote in the last General Election?" Of the 339 respondents in Britain, 105 answered Yes (and of 66 overseas respondents 18 answered Yes). Of the 105 British voters, 80 were people who ticked one or more of the anarchist categories in Question 4. The numbers for each category were:

Anarcho-syndicalist	10
Individualist	39
Anarcho-communist	10
Philosophic anarchist	23
Pacifist anarchist	22
ple who voted were not	acka

People who voted were not asked to state for which party. But some volunteered this, and in some other cases it can be inferred from their present or past political affiliations. In many cases it cannot. On this basis we assume that of the 105 voters, 50 voted Labour, 9 Liberal, and 4 Conservative. Nine of these add comments to their answers to question 9. Two say "reluctantly", and the others say:

> "Yes, because the Labour candidate was an electrician from our factory."

"Yes, with misgivings."

"Peculiarly enough, for a progressive Liberal candidate."

"Yes, anti-Tory." "Yes, regret, Tory."

"Anti-H-Bomb Liberal Protest vote." "To keep the other b-s out."

Many of the non-voting majority of respondents also add their comments, telling us exactly what they wrote on their deliberately-spoilt voting papers, or

emphasising that they "never have and never will".

#### What Papers Do you Read?

Question 12 asked "What daily, weekly, monthly papers do you read?" The daily papers most frequently named were:

The Guardian	135
News Chronicle	85
The Times	40
Daily Express	32
Daily Mirror	21
Daily Telegraph	21
Daily Worker	15
Daily Mail	11
Daily Herald	11
Sunday papers most	freque

The named were: The Observer 209 Sunday Times

Reynolds' News Sunday Express British weekly papers most frequently

named were:-New Statesman 130 Peace News Spectator Listener Tribune Freethinker Socialist Leader 16

Times Educ. Sup.

Times Lit. Sup

Punch

Encounter

British monthly papers most frequently named (those which are included but are in fact bi-monthlies, quarterlies, etc., are probably for this reason under-represented) were:

Liteounier	40
New Left Review	15
Humanist	12
University Libertarian	7
Which?	6
20th Century	5
Jazz Monthly	5
The Word	4
Socialist Standard	4
London Magazine	4
Design.	4
Orgonomic Functionalism	4

American papers most frequently mentioned were:

u well.	
Liberation	13
Views and Comments	12
Time	12
Industrial Worker	10
New York Times	9
Catholic Worker	8
Dissent	7
Progressive	7
Mad	6

Foreign-language anarchist papers were omitted by several of their British readers. Those who mentioned that they read the anarchist press in various languages often did not name the actual papers. The anarchist papers named were: Le Monde Libertaire, Volontà, Solidaridad Obrera, Tierra y Libertad, Cenit, C.N.T., L'Adunata, Umanità Nova, Freie Arbeiter Stimme, La Pro-

(Previous reports appeared in Freedom for Jan 16 and 30, and Feb. 13).

### How to Screw your Neighbour in 13 Easy Chapters

Continued from p. 2 organisation that is instrumental in providing a motorway or a Channel tunnel. Given that we want these things, and moreover want them now, not in the millenium, then some sort of organisation is needed to call them into being within the present social context. Where the fault lies is in the motives of those who currently make a living planning, building and financing the innumerable enterprises necessary to economic survival. The planners plan, the contractors will build, and the financiers will finance a Channel tunnel, not because they believe the project is intrinsically worthwhile, but because there is a profit in it. If they could make as much money by filling in an existing tunnel they would do so almost as eagerly. Such behaviour is by no means unknown. When the Government sold surplus stocks of electric light bulbs after the war, the manufacturers bought them at a bargain price, not to sell, but to smash! There was more money to be made in the long run by destroying the surplus stocks to maintain prices; and the public could go to hell.

However, it would be easy to exaggerate the Machiavellian disinterest in the common good of politicians and financial wizards. In fact we nearly all yearn for the admiration and approbation of our fellow men. We would rather make £100 and earn the gratitude of our fellows, than make a different £100 and earn their scorn. The delicate moral issues arise when we come to balance the respect of our neighbours and our own self respect against hard cash. Just how much of the lovely lolly are we prepared to forgo in order to retain our moral standing and sleep soundly? We would not sell our souls for 41d, but we might consider a part option for, say, £2,000 per annum tax free.

The point that anarchists ought to be making is that people sell their souls too cheaply. The shrewd operator who made his ruthless millions selling God knows

how many hapless creatures down the river discovers too late that money gets to be pretty meaningless beyond a certain point, and desperately tries to buy himself back into the community of men by donating to hospitals and the like. Hence the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations in America, and Nuffield's edifice to his self-importance in England. You don't have to be a bastard to succeed in a competitive society, but it certainly

Oddly enough, it was a religious group, the Quakers, who discovered that honesty and self-respect were, in the long run, good for business. In the early days of colonial America, Quaker traders gave full measure in their stores instead of rigging the scales like a barrow boy, or short changing the supposedly brainless customer. In consequence, they kept their customers and attracted new ones simply because their integrity and respect for others made them not only nicer, but more profitable, people to deal with. Later on the Quaker manufacturers in England made another basic discoveryworkers are human. They set out to treat their workers decently as a matter of principle, and found to everyone's surprise that it paid off in hard cash.

Good human relations in industry pay dividends—which is something that Mr. Lord and quite a few other high pressure tycoons have yet to learn. Strikes nowadays occur not because the workers are underpaid, but because they are undervalued as people. Most industrial strife is found in those highly paid sectors of industry where management believes that men work for money alone, but fail to pay enough to make it worthwhile to a worker to be treated like dirt.

In short, people usually do things for the wrong reasons. They do a job not because they feel it is intrinsically worthwhile but because it pays the rent or buys a yacht, gives them a sense of power or notoriety. They make the headlines; are envied for the nastiness that got them where they are. By pre-

tending that these are the only motives anarchists sometimes do their cause a disservice. Abraham Lincoln was a politician, and, as such, suspect. Yet it would be foolish to suppose that he was power hungry in the Napoleon, Hitler, Stalin tradition. Lnicoln may have enjoyed power to a certain extent, but beyond doubt he also believed in ideas of freedom, truth and justice, and was prepared to work and suffer for those ideals. Indeed, he died for them. To dismiss him as just another power seeker is to miss the point. He was more than this, and it is his other motives that anarchists would do well to point to and applaud. A few more Lincolns in politics and there would be a lot less politics. A few more Lincolns in business and the face of business would change for the better. For those anarchists who advocate

"conscious egoism" such arguments will rate as arrant nonsense. Service to others only makes sense if you believe that other people are as worthwhile as oneself. The conscious egoist would do well to climb abroad the gravy train and ride it all the way with J. P. Morgan, if Mr. Morgan's ghost will let him get aboard. As Mr. Mayer puts it, "Of all the thoughts hatched from the womb of mind, perhaps the most eternally useful was, 'Maybe I can sell a piece of it.' Without this original, greedy flash of suggestion, and its embodiment in the corporate form of organisation, man's production of useful goods could never have kept pace with his accelerating reproduction of himself." The only trouble is that for every conscious egoist who goes into the market as an amateur there is a professional whose egoism may be less conscious, but who happens to be a lot wiser in the ways of finance. According to the experts, 90% of the amateurs lose money on their deals, even on a rising market! Only the professionals make out, and they need the amateur in order to transfer his cash into their pockets. Just like poker.

So there is not much point in recom-

mending this book as a short cut to Eldorado. Lots of smarter people have read lots of deeper books, and, what is more to the point, have a lot of experience behind them, too. Nevertheless, there are tit-bits of information to liven the trail. Anyone who has had a private banking account in America will be surprised and delighted to learn that, "Banking is a service industry, and the charge for the service is simply the money deposited" . . . if you deposit enough of it, say \$10,000 to be going on with. There is a more serious aspect to con-

sider, as well. Modern industry is learning the trick of saving part of its profits so that it can finance its future operations independently of the money manipulators. Such a development is viewed with horror by banks, insurance companies, and others whose sole contribution to society has been to control the flow of money in it including the diversion of a goodly stream of gold into their own coffers. Maybe, like the dinosaurs, the money merchants may find themselves outgrown by a changing world. Pawnbrokers have been dying off like flies since the late thirties, stricken by the bubonic plague of proletarian prosperity. In a hundred years or so our descendants may have to go all the way to the Natural History Museum to see a banker—suitably stuffed and mounted. R.T.G.

#### THE TEENAGE THING ANARCHISM AND

Please accept the enclosed cheque as a 12 months subscription for FREEDOM. I attend one of the art schools in London and would be only too pleased to put up publicity for meetings, etc., on the College notice boards. . E.G. London, N.W.3

We, the undersigned, have been rather irregular readers, but readers none the less, of Freedom for some months past. We were introduced to it by ----, who is a centre of minority opinion here. We unfortunately missed your questionnaire copy and would like to remedy our, and your deficiency by this letter. We have now placed a regular order for the future, and who knows, you might even get donations from us.

Facts and figures:

First bought in Charing Cross Road.

Approx. readership: 9 Average age: 17

Political opinions (these, you may imagine, are rather fluid in some cases): 2 Anti-authoritarianists and 1 Individualist; 2 Orthodox Liberals; 1 Trotskyite and 1 Socialist; and 3 uncommitted.

We were delighted to read (in the February issue of Lilliput) of Mr. William Verdun Wheal's fight for an independent state in Shoreham, Sussex. We feel it would go a long way to making true democracy work. We would like your comments on

I have been reading some copies of your magazine FREEDOM, loaned to me by

- Grammar School for Boys.

(EIGHT SIGNATURES).

a school friend of mine and I would like to know more about Anarchism, I would be very grateful if you could help me in this. --- College, Somerset.

I.W.

THESE three letters turned up in the post the day after we had read in the Sunday paper these words quoted from Colin MacInnes's novel Absolute Beginners:

"As for the boys and girls, the dear young absolute beginners, I sometimes feel that if they only knew this fact, this very simple fact, namely how powerful they really are, then they could rise up overnight and enslave the old taxpayers, the whole damn lot of them-toupets and falsies and rejuvenators and all.

And then stifling a yawn at yet another government report on Youth, we read in the newly-published Albemarle Re-

port the following:

"It's all brainwashing, they say fiercely, equally of those who would 'sell' them soap, records, drink, politics, religion, 'the whole lot are out to brainwash you. Why should I buy it?' Yet the fierceness with which they can say this indicates an acute disappointment. From one aspect it is a sign of health that they throw up so strongly selfrespecting a defence against the conflicting mass of public voices. We do not think this attitude much extends to their personal relations with one another, and these are often marked by a vivid and tolerant co-operativeness. And this scepticism towards almost all that does not come within the concrete, particular and known area of local life is not confined to one social or educational group. In different forms it can be seen in undergraduates as in unskilled workers (and in Paris and Chicago as in London -indeed some of the basic causes are common to countries on both sides of the Iron curtain)."

The Albemarle report goes on: "At what should be the age for enthusiasm, for attack, for unregarding commitment, in a period offering unparalleled opportunities for young people to see and know and explore, whole areas of human experience have been thus defensively written off." And a couple of sentences later: "When something attracts their loyalty and seems not to be a 'sell' they will show and accept leadership and discipline of a high order."

We knew that was coming-the leadership and discipline bit. We know too, from the account in FREEDOM a fortnight ago of the circumstances leading to the banning of a student paper at Bristol University, what happens when young people go in for "enthusiasm, attack and unregarding commitment" and all the rest of it, when it isn't the direction approved by the competent authorities.

FREEDOM PRESS

SELECTIONS FROM

'FREEDOM'

Vol. 2, 1952, Postscript to Posterity

Vol. 3, 1953, Colonialism on Trial

" of 4, 1954, Living on a Volcano

Vol. 7, 1957, Year One-Sputnik

The paper edition of the Selections is

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at 5/- a copy

Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian

The Unknown Revolution

Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12s. 6d.

(Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21)

VOLINE 1

each volume paper 7s. 6d.

Vol. 6, 1956, Oll and Troubled

Vol. 8, 1958, Socialism in a

Vol. 5, 1955, The Immoral Moralists

Waters

Whoelchair

cloth 10s. 6d.

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Vol. 1, 1951, Mankind is One

The 20-year-old editor said to a reporter: "There's a big complacency in society which I don't feel. It's complacent to deny that people like me exist. just had to say I'm alive."

The opening words of the banned magazine were "This will only be wellreceived by those who woke up about sixteen and haven't stopped screaming yet." The same, we presume, applies to FREEDOM, and this is why we look hopefully towards the new generation of our readers: the ones who have woken up and haven't stopped screaming, or become, in the terminology of Absolute Beginners, weirdies, conscripts, taxpayers or peasants.

#### Question Time

Now as to the readers' questions: we welcome E.G.'s eagerness to put up publicity on his College notice boards. From the point of view of anarchist propaganda, the thing about schools and colleges is that they are likely to contain people who have woken up and haven't stopped screaming, or rather haven't got resigned or oblivious to our absurd world. This is why the efforts of the respondents in Debating Societies and other such groups are so valuable. E.G. being an art student can probably produce better posters, etc. than we could, and the only advice we can offer is that he should make montage posters with gouache colours and portions of the paper, i.e. the page 1 heading, or the Meetings and Announcements, publications list, etc.-or a montage of headlines. He is welcome to extra copies of the paper for this purpose, or copies on a 'sale or return' basis, if he can get new readers. Or he might pin up, as we have done, FREEDOM's funny advertisement from the back cover of the new University Libertarian.

We have read the article about Mr. William Verdun Wheal recommended by the boys from Sussex. Mr. Wheal is a second-hand car dealer who on being told by the County Council that unless he pulled down a wall he had built round the house he rented from them he would lose the lease, barricaded the place, put his employees in five armoured cars with shotguns and Union Jacks, and then bought three Sherman tanks to defend the property. He now plans

"to convince the people of Shoreham of the feasibility of his plan to make the whole town and its environs into a com-

The Expanding Environment 8s. 6d.

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The State: Its Historic Rôle

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TONY GIBSON :

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pletely self-governing, self-supporting kingdom . . . a free port with a flag of convenience, to dam the River Adur and turn it into a 'Sussex Norfolk Broads' . . . He visualises a casino and a big tourist industry . . . 'On my reckoning, this plan of mine should bring a steady £30 a week to every citizen . . . Money for jam-if only I can make them see it my way . . . '

"This shall be put into effect by popular vote," he declared. "The revolutionary must be constitutionally elected. shall fight if need be,,' he continued. "But I must have the people of Shoreham solidly behind me. Fidel Castro won only because he had the people behind him. Legality must be the policy of the conqueror."

"Now it is almost certain that the good people of Shoreham will offer me the throne. But . . . I shall offer it instead to the Duke of Windsor, the rightful King of England. Trouble is that there is nowhere in Shoreham for him to live in the proper style. So visualise my armoured cars sweeping into Brighton-won't they look a sight as they stream down that front to take the Royal Pavilion there as his residence. You know it would be a simple matter to sweep from Brighton right over Sussex, and to take London as well . . .

And so on. Well Mr. Wheal is certainly an entertaining character and it would be convenient to have our own Monte Carlo on the South Coast. But what pathetic delusions of grandeur: he became a self-styled revolutionary because of the Council's legal action against him: and the first thing he envisages is legality plus tanks—and the enlargement of his city-state, complete with a bit of moth-eaten royalty. The "true democracy" of which our correspondents speak was that of the Greek polis (so long as you weren't one of the slaves), but before Mr. Wheal has convinced a single fellow-citizen he is planning an empire. The only thing to be said for Mr. Wheal is that he would make a good subject for one of those cosy Ealing comedies—except that it's been done already in Passport to Pimlico.

### Thanks!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 8

Deficit on Freedom £160 Contributions received £168 SURPLUS

February 12 to February 18

Hamilton: D.N. 6/6; Manchester: A.R. 3/3; Billingham: D.G. £3/0/0; Glasgow: Anon. £1/0/0; Manchester: G.M. 6d.; San Francisco Group: Part proceeds Social, Jan. 30. £35/0/0; Leeds: G.L. £1/0/0; London: Anon.\* 2/9; London: Anon. 1/-; London: J.S.\* 3/-; London: P. 7/6; Surrey: F.B. 5/-; Glasgow: Anon.\* 10/6; Newcastle-on-Tyne: H.R.R. 1/-; London: M.S. 1/-; London: B.L. 5/-: London: E.P.S. 2/-: Wolverhampton: J.G.L.\* 2/6; Tadworth: W.G.G. 4/-.

Total ... 42 15 6 Previously acknowledged ... 125 6 0

1960 TOTAL TO DATE ... £168 1 6 GIFTS OF BOOKS: Torrington: S.W. London: N.W.; London: Anon.

\*Indicates regular contributor.

#### MUTUAL AID IN NOTTINGHAM

A "help-your-neighbour" service has been introduced on a large housing estate at Clifton, Nottingham. The scheme provides that when a job needs to be done, one of the men who lives on the estate and who is skilled at the work is called upon to do it.

For instance, a woman may decide she wants a new cupboard in her kitchen, so she calls for the services of a man on the estate who is a carpenter to get the job done. In exchange, her husband will undertake work at which he is skilled. The only charge is for materials. "In this way we are doing away with repair bills and bringing families closer together in a true community spirit," said Mr. Gethin, who has organised the scheme.

The system operated during the weekend when Mr. J. Fountain, a carpenter, took his tools to the house of Mr. and Mrs. Thurlby to do a job in her kitchen. If his radio or vacuum cleaner goes wrong, his wife knows she can call in Mr. H. Thurlby who is an electrician.

An extension of the scheme is the formation of a non-profit making league for wives on the estate to hold meetings where they can exchange articles for which they have no more use.

(Guardian).

Bibliography

Our final correspondent wants to know something about anarchism. Somehow we don't publish as frequently as we might, articles explaining the basis of anarchist ideas to new readers. In the because it would bore the regular readers, and partly because the paper is largely devoted to examining and commenting on social and political affairs from the anarchist standpoint. However, most weeks you will find an advertisement for FREEDOM FRESS publications about anarchism which you are welcome to send for, and we plan to produce an special supplement to our April 16th issue, designed to introduce anarchst ideas to new readers. In the meantime reader I.W. might care to look in his school library. If the Encyclopedia Britannica there is a pre-war edition printed later than 1904 (which we hope it is), he will find an authoritative and non-propagandist article under the heading "Anarchism", written by Peter Kropotkin, the founder of this paper. In the later editions it has been revised by the late Professor Laski. In the postwar editions it has, we believe, been further revised and contracted.

He will also find in his school library, a number of books designed for school use which give reliable accounts of the ideas of the classical anarchist thinkers. On Godwin there is H. N. Brailsford's very good little book in the Home University Library, Shelley, Godwin and their Circle, as well as an A-level G.C.E. text by A. E. Rodway, published by Harrap, called Godwin and the Age of Transition. On Proudhon, there is a good recently-published book in the Teach Yourself History series, Marx, Proudhon & European Socialism by J. Hampden Jackson, and there is a good account of Bakunin and his ideas in Isaiah Berlin's Home University Library book on Karl Marx. He will find accounts of these, and other anarchist thinkers, principally Kropotkin, in Vol. 2 Marxism and Anarchism of G. D. H. Cole's History of Socialist Thought. None of these books of course are by anarchists.

When you are in London call at Freedom Bookshop!

#### Something to Yell About

But apart from anarchism as a political theory (in most people's opinion, a discarded byway of 19th century socialism, but one which has for us, been vindicated by the events of this century) there is

### The Boycott

Continued from p. 1

Certainly the search for substitutes raises pretty problems. Should we buy oranges from fascist Spain or tobacco from the deep South rather than from South Africa?

This dilemma has been raised by many who are opposed to the boycott anyway, but it seems to us that it is easily resolved because we have been asked by representative organisations in South Africa to boycott their country's goods. No such appeal has come from other countries.

Further—though this is an argument tinged with patriotism—we in Britain must take particular responsibility for what goes on in Commonwealth and colonial countries. Although the British would like to pretend that the Nationalists' policies are the work of Dutch-origined Afrikaaners, the bulk of South African industry is still run on British capital.

#### The Whites May be Thankful.

It is important that the non-Europeans of South Africa should know that there is a substantial body of opinion in Britain which sympathises with their struggle against tyranny and despises the Nationalist Government. The boycott is important also in that it is a means by which the people can protest outside of governmental channels. It can be an expression of international solidarity through direct action over the frontiers, making the African masses realise that all Europeans are baaskap-minded.

Who knows? Even the white South Africans may one day be thankful that the Africans had such demonstrations of solidarity from white people . . .

anarchism as a social and personal attitude. The word comes from the Greek an- and archia, meaning contrary to authority, and in this sense, we can never understand how young people today can fail to be anarchists. You have only to read the press accounts last week of the government's £1,619,000,000 a year Defence White Paper, or the ludicrous debate in Parliament on February 17th as to whether we would have four, five, ten or fifteen minutes warning of a surprise attack on this country, to convince yourself that authority is not silly, or vicious, but quite simply mad. In a logical way of course, which is why, dear young readers, they aren't going to bother to conscript you any more. You might as well die at home, while some survivor of the first round presses the button to dispatch our own bit of expensive ironmongery to your opposite number in Kiev.

And, forgetting the missile-lobbing competition and all those exciting nuclear tests which are becoming fashionable again, there are enough things to yell about to make anyone an anarchist. Look at what Mr. Anthony Crosland last week characterised as

"the enveloping blanket of smug, lethargic conservatism which descended on Britain during the 1950's. This can be seen almost everywhere one looks: in our lagging rate of economic growth, the sluggish pace of technical innovation, the complacency about our institutions, the absence of civil initiative, the lack of revolt against the public schools, the number of taboo subjects from the Monarchy to the Trade Unions, our laws on homosexuality and hanging, the level of public patronage to the arts, our insular nationalism, our attitude to Europe, and so on indefinitely. It is not only that these things persist longer than in other countries; but they persist with the full support of most of the population."

Poor Mr. Crosland looks to the Labour Party to do something about it. As a professional politician he can't do anything else, but before you start yelling for him take a look at the rest of his party and see if they are really any different from the other lot. And watch out especially for the ones who offer you "leadership and discipline of a high

#### MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA **DEBATING SOCIETY** 

**IMPORTANT** 

MEETINGS are now held at CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS "The Marquis of Granby" Public House, London, W.C.2.

> (corner Charing Cross Road and Shaftesbury Avenue) at 7.30 p.m. ALL WELCOME

FEB. 27.-L.A.G. SOCIAL at 5, Caledonian Road, N.1. (Nr. King's Cross Station) at 7.15 p.m.

Games, Entertainment, Refreshments. Admission 2/-.

FEB. 28.-A. Rajk on THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (Up to Kronstadt)

MAR. 6.—Denys Bowen (Director New Vision Gallery) on ART AND ACTION

MAR. 13.—Basil Bonner (Abortion Law Reform Association) on ABORTION-LEGAL OR ILLEGAL?

MAR, 20.-To be announced MAR. 27.—Jim Baker (Australia) on SYDNEY LIBERTARIANISM AND PERMANENT PROTEST.

#### FREEDOM

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