

'Of what use is freedom of thought, if it will not produce freedom of action?'

JONATHAN SWIFT

Help us out  
of the Red  
by Dec 31

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

AFTER taking strike action recently, building workers in Scotland won their claim for a 40-hour week without loss of pay. This new agreement comes into effect on 4th November, 1963, when they will come into line with the plumbers, whose employers reached a similar agreement with the Plumbing Trades Unions, effective from 1st October this year.

These new agreements bring the Building Industry into the lead again for the shorter working week for since 1947 the Industry fell behind with the introduction of a 5-day week for factory workers. This gain by the Scottish workers has had an effect in England and Wales where the Building Unions have put in a claim for an increase of 1/6d. per hour.

All of this has led to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Maudling, stepping in and asking the National Incomes Commission to examine the Scottish Agreements. Mr. Maudling has told the N.I.C. that the principal effect of both agreements seems likely to be an increase of incomes and costs within the industry. It appears however, that from the size of the profits made by building firms last year that they can well afford it. George Wimpey made over £5 million, Taylor Woodrow over £2 million and

## The 40-hour week and the 'Workers' Charter'

# Thin end of the wedge?

several others who made over £1 million, and this doesn't include Tersons or McAlpines.

Workers in the building industry are only too familiar with the cry of increased costs every time they get a rise in wages. What a howl of rage went up when they got a 42-hour week, followed by cries of indignation because the men, threatened with the loss of their paid tea-breaks, decided to strike. This decision was made because the advantages of the shorter working week, together with the increase of 6d. per hour was practically nullified by the loss of the paid tea-breaks. So, in fact, the men were only slightly better off than before.

As is usual with these agreements between the Building Unions and employers, they are post-dated some nine or twelve months, so allowing the employers to prevent a loss in profits. The

submission of estimates for new jobs can then take into consideration the increased costs due to a cut in hours or a rise in wages.

It seems strange that with all this talk by the Government about the need to combat unemployment in depressed areas like Scotland, that the only method of solving it, that is, shorter hours, is vigorously opposed by them. The Government and employers are worried about this agreement as they feel that it might have repercussions in other employments. Of course it will and in fact the engineering unions have already started discussions in York, for with more and more mechanisation taking place, the shorter working week is a necessity in order to prevent the rise in unemployment. The editorial of this paper pointed out a fortnight ago that a 3% unemployment rate spread evenly over the country gives the employers a weapon they need to control their operatives.

At this moment printers in New York are out on strike for a 35-hour week and electricians work a 5-hour day. What about this country where they moan if you ask for a 40-hour week?

A recently published report on the building industry suggests that production will have to rise by 60% over the next few years, for this report calls on the Government to guarantee a minimum volume of work so that firms can cope with the extra demands made on them.

The Workers' Charter issued this week has drawn attention to the fact that workers in the Building industries are sacked sometimes with 2 hours' notice only. It sets out new rulings on the giving of notice either by the employer or employee. The capitalist press has said that this charter will bring more

security for the workers, although as far as the building trade goes, this is rubbish.

The Charter states that providing the worker has been two years in his job, both he and the employer must give at least 2 weeks' notice of termination of employment. After five years, the minimum notice is four weeks. Any contracts with provision for less notice, are void. With the average length of service for a building firm being about six months, it can be seen that a large proportion of building workers are not covered by this charter as it stands. To overcome this a new ruling has been made which no doubt will annoy their employers. They now have to give the employees some form of contract stating the terms of employment, and failure to comply with this will lead to considerable fines.

Workers on a site which is near completion usually have a good idea that they are going to be sacked or transferred and are looking out for jobs accordingly. Anyway, if two weeks' notice is given, an employer, in preference to waiting for a new employee to work his notice with his old firm, will employ some one who has already done so.

A further point in this charter is that a guaranteed average wage must be given during notice, which has been assessed on the earnings of the past six months. Clearly they aren't giving a lot away, but even so some employers' organisations have voiced opposition to the average earnings rule.

There is a sting in the tail of this so-called "more security" charter. Notice is to be given for all strikes. Union leaders already give the employer plenty of notice of an intended strike, so en-

abling him to make his plans to break it, and it is obvious that this is aimed at unofficial strikes.

The length of notice of intention to strike is determined by the length of notice given on either side to terminate employment as set out in the form of contract, the minimum notice being a week. Workers with contracts stating a shorter term of contract can stage a lightning strike and still retain their record of uninterrupted service.

This anti-strike clause though weak must have been put in to quieten a few ultra-rights on the Tory back-benches. If the Labour Party has its chance I think that they will be a lot harder on unofficial strikes. The clause will not deter workers from striking for their just rights and if the employers do deprive them of their "security rights", this will lead to further disputes with the guarantee of these rights being used as a stipulation for a return to work, much as "no victimisation" is used today.

There is no mention in the charter of the method of working to rule, though there is a clause stating that the employers' obligations are conditional on the employee being prepared to do a reasonable amount of work.

The charter shouldn't hinder the workers' right to take strike action if he wants to, but at the same time this could be the thin end of the wedge. For employers would like docile workers and would welcome measures to curb unofficial stoppages. For here is the real threat to him, for he can always buy off the leaders of the unions, but when an organised rank and file threaten him it is a different matter, for they are the real power in industry.

P.T.

## The Russo-American Game

ONLY two months ago we were told, and it was generally accepted, that the world was on the brink of a nuclear "confrontation" between East and West, and from which we were only saved by the toughness of America's President and the "statesmanlike" decisions of Russia's Chairman—depending on the angle from which you viewed the crisis. We end 1962 with both East and West busily washing their political and economic dirty linen in public with zest and abandon and apparently as oblivious now of the enemy as, two months ago, we were all expected to be aware of his presence on our very doorsteps.

It is as if the two Mr. K.s had called a truce in their power struggle while they sort out and settle the problems, the alignments, the demands, the presumptions and the ambitions of their respective "allies". For in power politics your "friends" can be as much of a problem as the enemy!

AT the end of the last war America and Russia emerged from the ruins as the undisputed military powers in the world. The Big Five, which included Britain, France and Nationalist China existed in name, but in fact it was the Big Two who

shared out between them their "zones of influence". For the Big Three the post war years have seen their decline as "world powers." Chiang Kai Chek was driven from the Chinese mainland and survives on Formosa as a satellite of the United States (who knows for how long? Still if Washington drops him perhaps Moscow may now take him on their payroll!) Both France and Britain, the two major colonial powers of the pre-war era have been driven out of their colonies and while in some cases they have retained their financial "spheres of influence", they are from the point of view of world power, mere shadows of their inglorious past. And this is something which the political leaders of France and Britain and the pressure groups behind them are still not prepared to accept. De Gaulle dreams of a Europe dominated by France—hence the liquidation of the Algerian problem by a political *volte face* which shocked his friends but released an army of 500,000 men and materials and permitted a concentration on the development of French nuclear weapons.

Britain's recent interest in "Europe" is not only acquiescence to American interests in Europe but represents, too, Britain's concern that France may succeed in her ambitions—which would once and for all seal Britain's fate as a "third-rate power". Macmillan's Xmas tour, first to see de Gaulle and then Kennedy, is therefore, in the present circumstances, as obvious as it is logical. That all he appears to have got out of de Gaulle is a brace of pheasants is also only to be expected.

WHAT is of interest in the present "crises" for this writer, as an anarchist propagandist, is that it exposes the hollowness and falseness of the interpretations by commentators and political leaders on both sides of the Iron Curtain that the power struggle, the need for vast expenditure on the armed forces, is

Continued on page 3

## CHRISTMAS QUIZ

For this week only Jon Quixote has provided a list of news items some of which are more fantastic than others. The game is to see if you can pick out those you consider purely fictional. Answer (upside down) on page 4.

1. The U.S. Post office has issued a stamp collector with a sworn statement that stamps he owns are "intentional" misprints, since they subsequently deliberately misprinted 375,000 stamps and only stopped pending a court action by the original finder of the error.

2. A bowler-hatted man held up a New York hotel drug-store. The man on duty said "There's no money here. You're too early". The man said "This always happens to me, I'm desperate and now you've let me down". Then he fled.

3. A girl wrote to an advice column "My boy friend is a soldier in Germany and we have happy times when he is home on leave. I miss him very much when he goes back to join his unit. My trouble is that I get used to being without him after a few weeks. Could this be love?"

4. The National Anti-Vivisection Society has asked Richard Nixon to become their honorary vice-president.

5. President Brezhnev has presented the Patriarch Alexei, head of the Russian Orthodox Church, with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour to mark his 85th birthday.

6. Macy's in Bloomingdale (U.S.A.), can supply genuine French bread, baked in Paris, on the same day. They have to be reheated but can be stored in a refrigerator.

7. An Italian dressed up as an American tourist and sold a fake gold watch to an Italian.

8. A Letter to the Editor of an evening paper, "The decision to abolish the description "gentleman" in cricket, while no doubt in keeping with the times, leaves me sad.

Coming from that august body, the MCC, it is perhaps the biggest move in recent years towards the classless society that no doubt we shall ultimately have.

A good thing? I don't think so. A society without "ladies" and "gentlemen" will be as tasteless as a meal without seasoning.—OLD STAGER, Chelsea.

9. £10,000,000 worth of electric toothbrushes have been sold in US this year.

10. A teenage problem, "Harry" writes: "I am going steady with a very passionate girl, but I always insist on drawing the line at actual love-making. Will this make her despise me?"

11. A bride of three months was accused in New York of plotting to kill her husband by short-circuiting his revolving electric toothbrush.

12. Anti-Semites in Bristol stole two reels of what they thought was "The Life of Adolf Hitler" from a cinema showing it. By error they had taken two reels of a Peter Sellers comedy.

13. A Hardcrab Derby was run in Maryland. The entry from Virginia was protected by Virginia state police, militia and constabulary. It was denied that he was not a Virginian by birth.

14. A letter to the editor of an evening paper:—"A Reader hopes that "Robbie Burns" will have a mellowing influence on the Russians. I suggest that we augment

this by sending a band from a Highland regiment in full regalia, to tour Russia.

One has only to see a Highlander in his national dress to recognise a true leader of all people.

For rugged beauty, dignity and masterful bearing there is no other man in the world to hold a candle to him.—(Mrs.) EILEEN JOHNSTONE, Chipstead-close, Coulsdon.

15. A button from one of Napoleon's coats was bought at an auction in Frankfurt for £70 by a Copenhagen dealer.

14. A Letter to the editor of an even-sets Maritime Academy has forbidden cadets forcing newcomers to eat cigarettes and drink vinegar at initiation ceremonies.

17. Another teenage problem, "Peter" from Portsmouth writes:—"I've recently grown a very distinguished-looking beard, but my girl friend says she won't go out with me again unless I shave it off. What do you make of this?"

18. Three prisoners due for release from New Haven State Jail the day before Thanksgiving Day were allowed to stay a day later so that they would be able to eat the Thanksgiving Day Dinner.

19. The Dean of General Studies at Columbia University complained to the Mayor of New York that he had been refused single portions of ice cream in New York cafes. He complained that it was "an attempt to increase ice-cream consumption by extra-legal means.

20. In San Francisco there has been formed the League of Silent Movie Eaters which aims to stop people eating celery, ice cubes, potato chips, apples, and popcorn in cinemas. Acceptable: cotton candy and raisins, although the league's noise-measuring device shows unwrapping paper round the raisins reaches nuisance level.

## ANARCHY 23

out next week  
is on

## HOUSING

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MR. McNAMARA banned Skybolt—"farewell to thee blithe spirit—Deterrent thou never wert". Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Thoneycroft momentarily joined the Glasgow Eskimos backed by the popular press and the Douglas Aircraft Co. in a chorus of "We dinna want Polaris". The threat of technological redundancy seems to hang over CND with Aldermaston threatened, Thor stood down, Skybolt winging its way to limbo and Polaris unpopular. . . .

THE AMERICAN Defence Department issued directives firstly that no person will be given access to atomic weapons unless he has a "positive attitude", a good military record, appropriate formal education, good physical condition, and "evidence of adequate social adjustment". A person would be disqualified from access to the weapons if he indulged excessively in alcohol, had financial or family difficulties or showed an improper attitude towards the mission or the military programme of which he is part. Special supervisors will evaluate individuals from day to day, and will remove from duty any individual whose general behaviour, emotional stability or reliability falls below the required standard. All persons with access to nuclear weapons must sign a certificate declaring that they have been fully briefed by competent authorities and understand the importance and the need for reliability in their assignments. Secondly, a "sabotage alert team" of two or more persons will be established with the object of coming to the aid of guards within five minutes, wherever atomic weapons are stored. In addition there will be a "back-up alert force" that could be on the scene within ten minutes and a "reserve force" that could reach the storage site within an hour. The Americans conducted an underground test in the Nevada Desert and



it was reported that the Russians had exploded the first of a new series in the Arctic. The 400th abortive meeting on a nuclear test ban treaty was adjourned, the Russian delegate said he would rather attend 1,000 more meetings than accept the West's proposals for inspection. Julian Sandys, Winston Churchill's grandson, the prospective Parliamentary candidate for Sutton-in-Ashfield, Notts, advocates dropping one H-bomb a day on China until they withdraw from India. In answer to protests from the constituents he is wooing, Mr. Sandys' emotionally stable reply was "You will just have to lump it if you don't like it". Family difficulties are suspected. The Child Study Association of America advanced adequate social adjustment with a booklet, *Children and the Threat of Nuclear War*, the booklet advises "banish ignorance but avoid too much disturbing detail" (on nuclear war). Grade-schoolers ask their parents "Don't you love me enough to build a shelter?" Teen-agers worry "Our children will be freaks. I'll enjoy myself while I can". The book stresses "We ourselves learned our basic attitudes from our parents. And what we learned is not in all respects adapted to survival in the nuclear age. [It is important] for children to know that the adults whom they trust have thought about the nuclear threat and what it implies". A more "positive attitude" comes from Harlow's of Leeds, manufacturers of Mintos, chewy nougat bars, and chocolate truffles, who have produced, and will market in the U.S., anti-fallout sweets offering protection against strontium 90 for four shillings a pound. The new sweets will contain ashodine, a combination of iodine, seaweed and other minerals, it brings people's iodine level to saturation point so that there is no room for strontium 90. . . .

A BOMB exploded outside the headquarters of the military governor of San

Sebastian. A hole was blown in the Berlin Wall in the Harzerstrasse, Neukolin. A power pylon was blown up in Johannesburg. "This was a proper professional job", said an engineer of the Electricity Supply Commission. Over the past year 16 attempts have been made to blow up pylons—eleven along the Witwatersrand and five in Durban. In Cape Town two telephone cables were sawn through. An African and a Coloured man were sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment for sabotage. They had thrown petrol bombs into the house of an African policeman. The Supreme Court at Cape Town dismissed an appeal against a five-year house arrest order saying "Parliament has thought fit to give the Minister of Justice the widest possible powers. To try to assess the wisdom of granting such power to entirely foreign to a court of law" . . . .

AN EDINBURGH man serving a life sentence for murder took an overdose of sleeping tablets. A man hanged himself at Brixton prison where he had been remanded on a charge of larceny. Harvey Holford, on remand at Lewes on a charge of what is possibly capital murder jumped from a first-floor balcony. His fall was broken by a prison officer who, it was said by a fellow-officer, "probably saved his life". Three prisoners at Parkhurst complained to the coroner that the medical officer at the prison was negligent in allowing a prisoner who died of coronary thrombosis to take exercise. A chest physician said there was no reason why he should not and a verdict of "death from natural causes" was returned. Colin Jordan, in an open prison, has been refused certain letters to his mother, the Home Office said that in certain circumstances prison governors could prevent the posting of letters, for example, if they contained matter offensive to the discipline of the prison, or intended for publication. A prize in the Arthur Koestler Award Scheme for artistic merit in work produced in prisons and borstals in England and Wales went to a church made from thousands of spent matchsticks. . . .

A MAN took to crime when his wife gave birth to a thalidomide malformed baby, he started stealing and gambling to buy a car to take the child out. A student was acquitted on a charge of dangerous driving which the judge said "should never have been brought". He had been remanded on bail since May. A 19-year-old boy sentenced for house-breaking in June to two years' imprisonment, has been pardoned by the Home Secretary after a confession by another Borstal boy. He said, "I have been detained for six months and it has definitely harmed me. I cannot get my old

job back and I can't get the money I hoped to raise to start in business on my own. Borstal has dished me even though I have won the case." A prosecution witness in a theft case admitted that he had given false evidence because "he had been dragged in by the police" been promised a better job and a new house; he said, "I could not live with myself because of what I had done." A re-trial was ordered and the witness was subsequently arrested. A jurymen at London sessions was missing when his name was called. He had been arrested and accused of possessing dangerous drugs and was in custody. A railway policeman admitted that payments to informers were entered in the record books as other items. Four railway policemen were on trial charged with stealing and receiving 16 coats and 72 items of underwear. They were also charged with demanding £80 and 16 uncustomed watches with menaces and with failing to record that they had found the 16 uncustomed watches and £105. A parish councillor who had helped to fight five fires, admitted four charges of arson and asked for five others to be taken into account. A detective said, "It would be fair to describe him as a model citizen and an example to others". The Bologna court of appeal has ruled that a provincial police commissioner must stand trial on four charges of manslaughter arising out of the deaths of four men in a clash between police and strikers in 1960. A couple who were acquitted of an indecency charge based on a "good-night" kiss in a car are suing the police-constable who arrested them. A summons against a detective for assaulting Mr. Raymond Challinor, prospective parliamentary Labour candidate for Nantwich was dismissed and Mr. Challinor was ordered to pay costs. He left a meeting addressed by Mr. Gaitskill to speak to Mrs. Challinor, the detective stopped him going back, refused to disclose his identity and, Mr. Challinor alleged, pushed him to the ground. Mr. Challinor stated that at no time did he make any attempt to resist. A guard at a Hollywood film studio was charged with assault with intent to commit murder following a shooting in which six people were wounded. A guard was shepherding extras into a bus for location scenes when there was an argument with an "extra" on the film "It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World". A P.C. in a Surrey village ordered customers out of a shop and asked the assistant if her son was a Communist. The P.C. said he was a 'security risk' since he was secretary of the CND and a supporter of the anti-apartheid movement.

The constable said he wanted information since agents from behind the Iron Curtain were on the look-out for young and impressionable people. A detective-inspector lecturing on criminal investigation had his private car stolen from the car-park of a police training school in Montreal. William Douglas Jr., son of the Supreme Court judge spent a night in a West Hollywood jail for refusing to give proof of his identity to a policeman who questioned him after dark. Police in New York picketed City Hall in a mass demonstration for higher pay. 80,000 police officers in England, Wales and Scotland are to receive a 6% pay rise which will cost £4.5 million in a full year. A reader wrote in the *Mirror*, "I'm sick to death with people who look down on our family because my husband's a policeman. Even the children are called names at school because their Dad walks a beat."

"It's getting me down so much that I'm desperately trying to get my husband to change his job. Do you blame me?" . . .

THE RUSSIANS, say the Western military scientists, could explode a 100-megaton bomb which would burn out areas of 200 miles in diameter. Sir John Cockcroft said that American planes alone could carry about 20,000 megatons of nuclear bombs when 10 megatons could destroy any large city. Britain, if she only absorbed a small part of the Russian strike capability would be minus cities, ports, power, water and drainage "with millions of dead and the country so shocked and paralysed that the energies left would be devoted solely to maintaining life." The world radioactive level would rise 100 to 1,000 times. Long-term contamination of agricultural land would be extremely severe. Aldous Huxley claimed that the new knowledge of the poor countries bred "envious desires" and "high expectations which are doomed to disappointment. From disappointment . . . to widespread social unrest and chaos and the generals . . . the road is short . . . The spirit of tyranny was always willing but its technical and organisational flesh was weak. Today the flesh is as strong as the spirit. Fifty years ago an armed revolution still had some chance of success. In the context of modern weaponry, a popular uprising is foredoomed." The fateful trend will absorb democratic governments as well as ones admittedly totalitarian in an unrestrained world of advancing science, the population explosion, the armaments race."

A MERRY Christmas and a Happy New Year.

JON QUIXOTE.

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## What matters to Man?

DEAR SIRS,

Your comments at the foot of my last letter (FREEDOM 1/12/62), seem remarkably ill-considered. Must I "forget" Chuang Tzu simply because he lived 2,500 years ago? You may be wiser than he, but until you produce a more compelling refutation I shall find this hard to believe. Can't you see that if he was right about the bad spiritual influence of machines and "cunning devices", then all your hopes for a better world must fail unless you reject modern technology? The impoverished peasants of Spain and Southern Italy, you say, are "people with broken hearts and broken spirits" though you grant "they are saved from the dangers of mechanical hearts". Do you mean a mechanical heart is better than a broken one?† If so I disagree: I would rather be a man, however broken-hearted, than a robot. Are you incapable, as anarchists, of seeing any way out for the oppressed peasantry that does not involve raising productivity by means of automation and mass-production? Imagine an anarchist world, where all men worked freely and harmoniously for the common good. Surely, in such a world, we could relieve poverty without complex machinery? "Poverty", wrote R. H. Tawney, "is a symptom and a consequence of social disorder."

Commenting on my reply to Jacquetta Benjamin, Tom Barnes says "any competent economist could dispose of the argument that poverty is caused by the amount of the total wealth used or wasted by the few very wealthy people." Would he accept Tawney as a "competent economist"? In my view governments and wealthy ruling classes are manifestations of social disorder, and social disorder, according to Tawney, is the cause of, and is shown up by, poverty. If Mr. Barnes looks at AN-ARCHY 19, p. 282, he will read "1% of

the population of the United States now owns outright 28% of the entire national wealth . . . In addition, 1.6% of the population owns 80% of all corporate stock and virtually 100% of all state and municipal bonds in the country." In Britain, I believe, a similarly small minority owns or controls most of the wealth.

Mr. Barnes argues that certain jobs could never be satisfying, even in a radically different social context—lifting potatoes, for example. "The amount of satisfying creative thinking one can do about potatoes," he avers, "is limited." I invite him to think of a housewife peeling potatoes for her family, and a maid who is paid to do the same job. To the housewife, if she loves her family, the work is meaningful and satisfying. To the average maid, who has no such attachment, it is probably boring—the only meaning is the pay. Mr. Barnes overlooks the vital importance of the social aspects of a work situation. Besides, lifting or peeling potatoes can be the means, not perhaps for "creative thinking", but for something better—enlightenment. "To use the imagery of a Tibetan poem," writes Alan Watts, "every action, every event comes of itself from the Void 'as from the surface of a clear lake there leaps suddenly a fish.' When this is seen to be as true of the deliberate and the routine as of the surprising and the unforeseen, one can agree with the Zen poet P'ang-yun: 'Miraculous power and marvellous activity—drawing water and hewing wood!' (The Way of Zen, p. 132). What could be more miraculous than lifting potatoes?"

I agree with Mr. Barnes that the world is crowded. But why is it so? Because in the last 50 years, meddling scientists have found cheap methods of halving the infant and adult mortality rates, while birth rates remain as high as ever.

How can modern techniques for raising productivity end this chaos? They will merely cause the population to go on snowballing till the planet chokes. Birth control is a more logical remedy, but unnatural. I would advise the scientists to do something useful and enlightening, like lifting potatoes, and leave the old-fashioned balance of nature to control population growth—as it used to do, with more success than science, till 50 years ago. Before the science-mad readers of FREEDOM raise the inevitable howl of protest, let them reflect that man survived for thousands of years and at many times and places achieved a high degree of civilization, quite without the aid of our modern scientists—who now threaten to destroy man altogether. What matters to man is not his mortality rate, but the quality of his life. I would rather draw water and hew wood in the Zen spirit, and die at 25, than live to 100 as a soulless inhabitant of the Benjamin Utopia.

Also defending "Jackie", Brian Leslie says I "confuse common symptoms with cause and effect" and that "finance-capitalism" is the cause of neurosis and the other ills of technological civilisation. Similarly, F.B. says I "made an Aunt Sally of capitalist high production, wherein the motive is profit and power, and confused this with the efficiency of production it is reasonable to expect with a rational form of society where the only motive is to satisfy the needs of the people." My last letter should have clarified my position. Capitalism is not the sole enemy, and we shall never get rid of it until we recover our "certainties of spirit". Has it occurred to F.B. to wonder why men strive for profit and power? How does F.B. propose to eradicate these motives and replace them with better ones? Simply by instituting "common ownership"? If so, F.B. shows a lack of psychological insight. No political amelioration can be expected before men reach enlightenment. To shelve the spiritual question until after political reform is thus to put the cart before the horse. It is, in effect, what Aldous Huxley has called

## CONTROVERSY

"political idolatry"—the notion that mere social and economic reorganisation is sufficient for salvation.

Mr. Leslie agrees with me that man is part of, and should live in harmony with, nature. "But he is not a vegetable. Living in harmony with nature does not mean declining to manipulate it; it means manipulating it with the fullest possible awareness of the purpose and effects of that manipulation." Well, I'm not against simple cultivation. But I think the effects of "manipulating nature" by machinery and cunning devices are detrimental to man's spiritual health. Bad spiritual health causes men to strive for profit and power. Hence capitalism and its attendant evils. What I objected to in Jackie's letter was the hubristic tone of the phrase "control the environment for his [man's] own ends." The implication, to my mind, was that men are independent, autonomous beings rather than "interrelated parts of physical and spiritual wholes incomparably greater than themselves" (Aldous Huxley).

Mr. Leslie believes that mass-production "if geared to that end" could produce "beautiful, superbly finished articles, far beyond the capacity of hand-craftsmen, in its own idiom." What! Far beyond the capacities of Chippendale, or Morris? Surely all the evidence

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**GIVE YOUR LOVED ONES A SUBSCRIPTION TO ANARCHY AND FREEDOM FOR CHRISTMAS**



# THE RUSSO-AMERICAN GAME

Continued from page 1  
 the ideological division of the world into two blocs. Apart from the fact that the power struggle existed, and wars took place, when the ruling class of the world was capitalist to a man, the current "crises" involve nations which are ideologically "united". Thus on the one hand are America, Britain, France and W. Germany (the latter biding her time), all avowedly anti-Communist, while on the other Russia, China, Albania, Jugoslavia all avowedly anti-capitalist.

Dean Acheson's, for some sensitive Britishers, unpalatable remarks about Britain's role in the political game, are significant not because they are an accurate summing up of the situation, but because it must be assumed that he, and his friends consider that the "comfort" such revelations of disunity give the potential "enemy" is outweighed by the advantages to be derived by the interests Mr. Acheson represents. American official circles it is true have stressed the fact that he has no official status in the Administration, without, however, disassociating themselves from his thesis. Indeed some might think it curious that Mr. Acheson's speech coincided with the Kennedy administration's decision to discontinue development of the Skybolt missile on which Britain had staked her future, as a nuclear power, and the *raison d'être* for her bomber force.

Even assuming that "Skybolt" is in fact a white-elephant, militarily speaking (in which case, incidentally, the British Government's insistence on having it is more than suspect!) and that there is no connection between Mr. Acheson's speech and the U.S. administration's decision to scrap it, the question we posed remains intact. A number of answers come to mind. We will limit ourselves to two.

(1) That Russia is not a military or economic threat to America or American interests. That the present division of the world into two *agreed* zones of influence—American and Russian—suits both sides and gives them all the manoeuvrability they need... for the foreseeable future. Hence the desire to limit the possession of the "ultimate" weapons to Russia and America as a means of curbing the ambitions of those who challenge their monopoly.

(2) That Britain, "perfidious Albion", is the only power that has the political know-how and the financial ramifications to challenge American hegemony. Furthermore Britain cannot be trusted to observe the agreed "zones of influence" so far as trade is concerned. (Britain, of course, has never forgiven the United States for having taken advantage of the war to replace her in Latin America, and has ex-

pressed her feelings as well as her intentions to make good the loss by refusing to support her American "ally" in boycotting the "Communist" markets).

We suggest that the validity of these two answers is strengthened by the current crisis between Moscow and Peking. What was Khrushchev defending but the Russo-American *status quo*, when he declared in his recent foreign policy speech to the Supreme Soviet:

"people who called imperialism a 'paper tiger' (a phrase popular in China) should remember that 'the paper tiger' has nuclear teeth. It may still use them, and it should not be treated lightly. Therefore in relations with the imperialist countries, compromises are possible." (Reuter, Dec. 12).

It is clear to us that Khrushchev is as concerned to prevent China from joining the nuclear Club, as the United States is that either Britain or France should persist in their intentions of asserting themselves as independent nuclear powers. The compromise solution for Russia *vis à vis* China may well be that of the U.S.A. to France and Britain, a solution which will oblige these power-ambitious nations to concentrate on conventional armament and depend on the Big Two for their nuclear weapons, which of course) the latter would insist on controlling on their behalf!

★  
 THE trouble with plans for the balance of power is that there are always nations which are not satisfied, or which develop ambitions which cannot be satisfied unless the "balance of power" is upset. The Americans, to our minds support the Common Market with its risks to American business interests, not because they imagine Europe will then be a bastion against Russian expansionism but because they hope Franco - Anglo - German individual ambitions for hegemony will be neutralised. To our minds this is far from certain (even assuming we shared the C.N.D.'s latest hopes that peace depends on the division of the world into two nuclear power blocs!).

Peace will only be secured when the affairs of nations or people are decided by argument and not by the threat of force. But argument will only prevail when force cannot have the last word and that is only possible when the argument is between people and for the people, as equals. To achieve which only the cleansing process of social revolution by which the people free themselves from the stranglehold of politicians offers hope. A change of leaders is only a change of mouthpieces. Moscow's invitation to Gaitskell is for the purpose of ascertaining how far he will be prepared to play the Russo-American game if returned to power in the (unlikely) event of the Government holding elections in the near future.

# The Dependent Elite

READERS of this most informative study\* will not be surprised by the reports that President Sukarno is about to repudiate the three months old Dutch-Indonesian agreement which promised self-determination for the Papuans of West New Guinea in 1969. How can Sukarno—a leading Japanese nationalist—allow Papuans federal autonomy when it has been denied (to name only three) the Sudanese, Madurese, Samatrans?

To probe this question—as this book does—is to reveal the dilemma of the present Indonesian ruling class: How

can they, the Javanese political élite, impose their will permanently on 10 million Indonesians whilst remaining economically dependent on the non-Javanese peoples who constitute a growing 55 per cent of the population?

All three parties in the Government coalition—including the Communists—are Javanese based parties. The non-Javanese parties Masjumi and P.S.I. were "dissolved" by Presidential decree in 1960. The Javanese nationalist movement had its origin, of course, amongst the educated aristocratic families of Java

# Peace without Freedom

YOUR passport is sequestered at the Hungarian frontier, and with it you know your security is in pawn. Looking round at the quadruple barbed-wire barriers separated by a deceptive smooth hundred feet of naked soil, you also lose—with a kind of inner gasp—a sense of something you had not been aware of possessing, a sense of freedom. In that degree you are made to share the life of its citizens as long as you remain in Budapest. In that degree you share the horror of its pock-marks of battle. But I think you would have to stay there a long time to get indifferent to the irony of passing from "massacre square" of 1956 to the Cleopatra monument "raised by a grateful people to the Russian army" for their liberation in 1945.

The impression of the monster's frontier claws persists even when you drive for miles along the idyllic lake-wide reaches of the Danube, almost on a level with the plain, a smoother field pearl grey in the fading mist.

It could be swum, you think. And you remember that you would be no better off in Czechoslovakia.

You arrive in Budapest in a subdued mood. Appropriately so; for here is neither the wild freedom of the crowded Geneva streets, without silencers or speed-limits, nor the irresistible cream-bun shops of Vienna where fine ladies spend fifteen schillings on their morning or afternoon teas. Here are neither motor cars in any considerable number nor cream cakes. And none the worse for that, you may think. A quieter city. Yes, peaceful enough. Peace without freedom. For it's not in human nature, not in Hungarian nature, to be so unsmiling, so solemn, so quiet. The calm before a storm, you think—until you remember that it is only six years since the devastating storm of suppression imposed a graveyard peace on the city. In fact it came as almost a shock that a casual café acquaintance could even

mention that event. He had welcomed me to his table (next door to the tourist hotel) with, "Aus Wien?" His German was even worse than mine. We laboured through some comparisons until we came to my outstanding impression of the difference of appearance between the two cities—the absence of cars in Budapest.

"Not for automobiles was '56," he surprised me by saying.

"For nothing," I speculated sorrowfully.

"Nein—etwas—etwas besser—etwas," he insisted.

I gathered from such scrappy exchanges that the standard of living had been better for a time, but that now prices were being raised and the Party was drifting away from the people again—his hands demonstrated a growing gap. Dangerous, he said. Another '56? No. Not good. Then a friend of his—another office type—joined him and they evidently carried on with the subject in Hungarian so he nodded to me with confirmatory gestures. Others also found that a general feeling indicated "no more '56".

There was the same kind of apprehensive optimism in the shops. At one time they could get no supplies—now it was better—but prices... And only too evidently quality was going down as prices went up. Women's fashions were of fifteen years ago. Cosmetics also seemed scarce. Two of our party when using lipsticks found women begging for the remains of a pencil. If you took out a biro pen to make a note in public, small boys flocked round

begging for it.

But food and drink were in good supply in cafés and shops, and at the old hotel where we stayed in Pest we ate well and drank like princes of old. As part of our entertainment—for the equivalent of about six pounds for everything, fares, visa, tax, two days and a night at the hotel and service—we were guests at a traditional banquet of the season, a *weinkostprob*, to test not the cost but the quality of the wine ready for bottling that year. Each place in the picturesque old dining hall, with its three tiers of balconies and boxes for dinner parties, was laid with exquisite crystal ware—five different kinds of glasses. Each course was liberally served with its appropriate wine—four delicious wines, beginning with an exquisite Szentgyörgyhegyi Risling, warmer than any vintage of Rhine or Meuse, daintier than any Graves or Pouilly, gentler than the Tears of Christ. The two red wines that followed were almost as praiseworthy, as was the rich amber Tokay. We sat and drank Risling until midnight, and so honest was the wine that even those unused to so much alcohol felt no effect of it next morning.

Twenty-four hours later we were on our way back to Vienna. The departure of the coach had been a scene more moving than that of any ocean liner. Half the women were still silently weeping as they drove along the Danube again. For not all in that excursion party were tourists—many for the first time in years, and perhaps the last, had seen relations and friends from whom they were separated by a barrier more formidable than ocean. K.W.

## LETTER

# 'Kaunda Climb-Down' Come Back

DEAR FRIENDS,

J.W. made the point, which I contested, that Kenneth Kaunda was turning into a rodent because he sought an accommodation with his Tshombe-financed rival, Harry Nkumbula. (A move incidentally, and contrary to former expectations, my own not least, which seems to have been successful).

Now J.W. broadens his attack on Kaunda for exploiting "African consciousness of the oppressiveness of white rule", for not advocating J.W.'s concept of the correct revolutionary approach, for not changing the balance between the copperbelt and the rural workers in the latter's favour, for not ensuring that the arable land is sufficient for the needs of the people and, as far as I can make out, for failing to abolish the tsetse fly in the Kasempa area.

All this is as may be and my original point stands. Even so J.W. might pause to reflect that until quite recently UNIP was being run from a single two-roomed location hut without light, water or telephone, to cover an area more than four times the size of Britain, with poor, and in many areas, almost non-existent communications and against an almost universally hostile colonial administration. But what is the use of abusing Kaunda for not acting like an anarchist (whatever that may be, and judging from the editorials and the admirable but confused correspondence columns of FREEDOM we are a long way yet from any clear statement of basic principle), when he has never been an anarchist? Presumably if he was a rat for approaching Nkumbula, he was a rat for starting the non-anarchist UNIP in the first place, and it seems pretty clear he will only cease to be a rat when he accepts J.W.'s confused sense of unreality about events; but on this reckoning when did he become one? Or do we just accept that all non-anarchists are rats anyway?

For a man who has spent some time in the territory (with apparently very little advancement of the anarchist cause there!), J.W. betrays a curious lack of feeling for political actuality. The idea that African politicians are somehow corrupted by the West (or perhaps the East too) is a common European conceit which ignores the quite obvious fact that Africans were playing the political game as adroitly as any Richeleau or Bismarck centuries before the European take-over of the continent began. The UNIP executive, which is as hard-headed and realistic a team as can be met in any cabinet office in the world, don't need advice on how to

cope, however grateful they may be for practical assistance. But if J.W. thinks that no issue of freedom is involved in getting rid of Welensky and establishing a UNIP Government, he should try telling it to a few UNIP members. J.W., in an understatement which looks like a naval hawser seeking to pass itself off as a solitary strand of gossamer says: "We do not deny that the revolutionary choice we have outlined would probably have set back the date for N. Rhodesian independence..." When you consider that after a century or more of propaganda the European worker is no nearer to achieving freedom in Anarchist terms than is the prospect of lead being transmuted into gold, won't even J.W. at least concede there might be a case for achieving less ambitious objectives by more practical means? J.W.'s programme, for all practical purposes does not delay independence, it simply cancels it. J.W. may be right to assert that in the long run his approach might succeed (although this has not proved true anywhere else), but we are the living of today, and didn't somebody once stress the obvious by pointing out that in the long run we are all dead?

J.W. asks with a curious naiveté why, if Kaunda believes in non-violence, he should want a police force and an army. Well, I suppose he wants a police force because if he didn't have one there would be much more rape, arson and bloody murder (i.e. more violence) than

Continued on page 4

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\*"INDONESIA & THE DUTCH", by Leslie Palmier, issued under the auspices of The Institute of Race Relations, London. Publisher: Oxford University Press, 1962.

FRANCIS WEBB.



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DEC 23 An Anarchist Anthology

DEC 30 Sid Parker:  
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JAN 6 Donald Room:  
The General Strike for Peace

JAN 13 Tony Smythe:  
Revolutionary Pacifism

JAN 20 Jack Robinson:  
Were the Luddites Ideologically Correct?

JAN 27 Oonagh Lahr:  
Is Non-Violence Against  
Human Nature?

FEB 3 Jack Stevenson:  
The Only Union

FEB 10 Ken Weller:  
Subject to be announced

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1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

3rd Tuesday at Brian and Doris Lelie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

Third Wednesday of the month, at 8 p.m. at Albert Porth's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Please note that the meetings at Fellows Road, N.W.3 are now on the third Friday, not the third Wednesday as hitherto.

Last Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at George Hayes', 174 Mcleod Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2.

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**Kaunda Climb-Down Come Back**

Continued from page 3  
if he did. I can assure J.W. that if I were in a position to prevent a case of rape I should not seek to do so by means of a philosophical discourse on the merits of anarchism. Similarly Kaunda presumably wants an army to prevent his country from being suborned by hostile external interests. Has it escaped J.W.'s attention that such elements exist and that if an anarchist state in all its beautiful perfection existed anywhere in the world it might need armed force to defend itself? Doesn't he wish the Spanish anarchists had had a bigger army with which to defend themselves in the Spanish Civil War?

Far from seeking refuge from offering alternative solutions, I was throwing down a challenge to J.W. to make his own more explicit; after all, I am not an anarchist and I suppose he is. And if an occasional reader of FREEDOM may say so, what puts me off from buying it regularly and taking it seriously is the intolerant note of 'know-all' authority with which it speaks, conveying the assumption that it has a secret solution for all problems of human government written down on tablets in its exclusive possession, and that all our worries would be over if only we would hearken to it.

All this stems of course from the 19th century belief that the working of human communities, and how they change, adopt and develop, can be learnt from a few simple and general equations, so that people have quarrelled furiously about the validity of particular equations (socialism, anarchism, communism and so on), with no apparent inkling of the inadequacy of all of them.

At last the psychologists have caught up with the poets and now, if it has the necessary humility, any mind can grasp the elementary truth that the promptings of social change are something endlessly mysterious and complex and not some-

**LETTERS TO THE EDITORS**

thing merely on tap for any politician to use as he wishes, not even anarchist politicians.

I feel pretty sure that one change we need so urgently that human survival has come to hang on it, is to break down our present top-heavy governments into small units which ordinary people can manage and which they can understand. I don't know how this is to be done but the need to think it out is both enormous and pressing.

But I am sure this won't start at all if we follow J.W. in his "We welcome these tensions as a healthy manifestation of the militancy of the under-privileged." With its suggestive overtones of approval of violence, I have seen all I want of mass violence in the 20th century. When it occurs it is a mistake to assume the chances of the millenium appearing are improved. People tend to behave more irrationally, not less, and the consequence is far more likely to be embodied in a Hitler, a Stalin or a Franco than anything we may be looking for.

JOHN PAPWORTH.  
Dar-es-Salaam, Dec. 8.

**No Panaceas**

[We are not proposing to reply to John Papworth's letter since it makes no attempt to discuss our article, which sought not to discuss the personality of Kaunda, but to take up his point about "disliking the role of authority implicit in the structure of mass parties" but at the same time considering it had no "relevance" in developments in N. Rhodesia. We must however point out two things, very briefly:

**What matters to Man?**

Continued from page 2  
is that only man and nature can produce beauty. Machines merely reproduce it—and is a reproduction ever as good as an original? Mr. Barnes says that a craftsman in cottage industry would usually "duplicate the same basic designs which were often traditional and not the fruit of his creative spirit." But at least he would see the whole product, instead of just shaping some meaningless component 40 hours a week. And in an anarchist society, without economic exploitation, who can tell how the creative spirit might flourish, even in the humblest craftsman?

Mr. Leslie sees no imperative in Jackie's dictum "it is up to us to use machines." He thinks it means "we have the choice" perhaps with the addition "and we would be foolish not to." This is laughable. Certainly we have the choice, and if that's all she meant I agree! But "foolish" is a value-word and implies a moral imperative. I'm not against value-judgments *per se* (as Mr. Leslie imagines). I'm against inferring them from facts. That machines are here is no reason why they should be.

I don't grudge Jackie the right to a totally alienated existence, Brian, though it alarms me to learn that she might try to stop me doing anything she thought "anti-social" (a thumping value-word)! One can, I hope, make value-judgments without imposing them on other people. Otherwise all criticism of society, including anarchist criticism, would be prejudicial to freedom.

Yours faithfully,  
Bristol, Dec. 9. FRANCIS ELLINGHAM.

\*No, but if you are arguing about the problems created by machines in the present age, it is surely reasonable to relate them to the basic needs of our age.—EDITORS.

†No, we were simply drawing your attention to the fact that a man with an empty belly has not the possibility of indulging in philosophical disquisitions, as you do not seem to be aware of this.—EDITORS.

(1) Papworth attacks J.W. as if he wrote the article on "the Role of Authority" (FREEDOM, Dec. 1) as well as the original item which provoked Papworth's first letter, whereas it was in fact by FREEDOM's editorial writer, J.W. has since contributed his own comments "Kaunda & Authority" (Dec. 8th), which we assume had not reached Dar-es-Salaam when the above comments were written.

(2) John Papworth declares that he does not take FREEDOM regularly because "what puts me off . . . taking it seriously is the intolerant note of 'know-all' authority with which it speaks, conveying the assumption that it has a secret solution for all problems of human government written down on tablets in its exclusive possession . . ." Unlike the politicians, anarchists have no panacea to cure mankind's ills. What we do know, and obviously Papworth knows, is that authoritarian solutions beget authoritarian results, and since we are libertarians we do not hesitate, or pull our punches, in denouncing those means and whoever uses them—especially when they allege that their ends are "freedom for my people". Every aspiring politician, and their supporters, imagine that they will be the exceptions that prove the rule. Have they?

It seems to us no secret, but elementary commonsense, that nations, societies, will change in the direction of freedom when enough people want freedom for themselves and for others; will want to free themselves from exploitation without desiring to become in their turn the exploiters; and are strong, militant and united enough to challenge not only the individuals who wield power but the authoritarian economic and political structure of society as well. This is the point Papworth chooses to overlook in poo-pooing the anarchists, yet which is staring him in the face not only in the established nations of the East and West blocs, but also in the so-called emergent nations of Africa and Asia. In every case the machine of government, the system of economic and political privilege remains intact; all that changes is the personnel that operates it; a new privileged class is the outcome and can only seek, and maintain, its privileges at the expense of the mass of the people. Is that fact or is it fiction? Friend Papworth may need to learn his lesson the hard way, when his friend Kaunda repudiates him, or runs him out of town, as they have all done before him. (Did he know that Algeria's Ben-Bella had outlawed the Algerian C.P.!!)—EDITORS.

**Neill's Pupils' Children**

DEAR EDITORS,  
The question asked by H. Wright in FREEDOM (17/11/62), as to why Neill's pupils have not sent their children to Summerhill is a question which many have asked. The answers must be almost as varied as the number of pupils.

First let me point out that Summerhill is flourishing at present with a full quota

**HELP!!**

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|---------------------------|----------------|
| Week 50                   |                |
| EXPENSES: 50 weeks at £70 | £3,500         |
| INCOME:                   |                |
| Sales & Sub. Renewals     | £ 5            |
| Weeks 1-49                | 1,557          |
| Week 50                   | 27             |
|                           | 1,584          |
| New Subscriptions:        |                |
| Weeks 1-49 (405)          | 438            |
| Week 50 (9)               | 9              |
|                           | 447            |
|                           | 2,031          |
|                           | DEFICIT £1,469 |

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| TOTAL                                       | 19 16 0     |
| Previously acknowledged                     | 1,128 6 11  |
| 1962 TOTAL TO DATE                          | £1,148 2 11 |

\*Indicates regular contributors.

of children. Also some ex-pupils do send their children to progressive schools. Pupils do not necessarily marry each other which must also reduce the chances, I suppose.

I have heard the following answers given by ex-pupils:—

"A happy family of several children has less need of Summerhill and having been to the school I can provide a free atmosphere at home."

"I can't afford to send them to Summerhill because it means 11 years of boarding school. Once you opt out of the State system it is difficult for the child to get back in happily he is of an age to choose to take on the difficulties of adjustment."

"The teaching at progressive schools is sometimes poor and in the school where children may choose to go to lessons or not obviously the teaching should be of the highest quality to attract. I feel that each year the pressures in society are becoming greater and the whole atmosphere is now on exam results. I may give my children a serious disadvantage in this side of their schooling. The emotional advantages are less easy to predict in view of changing atmosphere in other schools."

"The local school is fairly progressive, the head professes to be advancing towards freedom as far as circumstances permit and my children can be at home much more."

The people concerned probably don't know the answers to this question for they are of a much more subtle nature than these replies suggest.

Does self-expression lead to self-satisfaction?

Can rebels arise from contentment? Is it nature or nurture that produces the necessary drive to support progressive ideas in the face of continuous opposition?

Yours truly,  
LONDON, S.W.17. GWEN HALL.

**No Moral Debt**

DEAR EDITORS,  
In my article "Duty, Divorce and the Bishop" I was not arguing (as you implied in your "Comment", FREEDOM 2/12/62) that a "newly-born babe" does not have to accept the pattern of life of his parents or guardians until such time as he is capable of providing for himself. On the contrary, I know full well that the biological dependence of the child limits its individual freedom. The point I made—and which you did not answer—was that this fact does not thereby place the individual under a moral debt to the "community" which he must repay by obedience to what is claimed to be his "duty". If, in adulthood, he comes to appreciate the help given to him when a child by his parents and others he will, if it pleases him, reciprocate in whatever way he can, but I do not see that he is under any compulsory obligation to do so. I am still waiting for you to show me how anarchism can be reconciled with any other kind of obligation than that arising from mutual agreement between freely consenting individuals. In other words, an agreement made in equity and having no coercive sanction.

If I was born into an anarchist world in which I could opt out of any life pattern not to my taste, then I would not be expected to submit to any imposed obligations and my arguments against "duty" as to something to be done *whatever one's personal wishes* would not apply. Certainly, I do not think I would have any natural or inherent rights to communal services, since I regard such concepts as mythical. As a child, however, I would at least have the appeal of helplessness to secure support from adults, and as an adult would contribute in one way or another to the services I used—unless I chose to live in a manner which would make me independent of them (And please do not say that this is what all individualists want—because they don't).

I cannot understand why "my kind" of individualist should be "niggardly of heart", or lacking in any feelings of warmth for other human beings. The repudiation of duty as something sacrosanct which must be obeyed does not turn one into a mere calculating machine. Generosity, love and mutual aid—all have their places in the heart of my "autonomous individual". He experiences them, however, not as commandments from without, but from the plenitude of his own powers, as sources of pleasure and happiness. His "language of the heart" is no sentimental cant about "self-sacrifice"—it is the strength of an ego which has realised in itself the joy of living . . . and the sadness, too.

Yours fraternally,  
S. E. PARKER.  
LONDON, S.W.11, Dec. 10.

ANSWER:—Alas, none!

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