

'Government is everywhere to a great extent controlled by a powerful minority, with an interest distinct from the mass of the people.'

G. LOWES DICKINSON

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

THE tactics of divide-and-rule which characterises British political strategy throughout the ages apparently came unstuck last week in Brussels. But those politicians and publicists in this country who suggest that the British negotiators have been incompetent, or that Macmillan is no match for de Gaulle, are, to our minds, using the same tactics of divide-and-rule for their own party and personal interests! We have much more respect for the political cunning and unscrupulousness of perfidious Albion, and there can be no doubt that de Gaulle shared our "respect" when he brusquely resorted to the veto to stop further discussions. For at that stage in the negotiations the British delegation had, after 18 months, succeeded in worming its way into, as it were, the "confidence" of the other five nations of the EEC, to the point where not only were they made conscious of the hegemonic role of France, but were even anxious that Britain should join them in order to establish some kind of balance of power between France and the other five! Though Britain is OUT of the Common Market, before getting out she managed to put a large spanner IN the works, and, thanks to de Gaulle's tactlessness in rejecting Britain on the grounds that she is a stooge of America, Britain will probably be able to count on American support at least in her task of undermining de Gaulle's political ambitions. For one thing is certain, whatever happened at Brussels, the game of power politics goes on, and will go on so long as the world is divided into national states; so long as nations are divided by social and economic inequality; and so long as rule of the majority by a minority prevails.

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FOR nearly two years government spokesmen have been warning the nation that failure to join the Common Market would spell Economic disaster for this country. Well, the worst has happened. Now Mr. Heath is telling the Commons that "what has happened is a bitter blow for all those who believe in true European unity, but it is not a mortal one". And in "his broadcast to the nation" (which significantly, was relayed to six European networks) Mr. Macmillan resisted any temptation, which a lesser politician might have succumbed to, of indulging in Francophobia. Europe, he said, although the cradle of civilisation, had been the scene of some bitter struggles.

"This was generally brought about by attempts of one nation, or sometimes one man, to dominate the whole of Europe to create a kind of sham united Europe not by agreements, or by

AFTER THE COMMON MARKET WHAT ABOUT A BIT OF COMMON SENSE?

partnership, or co-operation, but by power. We want to stop this happening again by developing a strength and prosperity which would spread to the whole world."

Here was "statesmanship" of the highest order: no names, no direct accusations, no recriminations; what mattered was the future and not the past, which should only serve to teach us the lessons for success in the future! And then for the nation he told us that the breakdown of the EEC negotiations meant that

We must be ready to accept change, to modernise, to adapt, to get rid of obsolete plant and perhaps more important, obsolete ideas—wherever they are: to work together, all of us.

Is this a gloomy or grim prospect? Not at all. It's the kind of situation in which we have always done best in the past, and so it will be again.

So now the new "line" can be summarised briefly: "Entry to the Common Market would have been good for Britain; but rejection is even better". And as a matter of fact, if the *Observer's* financial column can be trusted

The British are at their best when their backs are to the wall. This is the attitude of Continental bankers and financiers to Britain's Common Market difficulty; it is also their reason for holding on to the British shares in their portfolios. This confidence is encour-

aging. Unfortunately it is of little help to investors who must make investment decisions. . . .

So far as we are concerned, and as the saying goes, we couldn't care less how "difficult or uncertain" are conditions for investors. What is certain is that the large American and British industrial concerns have already joined the Common Market, and the breakdown of negotiations in Brussels will hasten this process among the smaller concerns as well. (De Gaulle has already expressed his concern at the volume of American capital investment in France, and threatens to introduce legislation to control it). Investment abroad is of course good business for the shareholders, but it also creates additional unemployment at home. On the other hand tariff walls work both ways, and just as British industrialists will be setting up plants in the Common market countries, and employing local labour, so Common Market industrialists will in turn be setting up plants in Britain (perhaps in the North-East?) and employing British labour! And as we have pointed out on other occasions in connection with this Common Market racket, Britain as well as being one of the largest exporting countries in the world is, apart from the

United States, the biggest importing country in the world. Furthermore though her exports to the Common Market countries represent 39 per cent. of the total, these countries, according to the 1959 figures, sold even more to Britain than they bought from her. So what's all the gloom, and backs-to-the-wall, atmosphere about?

We shall be told: "but look at the figures for unemployment. Unless we can increase production and our competitiveness in the world's markets (and that means increasing productivity, that is production per man and per machine, per hour) unemployment will increase". This argument glosses over the capitalist facts of life, and until workers understand them they will continue to accept economic insecurity as part

of a life pattern of insecurity (after all is not the price of life death, sooner or later?).

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NOW the capitalist facts of life are that the primary purpose of production is *profitability*; in other terms, that the incentive to market a commodity is that there is a buyer who will pay a price which allows the manufacturer to make a profit over and above what he already receives for his services. We argue that the only *socially valid* incentive to produce is the satisfaction of needs. In spite of the arguments of those who oppose what is, in their opinion, a simplification of the problem—for instance that all people have not the same needs, that needs "grow" etc.—we are not convinced. For the overwhelming majority of people material needs average out, if only for the reason that the human organism has physical limitations, and that the day is only 24 hours-long for everybody. (The high-powered, business-lunched, expense-accounted executive is said to have

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CD FRAUD IN FULHAM

ONE evening last week about 18 supporters of the Committee of 100 visited the Fulham Civil Defence Centre in West Brompton Road. The visit had been arranged by the S.W. London Working Group as part of the "build-up" campaign for the anti-Civil Defence demonstration on May 12th organised by the London Committee of 100.

For some considerable time now, the Fulham Civil Defence Corps has been without proper headquarters. New premises are being built in the Fulham Palace Road, but for the time being the Corps have taken over three offices from the army.

While we were waiting for more supporters to arrive, the local press cameraman and reporter turned up, and to complete the gathering a police superintendent and sergeant began to pace up and down near us.

The police and pressmen were ahead of us as we walked the short distance to the Civil Defence offices. We waited outside on a very narrow pavement as one of the group knocked on the door. We asked if we could come in and look round the premises, for as people who lived in Fulham and the S.W. area, we felt that we had the right to inspect the place where Civil Defence training and operations were organised.

We were informed that we could not come in and that the Fulham Corps were at that moment at the Holborn Civil Defence headquarters. All this time, the cameraman had been taking photographs. With the Official's stubborn refusal, it looked as though we would have to commit civil disobedience and block the pavement and road. The superintendent realised this as well and from this point more or less took on the official's job as well as his own. He suggested that we looked around the place in groups of three, but we demanded that we should be divided into

two groups. He persuaded the official to let us do this provided that we promised not to "sit-down" in there or refuse to leave. This we agreed to do.

The first group made their tour of inspection without a hitch, but the pressmen tried to come in with the second group in order to take photographs. The official stopped them, for according to him this was not allowed. One of our group in order to take photographs. The well as was reporting the visit for *Peace News*. This placed the official in a quandary, but once again the superintendent came to his rescue. It was agreed that the pressmen could come in providing they did not take photographs.

The superintendent acted as our guide and in fact he seemed to know more about the place than the official, who just looked completely bewildered and to most of our questions replied "I'm not allowed to answer that". When asked if the new Civil Defence building was in any way protected against a nuclear attack, he said he wasn't certain but didn't think so. Neither did he have any idea of the cost of this new building.

The rooms contained the usual office equipment with the addition of large-scale maps of London on which were printed letters and numbers relating to the various Civil Defence units. The equipment, vehicles and paraphernalia that make up the Civil Defence fraud was all a big secret. In fact the whole Civil Defence Corps seems to be shrouded in mystery. Is this all that Fulham Civil Defence Corps amounts to? Three offices and a few maps! Even the police superintendent admitted to us that he didn't think much of Civil Defence.

I personally was glad to get out of the miserable place and into the pub across the road. P.T.



WORLD WHEAT PRODUCTION UP

The International Wheat Council provisionally estimates world wheat production, excluding mainland China, for 1962-63 at 228m. tons.

This is 18m. tons higher than in 1961-62, and as high as the 1958 record.

The improvement is mainly due to the sharp increase in Western European output, although there were also gains in North America, the U.S.S.R., North Africa, the Near East and the Indian sub-continent.

As a result the Council thinks that the "commercial demand for imports of wheat from Western Europe may decline substantially," and that "world trade in wheat and flour in 1962-63 is likely to be considerably lower than in 1961-62," when it reached the new record of about 47m. tons.

In addition, there may be some decline in the volume of exports going to the under-developed countries under

Government-assisted programmes, and although the Chinese should remain large purchasers the size of their requirements is still uncertain.

Consequently the Council expects that end of season stocks in the eight main exporting countries are likely to remain at about the same high level as those of 1961-62. It also expects that there will be a substantial carry-over of durum stocks at the end of the season, especially in North America, since the high prices of 1961 led to greatly increased production in 1962.

In its report on consumption the Council points out that in most of the advanced countries there are poor prospects for further increases in consumption because as income levels rise per caput consumption of wheat falls.

So far as the under-developed countries are concerned rising incomes should

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ANARCHY 24

is about
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The Parliamentary Myth

THE past two issues of *Peace News* (Jan. 18th and 25th), have contained interesting articles by Richard Boston on the "Lost power of Parliament", in which the writer argues cogently that the ordinary M.P. has no control whatsoever over the decisions that the government takes. As examples he quotes the decisions to allow American troops to be stationed in Britain in peace time, and to spend £100 million on the first atomic explosion both of which were taken (and it is worth adding, by a Labour government), without parliament being either consulted or told, until after the event.

It is very encouraging to read the volume of anti-parliamentary argument that appears in *Peace News* these days, and the articles by Richard Boston have an added interest in that he has collected together quotations from numerous sources which add up to indicate that conscious, open rejection of the political myths of parliamentary government has become pretty widespread.

Nevertheless there is one aspect

of the arguments put forward in describing the "Lost power of Parliament" that deserves an anarchist comment, and that is the suggestion that this loss of power, and by implication the loss of the citizen's rights to control what goes on in his name, is something that has happened within the last few decades, and is a feature which has never before been faced by opposition movements. If this really were the case, it would suggest that the problem was fairly superficial (using that word objectively and not as an insult), and of the attitudes and activities needed to bring about the social changes that many pacifists and socialists share with the anarchist movement, is all that is necessary. The anarchist argument, on the other hand, is that the fundamental feature of the social system that we should be attacking is government itself, and not merely the fact that parliamentary democracy does not always work just like the school text book says it should.

Richard Boston quotes from a *New Society* editorial on a C.O.I. publication *The British Parliament*, criticising the myth "that parliament can be accurately understood through an analysis of its legal powers and procedures". Surely, a myth of much greater importance is the one that suggests that the exercise of power in a society, or to use the term in a broad but relevant sense, its government, can be explained in terms of its parliament at all. Parliament may well be relevant, as one of a number of parallel strands in the process of government, but it is and always has been, an instrument by which the power holders have impressed their will and their demands on the ordinary people, and not the reverse. For instance to quote issues which have been well ventilated recently in *Peace News*, the running down of the socially useful railways in the interests of profit making, both by the government and the private road haulage industry; the sale of armaments to the South African government; the way that the housing problem has been

aggravated by the concentration of the building industry in office blocks instead of houses; the farcical building and abandoning of successive deterrents, with millions of pounds expenditure, some of which may have been poured "down the drain", but quite a lot of which went into the pockets of shareholders who were quite delighted with the outcome. In all these cases, decisions have been taken which have affected the lives of the ordinary people both in this country and in others, and they have all had their reflections in parliament, and the formalities of debate and question time have taken place, but who would still claim that the power to make and implement decisions on these matters rests in parliament? The recognition that power in society does not always lie where it is said to, is not however, a new discovery, for the workers' movements in Europe were divided on that question nearly a century ago, with the majority of the First International under so little illusion about the power of parliament that they rejected the idea of trying to use it as an instrument of social reform or revolution.

Similarly, secret agreements between governments have always been a feature of international diplomacy, and it was the secret negotiations conducted by Sir Edward Grey before the first world war that led to the foundation of the Union of Democratic Control in the years immediately following it, with its single objective of encouraging "open agreements, openly arrived at" as the basis for relations between governments; an objective which has failed as dismally as it is out of keeping with the essential nature of governments.

If there has been an apparent flight of responsibility from parliament within the last few decades, as suggested in the quotations from Churchill and Bevan given in Richard Boston's article, it is more likely to be merely a reflection of two factors which have become important during that period, namely the way in which international capitalism is

far more dependent nowadays on day to day foreign policy, and the fact that in an economy in which many of the traditional fields of capitalist enterprise are drying up, closer co-ordination is needed at the top. The so-called flight of power from parliament is taking place at a time when the role of political government as an adjunct to private exploitation is growing and evolving different forms. It does not require much imagination to link the two.

It has been traditional in the liberal and social-democratic movements to regard parliamentary democracy as the flower of our way of life, from which such benefits and freedoms which we do enjoy flow. The anarchist approach has insisted on the other hand that parliament-

ary democracy is an incidental aspect of government, and that social and individual freedoms exist to the extent that people fight for and defend them. Our continual attack on the parliamentary myth has sprung from the fact that such a lot of energy has been wasted on it, putting so-called workers' politicians into positions of power from which they have become part of the ruling class themselves; energy which would have been better devoted to developing independent organisations through which the people could develop their own power against that of the state. It is to be hoped that now the emptiness of parliament is becoming more obvious, some of this energy will be used in a more fruitful direction. P.H.

Reflections on the WORK-TO-RULE

DURING the recent dispute in the power industry, the unofficial action has been widely referred to as a "go-slow". It was not a "go-slow", which is an entirely different thing, consisting simply of the slowing up of production. The unofficial action was a "work-to-rule" which is operated by sticking to the rules and regulations laid down by the management and unions.

The National Shop Stewards' Committee of the power industry issued a leaflet setting out their recommendations for the operation of the "work-to-rule", in which they stated:—

1. No overtime.
2. No operation of plant in an unsafe condition.
3. No upgrading, downgrading, transference or interchangeability.
4. No new entrants during the period of ban.
5. Each employee will carry out his normal assigned duties in a careful and responsible manner during his normal 42 regular established working hours, but beyond that he will not co-operate.

An out-of-print Freedom Press Pamphlet, *Trade Unionism or Syndicalism** on the "work-to-rule", illustrates what an effective method of action this is. It says, "Many ingenious strike tactics have been invented by the French Syndicalists. Of these the 'work-to-rule' of the railwaymen (on a few occasions copied by the English railwaymen) is the best known. Thousands of laws and rules for running the railways are made by the Directors and Government. Of course most of them are unused and even unknown, their place being taken by common-sense and daily experience of the job. When the French railwaymen were forbidden to strike, their Anarchist fellow-workers were delighted to point out to them the absurdity of the law, so the Anarcho-Syndicalists decided to carefully fulfil the law.

A favourite rule of militant railwaymen was that which said that tickets must be examined on both sides. The rule says nothing of city rush hours. The results of 'working-to-rule' were to tie up the railways, make the law look an ass, and win the railwaymen's cause."

The national press of course referred to the power workers' "work-to-rule" as a "go-slow". We expect this from them, but it came as a shock to find it in the *Socialist Leader*.† Their industrial correspondent writes: "By Wednesday morning the unofficial 'go-slow' had spread further." Although the next sentence uses the correct term of "work-to-rule and overtime ban", the headline of the article reads more like a capitalist paper than a socialist one. "Power Workers Told to End Go-Slow by Union Leaders".

This I feel is a very bad error, for there have been enough lies and misrepresentations of the power workers and our job surely is to combat it, not to add to it.

Now that the unions have agreed on the compromise wage settlement and the unofficial "work-to-rule" has been called off, why is there still a power shortage? Only this week, I saw the generator of an ice-cream van being used at a hospital in Fulham. Now there are no large black headlines in the press commenting on a situation like this.

Where is all the long-term planning we are told we get from State-run industries? The plans for expansion have been cut, even in spite of the fact that advertisements in the press for technicians state that the demand for electricity doubles every ten years.

These cuts in expansion have been in operation for some considerable time. In 1956 the expenditure on expansion was reduced by £18 million, in 1958 plans for increased generating capacity were cut by 10% and later the government imposed restrictions on borrowing money. In the last two years further restrictions have been placed on the investment of money in expansion, with the result that during this severe winter, the Board has been unable to meet the demand for extra electricity. The cause of this inefficiency is obvious and the blame can no longer be laid on the "Work-to-rule." P.T.

**Trade Unions or Syndicalism* by T. Brown.

†Issue of 12/1/63.

LETTER

ANARCHISTS AND THE FREE SOCIETY

I HAVE only just returned from South Africa and seen your repost to my comments in your issue of Dec. 22nd last. Without wearying you by going over old ground may I assert that the main reason for the failure of the anarchist cause over the past two or three generations, when the failure of authoritarian forms of government has become all too clear, lies in the refusal of anarchists themselves to come down from the ivory tower of pure theory and offer men a practical alternative to the way of life they know. There is increasing awareness that this way of life is an utter fraud, that it cheats men of their highest aspirations and frustrates their deepest instincts for happiness through fellowship and love.

It is because of this, and because it has also brought men to the verge of mass annihilation that they are increasingly seeking alternative means of organising their relations with one another in human society. Inevitably this starts off again the discussion about the real nature of man himself, since if he is an incurable crook the projected solution will be based on constraint, whereas

he is an unalloyed saint other approaches will be made.

Such words as 'crook' and 'saint' imply, however, a static conditions, whereas we now know man's condition is one of conflicting impulses within himself as well as towards his fellows. It follows that solutions which do not allow for this duality of our natures are unlikely to receive much attention, or to solve our problem if they do.

But even this aside, will a free society need schools, hospitals, dustcarts, street lighting and so on? And if it does, how are the social disciplines to be achieved which make their running possible? Is a surgeon, for example, going to be any saint-eyed comrade who declares himself to be one, or is he still going to be the product of arduous training and discipline?

Is the baser aspects of us going to disappear entirely, the part that wants to rape, rob and slander, or are we going to make some provision for it? Under freedom will adolescents be free to murder old people by driving them down on the highways with stolen cars whilst under the influence of drink,

drugs or mere aggression? Will people in a free society never want somebody else's wife or husband and how will the problem of crime passionnel be dealt with?

How big will free societies be? What is the optimum size which best preserves freedom? And above all how will the problem of power, which arises from the mere aggregation of most forms of conscious life, be solved?

If anarchists could stop assuming that a new pattern of life by which men will live in freedom will emerge from some kind of immaculate conception, cease to blow raspberries at people who are seeking to grapple with the world as it is, and give us bewildered souls on the ground floor some practical advice which measures up to their pretensions, who knows, people may begin to listen? JOHN PAPWORTH.

Dar es Salaam, Jan. 26.

THE FEAR OF FREEDOM

Friend Papworth really should try to stop heckling if he wants to understand what anarchism is about. It is just because we agree with him, that no man

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WHEAT PRODUCTION UP

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lead to a growth in demand, but the wheat will have to be supplied on special terms, and it has to be remembered that "a large portion of the world's population seems likely to continue to have a general preference for rice."

In dealing with the future the Council states that the recent decline in carry-over stocks may prove to have been "only a temporary phase," and it sees no reason to believe that a fundamental change has taken place in the forces which would make the world wheat situation.

Financial Times.

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NOT FOR MAIDEN AUNTS

A SUMMARY of the plot of this play would be ridiculous, but then so is the play, sublimely so. Spike Milligan stars in it and must accept responsibility with John Antrobus for the text, cuts by the Lord Chamberlain.

It is the story of the post-atomic world where Lord Fortnum of Alamein (played by Valentine Dyall), mutates into a bed-sitting room in (worse complication of the disease), Paddington. When he realizes he is worth fifty guineas a week (furnished), the Hallelujah chorus in praise of money breaks out and Graham Stark as Captain Bules Martin kisses his ring (made of valuable bread) with a papal gesture, Captain Martin having taken on the role of the post-atomic Roy Brooks (funny ads in the *Observer*) . . . Ah, where was I? . . . one never knows.

Well then let's start with the 'prop' list so thoughtfully provided by the management in the Mermaid's excellent (and free!) programme. "Portable parking meter", "Giant DAZ packets slung on gas mask belt, 8ft. 9in. high constructed pile of boots, step ladder to get on top of boots, telephone set, no wires, just receiver, green and modern, birth certificate strapped to wrist, flip-top Bible made like cigarette pack". Perhaps we'd better not go on.

Having disposed of plot and props, we are left with the actors, headed by Spike Milligan at his gooniest, Graham Stark, Valentine Dyall, John Bluthal, Marjie Lawrence, Bob Todd, John Vyvyan and Clive Elliott all aid and abet in this grand conspiracy against reason and 'loranlorder'. The Temperance Seven is (or are) also on hand to perpetrate their own brand of melodic

mayhem and peddle a narcotic nostalgia of the 'twenties.

We laugh because we dare not weep, and the sometimes sick jokes seem robustly healthy in this padded-cell world that lies outside the Mermaid.

Readers are recommended to this play, but it is not for maiden aunts.

J.R.

NOW-COMMON SENSE?

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greater "needs" than his humble employees; the fact that he kills himself by over eating *et alia* in his fifties, and that his humble employees live on to a ripe old age, in fact balances out their *total* respective needs; a Marilyn Munroe, or a Mario Lanza (see last week's *News of the World* story of this singing-and eating- phenomenon) had the kinds of "needs" that "only capitalism, and its money-system can satisfy." Both died in their thirties, the former by her own hand the latter through over-eating. So in the long run their *extraordinary* needs turned out to be quantitatively less than those of an *ordinary* human being whose life span is double theirs!).

The real privileges then, that the capitalist system confers and which are provided by the non-privileged majority, would seem to be (a) the maintenance of a rentier class who live without producing anything they consume and (b) the creation of a power élite. The inefficiency on which the capitalist system thrives in the highly industrialised countries is (c) the creation of artificial "needs" (d) the production of shoddy goods on principle (e) the misuse of raw materials and the encouragement and organisation of waste.

Abolish (a) and (b) and not only do you swell the ranks of the producers, but at the same time you eliminate an army of people engaged in occupations which serve only to maintain the privileged status of these parasites and the power élite. Abolish (c) and not only do you reduce needs and therefore unnecessary production, but you release another army, this time of "persuaders" whose sole justification in life is to make you want what you do not need, in order to keep the wheels of industry turning and the shareholders' investments profitable. Abolish (d) and things will last longer, and fewer goods will have to be produced to satisfy everybody's needs. Abolish (e) and not only will mankind be materially more prosperous, both now and so far as future generations are concerned, but again, our needs could be satisfied with less physical effort.

We challenge anybody to deny that the application of the foregoing five points would result in an immediate increase in general prosperity at the same time as a *decrease in the working week to less than a half of what it is today.* This would be the first stage. The increase in leisure would encourage people to interest themselves not only in questions concerning the day to day problems of the community, as well as being able to cope with emergencies (e.g. the problems created by natural phenomena such as our severe winter for instance, or floods and earthquakes), but allow them to develop all kinds of interests and skills which they are prevented from doing today by the material problems—real and imagined—of life leaving them no time.

In this second stage we imagine—unlike the pessimists, the anti-lifers and pro-capitalist publicists who foresee that increased leisure will mean more crime, more boredom, more hours in bed (sleeping of course!), and less production—that because so many people will derive pleasure from making- and doing-things for themselves and their friends (and after all this goes on even today within the limited free time at people's disposal), a number

of mass production industries will become redundant and so working hours will be further reduced. But we will not delve further. The point we are trying to make is that until the people of the "affluent society" at least, come to their senses and formulate for themselves a philosophy of life which transcends the primitive formula of "work-eat-sleep", and the even more ghastly variation of so-called civilised society in which Mammon determines life from the womb-to-the-tomb, Man will not benefit from his growing knowledge and his mastery of natural phenomena. Today in this country in spite of having the capacity to provide the necessities of life for everybody (or more accurately one should say providing the means to *acquire* the necessities of life—this question of self-subsistence must be the subject of another article) there are, as Prof. Titmuss has shown, millions of people old, or sick, who haven't the means to enjoy them; there are besides, at the time if writing possibly a million workers and their dependents who are denied what the rest of us consider normal needs because in spite of their willingness to work there is apparently no work for them. It is the moment to recall the Prime Minister's fighting, his Battle-of-Britain-1963, speech: "We must be ready . . . to work together, *all of us*". It is also the moment to challenge the Labour Opposition's equally rousing slogans of increasing production, which in the capitalist society they support, has meaning only if it produces more profits. Don't they see that as each year passes the "markets" are shrinking because the productive capacity of industry increases? Won't they see that when one section of British industry pats itself on the back at having sold a steel producing plant to say India, it has deprived another section of industry from supplying India with steel rails, or girders?

★
"MANKIND is one" not only biologically*, but socially, politically and economically as well. Only the anarchists *really* believe this to be so. The politicians pay lip service to internationalism. The dis-United Nations are at this moment staging a massive 79-nations, 1,500 scientists, conference in Geneva to explore how science can be applied in "less-developed areas". 1,800 papers are being presented on subjects ranging from food-growing in deserts to schools TV in the bush. A magnificent programme, and we are sure the scientists will have the answer to growing food in the deserts. But isn't the major problem screaming its head off, not for learned scientists, but for the common sense solutions, for the human—yes Christian, if you really believe that you are your brother's keeper!—solution.

Only a world that *needs* a revolution, or deserves to be treated with contempt, can be seriously exploring the food-growing possibilities in deserts when millions of acres of arable land in the United States are taken out of production and the owners compensated for so doing! And not only in the United States.

*See the UNESCO statement by Experts on Race Relations, Paris, 1950 in *Freedom Selections*, Vol. I, 1951, "Mankind is One".

African Commentary

THE *Economist* (12/1/63) described the Katanga affair as "in some ways one of the most educative episodes in post-war years", and personally I found the trend of recent events in the Congo more captivating than a good novel. That fact is stranger than fiction is amply demonstrated by a study of the Katanga affair.

One of the most intriguing people in the Congo is undoubtedly Moise Tshombe, who although he threatened at one time to sabotage the Union Minière plant at Kolwezi, is still described in *East Africa and Rhodesia* (a right-wing settler periodical) as "The outstanding African moderate (24/1/63). Captain Waterhouse referred to him in the Annual General Meeting of Tanganyika Concessions as "statesman-like". Indeed it seems from Captain Waterhouse's report that considerable damage was done to Union Minière property and Ronald Legge in his report from Elizabethville (*Sunday Times* 20/1/63) writes: "A few hours after he (Tshombe) had announced that he was prepared to surrender unconditionally to the U.N. it is alleged that he personally directed the firing of a gun that destroyed a transformer station near Kolwezi." This, despite the claim of the editorial in *East Africa and Rhodesia* that "So far as can be judged, it was Sir Roy Welensky who was chiefly instrumental in persuading Mr. Tshombe to abandon his intention to adopt a 'scorched earth policy'."

According to the Waterhouse report (from the *Guardian* 25/1/63), damage in Katanga to Union Minière property included that done to the cobalt plant at Panda near Jadotville and to the despatching room at Ehituru. The report continues: "Fortunately this crowning disaster (a scorched earth policy) was prevented, mainly by the efforts of the representatives of the Belgian and British Governments and by the statesman-like attitude of President Tshombe." None the less the cartoon by Pappas which depicted Tshombe placing dynamite in a Dam upon which gesticulating African nationalists were standing, would seem to paint the picture more objectively, for here was a man who, if he had sabotaged the Union Minière, would have undermined a vastly powerful vested interest in Africa which has nothing against African nationalists who remain constitutional. Tshombe, it seems, was motivated by patriotic fervour and the regional feeling of the Africans in Katanga is genuine enough, yet his threatened actions were soon halted in embryo and he is now, along with the Union Minière, co-operating with the United Nations—for the time being, at any rate.

Back in Britain, in the House of Lords significantly enough, Lady Summerskill declared that "some of us are very suspicious of the ulterior motives of certain business interests in the Congo". Lord Home replied that "You must not make this kind of allegation and certainly you should not link it in any way with the actions of the Government. When it comes to British interests in the Congo they are marginal." It was impossible to argue that the Government's policy had been in any way influenced by business considerations." (*Guardian* 24/1/63).

Being an anarchist the word "impossible" does not deter me, especially when I read in the financial columns of the *Guardian* the very next day that "Tanganyika Concessions has a *large interest*" in Union Minière (my emphasis). The Tanganyika Concessions, one should add, is a British Holding Company. Reference should also be made of the following passage in Rosalyn Ainslie's *The Unholy Alliance*: "Britain's role in the Katanga operation ranged her clearly with the Union Minière-backed Tshombe regime at a time when it was openly defying the United Nations. A 'Katanga Lobby' led by Waterhouse, and Lords Robins, Selbourne, Clitheroe and helped by Lord Salisbury, directed a vociferous Tory campaign for Katanga secession and against the U.N. operation."

"By the middle of December 1961, Dr. Conor O'Brien, former head of the U.N. in Kotanga, together with powerful elements of African and Asian opinion, had accused the U.K. Government of surrendering to this lobby."

An excellent article in the current issue of the *New Left Review* by Perry Anderson should not be missed by anyone interested in Africa or the Iberian peninsula. It is entitled "Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonialism" and portrays the Angolan insurrection of February, 1961, with the ensuing Portuguese action and describes the development of a resistance in the territory. In putting the affair into some perspective the author views the situation internationally, economically and politically. The effect of the uprising on Portugal is especially interesting.

One's criticism is that Mr. Anderson writes off the Salazar regime too easily, summing up thus: "The process of disintegration is clear. As the Angolan war continues, the political apparatus of Salazarism, despite desperate appeals to patriotic support, becomes more and more introverted and isolated from any other social force in the country. A disabused army takes its distance and

prepares a respectable future: businessmen surreptitiously despatch their capital abroad: students and workers mobilize: conscripts take to the hills: the exiles gather. The end of an epoch is imminent." Yet, has he forgotten America? Or, to be more specific, American defence forces in Portugal which are likely to render a greater income to the Portuguese Government in future.

Pacifists might well read "The Place of the Armed Forces in Society in African States in *Race* (Nov. 1962), by William Gutteridge of the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst.

Two quotes below might be of interest to our non-violent friend John Papworth. "It is possible," writes Gutteridge, "that in the cases of Sierra Leone and Tanganyika, for instance, some tentative consideration was given to the practicability of dispensing altogether with defence forces on grounds of expense. However, the usual conclusion is likely to be the same as theirs—that such forces are essential equipment for a new state without which independence might not seem to have been achieved."

In his conclusion Gutteridge writes: "What emerges from an examination of the armies of Commonwealth Africa in relation to the societies from which they must derive their shape is the certainty that they will be much more completely integrated into the political life of the community than was at one time nominally the case in Western countries. This is likely to be true not only of the armed forces collectively but of individual officers. The shortage of leaders is such that it will not be surprising if army officers are called upon to fill roles in the administrative service or in the diplomatic corps if they have obvious ability which might otherwise not be fully employed." J.W.

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AROUND THE GALLERIES

THE London critics have damned with faint praise the retrospective exhibition of Australian painting now currently on view at the Tate. In this they were but kindly echoing the Australian critics of a year ago who gave the thumbs down to this exhibition when it was first farmed out at the Adelaide Arts Festival. Alan McCulloch, doyen of Australian critics, launched the exhibition not with a bottle but with a brick when he attacked it all along the line, for in the tail end sting of a caustic review he wrote that "to allow it to go to London in its present state would be to label us once more with the stigma of provincialism from which we have struggled so hard, for so long, to escape."

McCulloch rightly dates the appearance of Australian painting onto the European scene with the London White-chapel Gallery exhibition and allowing for the weaknesses that such a large exhibition as that made inevitable the work of Tucker, Drysdale, Nolan and Boyd brought a new and needed vitality to the faded London scene, and as such offered a springboard for a new wave of Australian painters to force their way into the coterie tie-up of the London, Paris and American markets.

Saved by their geography from the fashionable cliques hawking their gallery bespoke abstractions and the giggle squads of the Tottenham Court Road school churning out gruffito for the bog

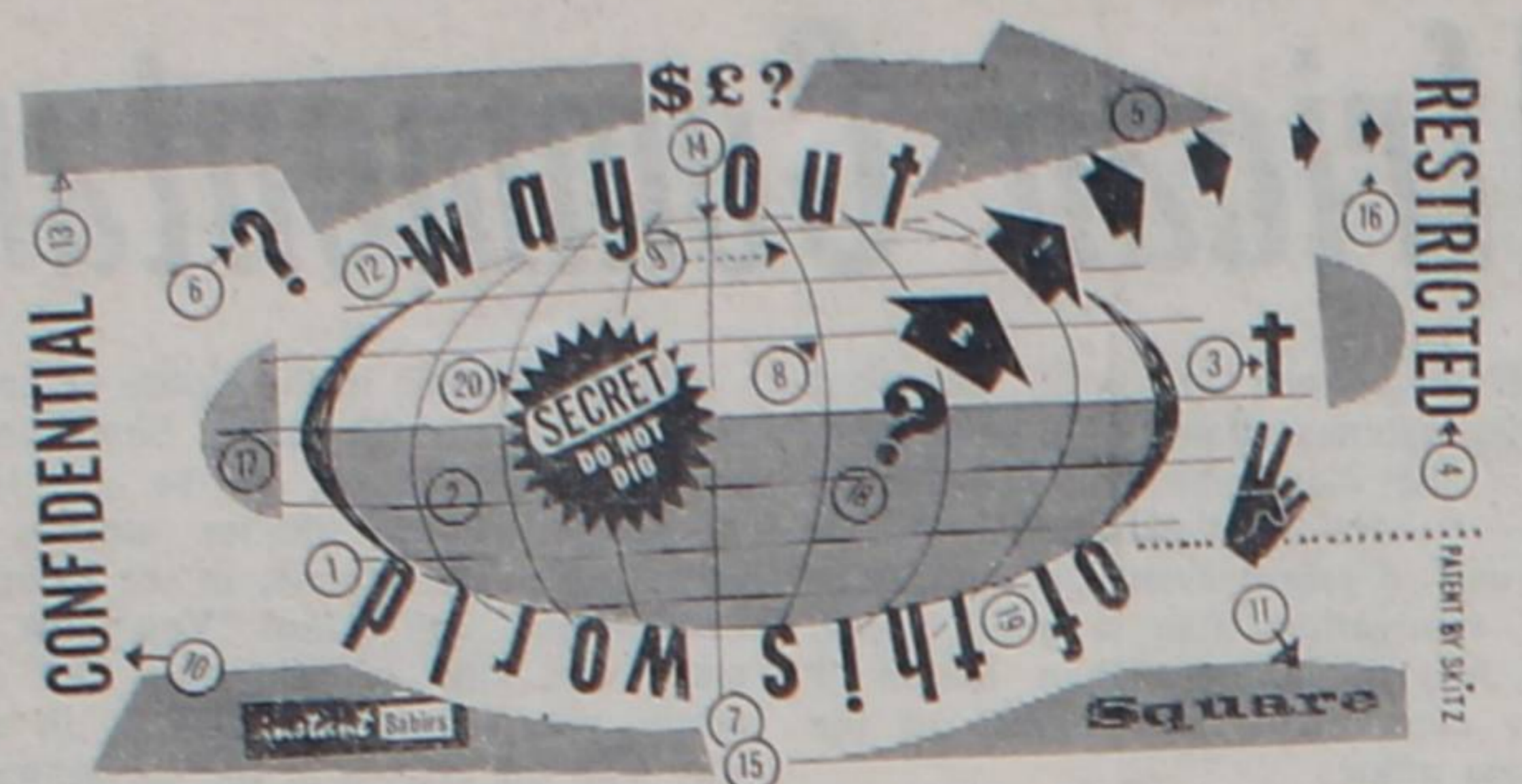
beautiful, the Australian painter could offer the European market work that explored new landscapes and new myths, and all this a small group of Australian painters did. The courage of their conceptions and the bravado of their technique balanced out much of their incompetence as painters of lasting worth. But the debt that the young Australian painters owe to them is that they forced the London dealers to accept them as Australian painters worthy of an international window. McCulloch has no hesitation in placing the blame for the failure of this exhibition squarely onto the shoulders of the Commonwealth Art Advisory Board, for when the Tate asked the Federal Government to organize an exhibition of contemporary Australian painting, one of their terms of reference was that it should include "the work of some of the younger, lesser known artists, and a few historical works to serve as background." The Government passed the buck to the CAAB who after months of futile nail-biting called in various State gallery directors to help them solve their simple problem and the only answer that they could offer was to make the painter Russell Drysdale a member of the CAAB hanging squad. The exhibition had its first showing in the new wing of the Adelaide gallery and despite the fact that the place was crawling with Australia's top officialdom, private and public, the following day brought the sad realization that they had

laid an addled egg for the London market.

Instead of a "few historical works to serve as background" there were out of 204 works on view 84 that could be classed as historical paintings while the works of contemporary artists who should have formed the backbone of the exhibition consisted of indifferent and isolated paintings scattered among much naive and academic work. But the exhibition has been shipped to London and the Tate is showing it, but all in all it is a complete disservice to contemporary Australian painting. The exhibition has been trebly unfortunate in that it arrived at a time when the Town was shivering from the coldest weather for over a century, so that even the perennial fashionable gallery layabouts stayed away and the catalogue for some odd reason known only to God and the Tate has omitted all dates, making the whole affair historically meaningless. Nolan, Boyd and Drysdale have been condemned for their overt vein of Anglo-Saxon mysticism played out on the red raw landscape of the Australian outback but that the more adventurous of the Australian painters should work within the framework of English literary painting is of small import for it is not what they paint but how they paint that concerns us. But this exhibition is a failure in that it stinks of Established academicism and the folksey backwoodsmanish of the provincial galleries and minds. The petit Khrushchevs and Prince Philips of the art world will love it, for it offers slop for the insensitive mind to wallow in, but Australian painting has been betrayed.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

THE NEWS OF THE WORLD said that "The Bomb-Throwers' Ball" or the Anarchist Party's dance "included three major fights in which a woman was trampled badly" (Same woman?) bawdy folk songs (true) chaos in the cloakroom (true) and the laying out of 700 (false) garments which took three hours to sort (false). I was lucky to escape with a scrap of paper bearing the party motto "Do as thou wish unless it harms someone else" (that was a Christmas party cracker motto, Whitefriars!) William Hickey of the *Express* told the tale of the tielless being turned away (false) The Queen being saved by mistake after the last waltz and being condemned by "extremists heading for the platform" (false). Anarchy in the cloakroom, the six attendants had confused the tickets and given up (false). *New Society* carried a reader's letter which spoke of "anarchy" in the bar and cloakroom at the ball. The bar (alas!) was not under our control. The writer was impressed by "the sheer friendliness of the occasion". It reminded him of a Jehovah's Witnesses' convention in which everyone in the assorted assembly seemed to "blossom in the atmosphere." "And the serious anarchists were remarkably patient with their more frivolous questioners. Perhaps there is something in it" . . .



THE "NEWS OF THE WORLD" descended from the Emyrean heights to feature Hedda Hopper on Frank Sinatra, "Photo's were the Last Straw", "Facts of Life for the Baby Sitter", "Sin on the Ski-Slopes", "He Wed Me for My Money says Ex-Wife", "Tea for one on the Night Train", to a "ghosted" article told to Jack Miller, by Laurence Somers "The night I killed George Brinham", in which the boy (16), who was acquitted on a charge of manslaughter because Brinham, a homosexual, had picked the boy up, taken him to cinema and to public-houses and finally, home, where Brinham made advances to him. The boy hit him three times with a decanter, he had an extra-thin skull, Somers had done labouring and body-building courses so Brinham died. He had also worked in a slaughter-house so he didn't

panic, he made it look like a burglary but didn't take anything (this would have been a capital offence). He had not met any homosexuals—except later in prison on remand when one came over to him and Somers said, "Do you know what I'm here for?" and the homosexual went away. "I couldn't be friendly but I learnt to be tolerant. In fact, I think prison taught me a lot about tolerance" Finally Somers said, in the *News of the World*, "Me, I'm off to sea as a cook, I hope, as soon as they'll have me." The same issue of the *News of the World* they quote extensively, under the heading "Too Much Morality Says Head", A. S. Neill's article in the *Twentieth Century*. They quote, "It is the practice of attempting to mould a character along the line of a moral code that ultimately lands society in a state of ruin—it is the moralists who are responsible for our present level of sex crimes." No editorial comment from N. of W. . . .

TWO SPANIARDS, who entered the country illegally, gave themselves up at a London police-station after walking twenty miles from Tilbury from a ship on which they had stowed away. . . .

THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH" reports that "Anarchism is spreading among Oxford undergraduates and Nicholas Bennett (20) the unofficial leader, has had an interview with the Proctors. "They just wanted to know what is going on," he said last night. "I don't think they intend banning us for the present. The university is an ideal place for anarchism, you don't have to bother about lectures or tutorials if you don't want to. Of course, we'd like to abolish the proctors because they represent authority. But more important, we'd like to abolish the Government as being the ultimate evil." "The Dark Blue Anarchists meet every Wednesday" [see FREEDOM, p.4]. Other Oxford undergraduates have formed a James Bond Club pledged to appreciate and try to live up to the standards of living and behaviour of their hero. Anti-blood sports undergraduates at Christchurch College, Oxford were defeated in their claim for a reimbursement of 10s. for a beagling society which was compulsorily included in a £7 a term compulsory subscription to the University's Amalgamated Clubs. . . .

IT WAS open season for homosexuals. Mr. Vassall's linen was washed, at great length, in public and the BBC decided on the pronunciation "homosexual" since it derives from "homo"—"the same" not "homo"—"man". . . .

IT WAS close season for the Common Market. We were blackballed by de Gaulle, which seemed to intensify a hitherto limited desire to get in. Mr. Macmillan voiced a few well-chosen platitudes in regret. Mr. George Brown, candidate for Labour Party leadership, suggested a Commonwealth Conference, Moscow Radio suggested Anglo-Russian trade. Miss Avril Walters, secretary of the League of Empire Loyalists presented a petition against the Common Market to the Queen two days after we were rebuffed. . . .

A CHIEF technician at an RAF rocket station was worried by the thought, as he told his doctor, "that he would be sitting there to press a button and blow everybody up". He was in charge of a launching pad and had been having psychiatric treatment since Christmas, but the RAF authorities did not know. He committed suicide by jumping twenty-seven feet from a searchlight

pylon. An RAF spokesman said that the technician was 'speaking figuratively'. Two serving soldiers have written to *Peace News* proposing to form a services CND group. A war office spokesman commented, "In principle the War Office looks on this kind of thing with concern". The Ministry of Health and the Medical Research Council are proposing to set up regional centres throughout Britain to provide on-the-spot-radiation protection services. . . .

THE EAST ANGLIAN Committee of 100 plan to "auction" several squadrons of Valiant bombers in Swaffham Market in May because they claim they are "immoral, irrational, outdated and expensive", and that the air-base should be handed back to the public for some creative purpose. The Committee intend to claim the land on behalf of Norfolk County Council. Proceeds of the sale will be for famine relief. The Air Ministry spokesman said, "They won't get into the air-base". . . .

MR. HAROLD WILSON, favourite candidate for Labour Party leadership, intervened in Parliament when Mr. Macmillan quoted Mr. Gaitskell justifying the British retention of nuclear weapons by saying "It may be hypothetical . . . a situation in which we had a difficulty with the Americans, and the Russians were threatening us over some issue on which we felt strongly . . . if the Russians knew we had power to inflict severe damage on them, it would be a factor they would take into account." Mr. Wilson said the Prime Minister should be fair and have pointed out that Mr. Gaitskell was putting the arguments for both sides. "His (Mr. Macmillan's) choice of the quotation is very repugnant to some of us". . . .

A SAN FRANCISCO lawyer is suing on behalf of a disinherited heir to an estate of £63,000 left to the Catholic Church. The heir contends that the deceased was promised a place in Heaven and his lawyer contends that this is a fraud, and even if there is, the Church does not know where it is located. A priest has refused to pinpoint the physical location of Heaven and Hell and the lawyer has asked that the Archbishop of San Francisco be called to answer the question. The Superior Judge (of the San Francisco circuit) wants to contemplate awhile before subpoenaing the Archbishop.

JON QUIXOTE.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

CENTRAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at
The Two Brewers,
40 Monmouth Street, WC2
(Leicester Square Tube)
Sundays at 7.30 p.m.

FEB 3 Jack Stevenson:
The Only Union

FEB 10 Ken Weller:
The Industrial Struggle in 1963

FEB 17 Bob Green:
Why Frances's Cat Eats Olives

FEB 24 Brian Hart:
Nestor Makhno

MAR 3 Tom Barnes:
Psychology and Anarchism

MAR 10 To be announced

MAR 17 S.F.:
The Great American Myth

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.

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 Portch's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. Tom Barnes, Albion Cottage, Fortia 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.

Notting Hill Anarchist Group (Discussion Group)

Last Friday of the month, at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Road, (near Notting Hill Station), W.11. (N.B.—No February meeting).

OXFORD ANARCHIST DISCUSSION GROUP

(gown, town and district)
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Anarchists and the Fear of Freedom

Continued from page 2

is perfect, that we anarchists oppose all systems in which individuals or groups of individuals are empowered to run the lives of their fellow beings. He accuses us of "assuming that a new pattern of life by which men will live in freedom will emerge from some kind of immaculate conception", whereas anarchists have all along insisted that nothing will be achieved until enough people not only accept the values of freedom but desire them enough to seek to persuade their fellow beings to want them, and to take the initiative wherever they can from government; that such a movement must expect a clash with authority at a certain stage which *might* lead to revolution and to the beginnings of a free society. Far from believing in "immaculate conceptions" all anarchists have stressed that a free society *cannot* be achieved overnight. What they also maintain, and this is what Papworth cannot swallow, is that you will never achieve a free society by authoritarian methods. When he accuses us of "blowing raspberries at people who are seeking to grapple with the world as it is", he reveals his own naive belief in "good" politicians, "good" governments. Our "raspberries" are directed at those (a) who believe that governments can be reformed by love and sacrifice; (b) who think that if only they could get power things would change for the good. Papworth believes both of these things. For instance he talks of the "failure of authoritarian forms of government" as if government could ever be other than authoritarian. And his staunch defence of the emerging African politicians is surely indicative of his faith in the possibility of revolution from above.

Anarchists have no "pretensions" of possessing the cure-all for nuclear annihilation, starvation in the midst of plenty, not to mention the "baser aspects of man" listed by Papworth "in the world as it is". Only politicians have such pretensions, and our friend, in spite of seeing through the "utter fraud" of the present way of life would seem to prefer it to the unpredictable "free

society". Surely the biggest obstacle to overcome in an authoritarian, unfree society, is the "fear of freedom", and Papworth is no exception as his contribution only too clearly shows—EDITORS.

The 'Serious' Press?

DEAR FRIENDS,

With your strictures on the semi-literate hysterics of the gutter press, I am in full accord. Their jeering philistinism pervades even the miserable coverage they give to the living arts and renders them incapable of providing even a basic service of "straight" reporting. You have ignored, however, their most malevolent function which they share equally with their more "respectable" cousins, *Times*, *Guardian* and *Observer*. I refer to the creation,

KEEP IT UP!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT FEBRUARY 2nd 1963

Week 5			
EXPENSES: 5 weeks at £70			
£350			
INCOME:			
Sales & Sub. Renewals	£	£	
Weeks 1-5	139		
Week 5	13		
			152
New Subscriptions:			
Weeks 1-4 (34)	36		
Week 5 (10)	12		
			48
			200
			DEFICIT £150

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Hounslow: L* 2/6; Miami: p. proceeds picnic Grand Park (per P. Savini) £31/10/-;
Glasgow: T.D. 8/-; London: J.A.B. 10/-;
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Previously acknowledged 113 14 4

1963 TOTAL TO DATE £153 19 2

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maintenance, and subtle control of what they term "tension", the Kafka-esque offspring of tiny political diplomatic, and military "circles" with their arrogant and preposterous assumption that the day-to-day activities of the real world outside their foetid cells are of relatively lesser significance. One of the most admired journals in your scale of preference, the *Observer*, regularly uses serio-comic Phantasmagoria like "the world held its breath", "nations watched uneasily", or "east and west glowered at each other", when commentary on some piddlingly contrived "crisis" you evaluate so soundly in your own refreshingly realistic columns. Without the dutiful headlines and the carefully "slanted" despatches, the peoples of the world would of course be blissfully unaware of the existence of the latest source of "tension" and therefore unprepared to underwrite the pestilential activities of the world's diplomats and "Service" chiefs. Further, many a sensitive soul would be spared the recurrent tortures of speculative and anxiety-neurosis, and the pursuit of every worthwhile human activity would cease to be plagued by the miasma of doubt and uncertainty. It may well be considered, therefore, that the frequently (and justly) assailed values of the tabloids are of infinitely less account than the psychological conditioning endemic in the "serious" organs.

Yours sincerely,
LONDON, Feb. 2. DAVID SEDLEY.

Power Workers' Wages

In reply to Ernie Crosswell (FREEDOM, 2/2/63) the low basic wages of the power workers are not the sort of thing that is made known widely and has not been mentioned to my knowledge in the national press. The reason for this is obvious for they are and I think Ernie will agree, very low. A labourer receives a basic wage of £9 16. 0. for a 42-hour week, while a skilled man gets £12 0. 7½. This was before the recent increase of 13/3d. per week all round. The average weekly wage in the industry inclusive of shift work and overtime is £15 11. 7. Yours fraternally,
P. TURNER.