

'It made no difference who be in the driver's seat, since no matter who, he be bound to square up—since square be the shape of all drivers' seats.'

RICHARD M. ("Lord") BUCKLEY

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

TUC burying the 'Daily Herald' ?

TWO and a half years ago, Cecil King, boss of the Mirror-Pictorial group, having successfully outbid Thompson newspapers for Odhams Press, assured the T.U.C. that the *Daily Herald's* future would be guaranteed for a further seven years even if it made a loss. Thus reassured the Trades Unions, which own 49 per cent. of the shares in the *Daily Herald Ltd.*, sat back and let Mr. King and his super-news-papermen get on with it and show everyone how to make a newspaper pay. Last week Mr. King called the Trade Union leaders to his office and told them that the *Herald* was losing £500,000 a year and that circulation was going down—even so it is, at 1,302,000 copies a day, the kind of circulation we would not sneer at, and is certainly greater than most daily newspapers enjoy anywhere in the world other than this country.

The reason given for the falling circulation is that the *Herald* does not manage to commend itself to a growing number of trade-unionists, and, because it is a politically "tied" paper, is not bought by young people. From the point of view of advertising revenue it falls between two stools: it has neither the "mass" readership which commends national advertising nor the "quality" readership which secures highly paid prestige advertising. By not getting the advertising revenue the *Herald*

cannot compete with the other National dailies in the number of pages it offers its readers; hence they change their paper, and there is no way of halting the vicious spiral except, presumably, by taking the risk of financing a full size paper and a massive promotion campaign in the hope that it will fairly quickly produce the circulation which will then command national advertising. It seems to us that this is what Mr. Cecil King and his Mirror-group (now called the I.P.C.—International Publishing Corporation) intend to do, but not until the TUC agree to sell their 49 per cent. holding in the *Daily Herald Ltd.*, and to the disappearance of the *Daily Herald* as a title with the assurance that it will not be revived by the TUC or anybody else who might be thinking of starting a new paper. The title, according to the *Guardian's* Labour correspondent John Cole, is the TUC's "only real bargaining counter" for

the IPC would not want [it] to remain, even dormant, outside its own hands, when it launches its new paper, probably in the spring. But the possibility of the title being used by anyone else seems tiny. The TUC Committee knows that Mr. Roy Thompson has expressed his willingness to undertake the printing contract should it wish to publish its own paper, but Mr. Thompson has no desire to publish it himself.

The timing of the *Herald's* "crisis" talks has probably less to do with

the *Herald's* circulation galloping to disaster—after all it isn't, though of course the economics of the millionaire press demands that it should be increasing if it is to survive—but that the powerful Mr. Cecil King and his busy advisers, consider that with the *Herald*, *Sketch* and *Daily Mail* all below or on the border-line of the circulation figures that secure the national advertising revenue, the moment is ripe to strike to capture with a brand new newspaper the cream of the 4 million readers of these three tottering giants. After all, even if the *Daily Mail* survived the attack, there are some 400,000 former *News Chronicle* readers who still take the *Mail* who might be won over by a paper which, it is said, will be "of the Left rather in the way the 'Mirror' group's other papers are". And what choice will the "600,000 old Socialists" who, it is estimated, are the faithful readers of the *Herald* have, when they find themselves *Herald-less* one morning, but to sample Messrs. King & Cudlipp's new product. It is all very well for Mr. Fred Hayday, chairman of the TUC warning Mr. Cudlipp that *Herald* readers were not sheep, and would not necessarily allow the new paper to be slipped through their letter boxes with no questions asked, but what choice have they in the matter? They can, it is true, refuse to accept the new paper. But if it is no worse than

the old one and the alternatives are no better, short of not reading a paper at all, they are victims of a monopoly from which they cannot escape. Mr. King and his group are much too shrewd operators to act in the dark; the lessons of the *News Chronicle-Daily Mail* merger will certainly not have been lost on them.

★

THERE would be another alternative: if the TUC and the Labour Party were to launch their own daily paper. Apparently this was discussed by the TUC committee after their talks with Mr. Cudlipp last week, and the *Guardian's* correspondent reports that

Mr. Woodcock [the TUC general secretary] appears to have dealt soundly with this idea. It had been suggested that the unions' own paper would cost them £1 million a year. Mr. Woodcock had only to inquire if the General Council wanted to ask the Congress to agree to a levy of 2s. per member for the impossibility of this idea to become apparent to most members.

Accepting the estimate that a Trade Union daily would need to be subsidised to the tune of £1 million a year would it not be money well spent to have at least one daily newspaper which, apart from dealing with the news in general, presented the arguments of organised Labour in the day to day struggle for better conditions, from the point of view of 9 million workers, than from the bosses' angle?

To subsidise such a paper would mean a "levy" of two shillings per annum from each of this country's 9 million Trade Unionists. What made the General Council see the "impossibility" of this idea and so turn down the daily? Surely they did not think their members could not afford two shillings a year in such a good cause? If they did then it is about time they stepped up their wage demands with the bosses! We would agree with them if their objection was to a levy as such. But it is surely a simple matter to

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THE BUILDING WORKERS' STRIKE Rank and File Must Run It!

STRIKE action has, at last, taken place in the building industry, for this week sees the beginning of industrial action to secure our 1/6d. an hour increase and a 40-hour week.

The meeting last Wednesday between the unions and the employers ended in deadlock. The employers offered increases of 9d. for craftsmen and 5 d. for labourers, commencing in March instead of November, and spread over three years together with at 41-hour week by 1964-65. The previous offer had been 8½d. for craftsmen and 4d. for labourers with a 40 hour week in the winter months only of next year. These new offers were turned down by the union leaders.

What, I think, Harry Weaver, the general secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, and the leaders of the building unions on the negotiating committee were expecting was a straight offer of 6d. per hour. They had intimated that this would be acceptable to them.

At a meeting at the Conway Hall called last Tuesday by the unions, George Smith, general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, said that the unions would accept a "reasonable" offer from the employers. Later on, someone from the floor asked him what he considered was a "reasonable" offer. George Smith refused to give his personal opinion because he said that this would be what the em-

ployers would take up and offer. Some answer this was, for after all, if one is threatening industrial action to gain 1/6d. an hour rise and a 40-hour week, this is the only "reasonable" offer that is acceptable.

When speaking of the then threatened strike action, George Smith made an appeal for loyalty to the union leaders, "Respect the authority of union leaders" and "Don't criticise your leaders even though you don't agree with them," were some of the phrases used. It is obvious that the union leaders had no option but to take industrial action. The rank and file of the unions have been pressing them for it, and with only a slight improvement in the offer of the employers, the union executives had no choice but to call for a stoppage.

The bosses, for their part, were tied by the government's National Incomes Commission, who have come out against a 40-hour week and recommend that wage increases should not exceed 3-3½%. One employer has said, "We were being pulled in two directions—one by the N.I.C. and the other by our desire to bring our wage rates up to the level of some other industries. Until we do, we shall not be able to attract all the high quality apprentices the industry requires." Others have said that the offer was inadequate.

I think that the employers were quite willing to pay an extra 5d.—7d. an hour but for the N.I.C. and it is also my

opinion that the union leaders would have gladly accepted this offer. In fact, while waiting outside the Employers Federation office on Wednesday for the result of the negotiations, this was the opinion of quite a number of people I spoke to. As the time wore on, with still no result, this opinion was strengthened. It took them about 4 hours to turn down the employers' offers, so it seems reasonable to assume that there were some members of the negotiating committee who were quite willing to accept the new paltry offer.

The union executives have shown reluctance to call for industrial action, for an offer which was acceptable had been expected from the employers. However, perhaps the employers feared that if they did offer an acceptable amount to the unions, the government might well cut its own building construction programme, for the employers would no doubt pass on any increase in wages to clients. N.I.C. has recently asked for full information regarding profit margins, pricing and dividends from building firms, which is another reason for not upsetting the government too much, for if an agreement had been reached which exceeded the recommended 3-3½% increase, the government might have forced this information from the building contractors.

Although employers do often shelter under the N.I.C. recommendations, as

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Spanish Executions

This is the text of a leaflet published by the Notting Hill Anarchist Group.

JUST HOW MUCH DOES A HOLIDAY IN SPAIN COST?

In Madrid on the evening of Tuesday, 13th August, two young Spanish anarchists, Francisco Granados Gata and Jaquin Delgado Martinez, were court-martialed by a military tribunal and condemned to death by garrotting. Garrotting is a particularly bestial form of execution that involves slow strangulation of the victim by means of a manually operated iron collar.

Delgado and Granados were alleged to have planted two bombs which exploded in Madrid earlier this month and one of which is supposed to have injured between 20 and 30 people. The normal processes of interrogation used by the Spanish State include beating and torture and the use of the electric needle. After having been 'interrogated' the two men admitted bringing explosive materials into the country but they categorically denied having anything to do with the two bomb explosions.

The 'trial' was held behind closed doors and journalists and foreign observers were excluded. The execution was to have taken place in the Carabanchl prison at dawn the following morning (Wednesday 14th). However, the signature of one General Alonzo was needed before the execution could be carried out. This General was away on holiday and his signature was not available in time for the execution to take place on Wednesday. The following day, Thursday (15th) was a religious festival and so the execution was postponed a further 24 hours! The men were then due to die at dawn on Friday 16th.

The execution was put back a further 24 hours, this time because Franco and the Council were meeting that day in San Sebastian. Franco and the Council met but there was no reprieve.

At dawn on Saturday 17th, Delgado and Granados were garrotted to death.

Do not think that this brutal affair is an isolated incident. On the contrary, 'incidents' such as these have always been a permanent feature of the Franco regime. All opposition to the regime is met by beatings, exiling, torture, imprisonment and murder. Spain's must surely be the vilest regime in Western Europe. Its economy is run entirely for the benefit of Franco and a selected bunch of gangsters, with a few choice pickings left over for the foreign capitalists. Not only is the regime vile but, so greedy are Franco and his vultures, the economy is tottering. In fact, the Spanish economy is so ramshackle that the only thing that is preventing it from bursting apart at the seams is the income in foreign currency, derived from the Tourist trade.

If you go to Spain for your holiday you will be bolstering up the Franco regime and everything that it entails—including the garrotting of men who have been 'tried' behind locked doors and with no right of appeal!!!

ONE of the most encouraging signs, so far, for the future of Papua and New Guinea has been the spontaneous growth of the co-operative ownership movement.

Since 1952 membership of co-operatives has trebled.

There are now more than 200 societies operating in the Territory with a membership of over 70,000 and an annual turnover of more than £1,000,000 (one million) pounds, profits of which return to members. Although the administration attempts to direct this expansion into "harmless" activities [ownership of motor trucks, bakeries, tea shops, etc.] which do not interfere with the profits of European business interests, successful co-operatives have already been established for rice, copra and cocoa growing also commercial fishing (although, as yet, no facilities for catch preservation).

It would appear that only government interference can prevent the eventual creation of co-operatives able to deal with the urgent medical housing and agricultural needs of Papua and New Guinea.

This interference can be seen clearly in the events which followed the formation of a stevedoring co-operative by waterside workers in Rabaul early this year.

The 2,000 Tolai waterside workers involved had been employed by Burns, Philp Coy., the shipping and stevedoring monopoly. These men were engaged on a shift to shift basis and paid at the rate of 12/- per shift. They averaged only one or two shifts each week; insufficient as a wage for men with no alternative incomes.

In this way Burns, Philp were able to deal only with individuals and ignore the men's collective desires. (There are no recognised Trade Unions in P. & N.G.).

Burns, Philp, under the protection of European colonial rule, has spread its tentacles into every corner of the Pacific. It controls over 50 subsidiary companies, has an annual profit of over £1 million pounds and total assets exceeding £35 million pounds.

A leading shareholder is The Presbyterian Church with 78,000 shares. (Details of this company's activities were published in *The Pacific Island Monthly* last year. See May and September issues, 1962—F.W.). According to the only comprehensive report so far pub-

The Lessons of Rabaul

lished¹ this was the sequence of events in Rabaul:

Early in January the waterside workers decided to form their own stevedoring co-operative. They began the clandestine preparation of cargo handling equipment. Also in January they approached Mr. Tom Warnock, a northern Irishman, who had been working on the waterfront for over 10 years, and offered him a position as manager of the co-operative.

ONE WEAK LINK

At this time Warnock was employed by Burns, Philp as acting head stevedore. As events turned out this was a grievous mistake on the men's part. Whatever Warnock's motives he eventually proved to be the one weak link in their solidarity.

Apart from Warnock, who eventually accepted the men's offer, the only persons taken into the group's confidence at this time were three Labour M.P.'s from Australia who visited Rabaul in February. By February 7th, however, Burns, Philp had learned of the existence of the cargo handling equipment.

The same day a vessel arrived at Rabaul. This was the "Schie Lloyd" and

Burns, Philp proceeded to call for labour for two shifts. The men took up the challenge. All labour was withheld from Burns, Philp and the newly formed co-operative offered to handle the vessel themselves. This offer was accepted and the stevedoring carried out successfully the same afternoon and evening. (The Dutch owners of "Schie Lloyd" are also business rivals of Burns, Philp.)

On Saturday, February 9th the "Linden Bank", a Bank Line vessel arrived. As the local Bank Line agents, Burns, Philp refused to recognise the group which had cleared the "Schie Lloyd" two days earlier. The men withheld labour and the vessel was untouched.

At this stage an official of The Department of Labour in Port Moresby, Mr. Doug Parrish, arrived on the scene and saw both co-operative and Burns, Philp representatives. At this meeting the co-operative representatives were told that unless members returned to work for Burns, Philp immediately the company would bring New Guinea mainland (Sepik) labour onto the waterfront.

Warnock is said to have told Parrish that the introduction of "scab" labour would almost certainly lead to uncontrollable violence. The administration

replied that Burns, Philp were acting completely within the law and that Warnock would be held responsible for any bloodshed. (A subsequent letter from the administration confirms this² but blames the threats of violence on the Tolais!)

The writer denies that Burns, Philp intended using outside Sepik labour but admitted that a group of volunteers "including Europeans" had offered to commence work on the "Linden Bank". "The administration was at all times prepared to protect volunteer labour and would have done so had further threats of violence been made" concludes the letter.)

On February 10th the "Linden Bank" remained untouched.

On February 11th another vessel—the "Aros" was due.

With a 3-day strike already on their hands Burns, Philp are then said to have seen Warnock informally and made the following suggestions:

1. The men to return to work immediately pending discussions with the promise not to bring in "scab" labour.
2. Warnock and family to leave the country.

FREEDOM

After some discussion the men accepted Warnock's advice to return to work pending discussions. (They did not know, of course, about part 2. of the offer).

Burns, Philp announced an immediate pay rise of 2/- per shift.

On Tuesday, February 12th, a go-slow strike began, following rumours that Warnock had been dismissed by the company. The men demanded his retention.

Burns, Philp announced a further increase of 1/- per shift. They were later said to have given an undertaking that at some undefined date "when both Burns, Philp and the administration consider the Tolais ready", stevedoring would be handed over to them. Nothing has since been heard of this.

Several days later Warnock and his family left the country. It is generally believed that their air fares out of New Guinea were paid by Burns, Philp. (An exit permit was issued by the administration in a record two days).

At the time of writing no further information has been made available regarding the present situation in Rabaul. This is understandable.

At the very time of the events described above the administration's own radio station remained silent. The workers in Rabaul are determined to form their co-operative. The demand for co-operative ownership however is impossible to ignore. Will the people learn the lessons of Rabaul?

NOTES: FRANCIS WEBB.

² *Nation*, 23/3/63.

¹ *Nation*, Sydney, Australia, 9/3/63.

This book*, and especially the second of the two accounts it contains, can be strongly recommended to all who wish to have a clear introduction to psychoanalysis, or to become acquainted at first hand with Freud's writings. This, I suggest, should include anyone interested in anarchism. Rather than review the book in the usual way, I shall try to give a brief outline of Freud's work, and comment on its relevance to anarchism.

First, however, it will be well to distinguish between psychology, psychiatry, and psycho-analysis—since these are often confused. Psychiatry is a medical speciality dealing with mental disorders, comparable to other specialities dealing with diseases of, say, ear, nose and throat, or children. Psychology is the science of human thought and behaviour, standing in the same relationship to psychiatry as physiology does to the other specialities mentioned. Psycho-analysis refers to a special form of psychiatry, and to the general theory on which it is based. The name should only be applied to the work of Sigmund Freud and those who agree with him in essentials.

Psycho-analysis may be considered under three aspects: as a method of treatment; as a set of observations or data; and as a theory of human behaviour. As Freud's own writings occupy some twenty-four volumes, and those of his followers many more, only a few of the more important points can be mentioned here.

As a method of treatment psycho-analysis is thought to be most suitable for the disorders known as the neuroses, which include anxiety states, hysteria, obsessions, compulsions, and sexual perversions. They are conditions in which the patient retains a relatively good grasp of reality, but is nevertheless prevented to a greater or less extent from following a normal life. In treatment, the patient lies on a couch, and the analyst sits behind him. The patient is required to report on the thoughts that come into his mind, omitting nothing; and the analyst replies with comments or interpretations. The patient normally attends one session of fifty minutes each day, five days a week and some forty weeks in the year. The whole treatment lasts perhaps three years, though sometimes much longer.

The data of psycho-analysis consists of the patient's words and behaviour. Prominent among these are dreams and waking fantasies; reports of emotional or traumatic experiences; and the expression of emotions experienced directly towards the analyst. The last now tends to be considered the most important. It is thought that the analyst comes to stand for persons important to the patient, so that the latter is enabled to see more clearly the real nature of his emotional attitudes towards others, and thus to understand them and order them more realistically.

The theory underlying this is extremely complex. It depends in the first

FREUD, PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, ANARCHY

instance on the concepts of the unconscious and of repression. In order to account for neurotic symptoms, Freud suggested that what we normally experience as consciousness, that is, thoughts and feelings of which we are aware, form only a small part of the mind, the rest being unconscious. The unconscious contents of the mind normally emerge only in the disguised form of dreams or symptoms. They are partly composed of very primitive feelings which have never become conscious, and partly of material which has been consciously experienced, but then actively expelled from consciousness or repressed. Conscious and unconscious are distinguished by two different modes of thought, which Freud named the primary and secondary processes, the recognition and understanding of which is often considered to be his greatest achievement. The secondary processes are the familiar processes of logical and rational thought. The primary processes appear in the utterances of psychotics, in the thought and play of small children, and in magical and superstitious beliefs, to name only some examples. The primary processes follow no logical rules, and are characterised particularly by the omnipotence of thought: a thought or wish is experienced as reality.

Freud further divided the personality into three parts, whose names are familiar to most people: ego, id, and superego. The id refers to the basic instinctual urges or drives common to everyone, and seen most clearly in very small children. The id is concerned with immediate satisfaction of these drives, irrespective of what is happening in reality. In a baby raging because food is delayed for a few minutes, one sees the id functioning. The superego Freud called the "primitive unconscious conscience". In the course of development, the child acquires certain standards of behaviour, usually from its parents. These standards are the result of the child incorporating, in an exaggerated form, what it sees as the good aspects of its parents, and what it experiences or imagines as their taboos on certain behaviour. Both id and superego are unconscious processes: the ego is thought of as that part of the personality that mediates between the id and the external world; it is governed by the reality principle and served by the secondary processes. Thus it corresponds roughly to what we recognise as the rational part of ourselves. Maturity of the personality consists in development of the ego: in controlling, while allowing appropriate satisfaction to, the id, and in reducing the excessive demands of the superego.

Now to consider the relevance of Freud's work to anarchism. I shall follow the same order as above. First, then, the method of treatment. Any society has to deal with those who are clearly prevented by mental disturbances from leading a normal life, alth-

ough it is reasonable to hope that they would be much fewer in a wisely organised system. One may contrast the analytic method of helping such people with physical and religious methods, the two traditional approaches. Physical methods include drugs, surgery and other physical manipulations such as electric shock. There is no doubt that such methods help many people, in the sense of relieving symptoms; but while anarchists would not deny the desirability of such help, they would feel, I think, that it is achieved at the cost of impoverishment of the personality. The patient who has lost the use of part of his brain, or even who depends upon tranquillising drugs, is in some ways less able to direct his own life, and the importance of the ability and right to do this is essential to an anarchist philosophy. Religious methods have a superficial similarity to those of psycho-analysis, which is most marked perhaps in the case of Zen Buddhism. The process of religious induction is not, of course, intended as primarily a cure for neurosis; but it is intended to give those unable to fit quietly into society a sense of certainty and purpose. However, there rarely if ever seems to be any attempt to understand the underlying nature of the individual's discontent; the emphasis is rather upon the abandonment of understanding in favour of belief. Analytic methods, and psycho-analysis in particular, depend upon an increase in understanding. The process is often referred to as "holding a mirror up to the patient", and involves, essentially, making the unconscious conscious. The analyst does not direct the course of treatment, nor dictate what the patient is to do or believe; rather he aims to increase his ability to decide for himself.

The data of psychoanalysis have no special relationship to anarchism, except in so far as anarchists welcome all additions to scientific knowledge.

The theory of psycho-analysis, on the other hand, is extremely relevant. Anarchism is above all things concerned with individual freedom, and therefore with the removal of restrictions upon it. Historically, most attention has been paid to what may be termed external restrictions, principally activities of the state. But what Freud has shown is that internal restrictions are no less important. Clearly the neurotic is an individual whose freedom to lead a normal life is restricted, by causes the more powerful in that he is ignorant of them. But the activities of every individual are controlled to some extent. A free society would depend upon possessing a majority of individuals who would not be swayed by irrational hates and fears. There must be few people who can say they are never thus affected. The long history of attempts to build better societies shows very clearly how often they have foundered upon the unpredictable and irrational passions of

their members. For this reason external methods to control internal urges have been developed, engendering a vicious circle yet to be broken. Freud, however, was far from advocating the free expression of instinctual drives as the way to a better society. Rather, he held that the existence of any society depends upon the sublimation of such drives, that is the devotion of their energy to socially useful activities. It is this part of Freud's theory to which some anarchists may object, feeling that to allow individuals to develop without imposed restrictions is sufficient to ensure the existence of a free society. But it is difficult to deny Freud's premise that unrestricted development is impossible for human beings. On the other hand it is rather clear how excessive subservience to authority in its many forms may stem directly from the child's conflicting need for and fear of his parents, and may be aggravated by unwise handling. Anarchists visualise self-governing communities: but these can hardly exist without self-governing individuals; in Freudian terms, those in whom the ego is developed, who respond to the world as it really is, and not as the primitive urges of the id, or the irrational fears of the superego, make it appear to be. Such people we recognise as mature, well-adjusted, and in some sense truly individuals.

Just how this may be achieved in every case we cannot learn from Freud. While it would be impossible to assess Freud's influence on society precisely, it is quite obvious that many of his basic concepts are already common property, to the extent that their authorship is no longer acknowledged. Like Columbus, he irreversibly enlarged the horizon, though the full exploration and development of his discoveries may occupy many generations.

It is perhaps not too fanciful to see the emergence of psychology, and especially that aspect of it with which we are dealing, as a vital step in the progress of humanity. The history of civilisation, itself only a brief fragment of the development of life on earth, shows periods of dazzling intellectual and emotional achievement, between longer periods of confusion and darkness. But not until the present has there been any awareness that men might be able to understand the forces within themselves that make such advances possible. Nor, in my opinion, is it absurd to link the development of anarchism as a social and political theory with the growth of the scientific study of human behaviour, and its corollary, the growth of that which distinguishes men from animals, consciousness. The importance of Freud for anarchism is, that he first showed the way forward towards man's eventual understanding of himself, and so brought nearer the hope of at last ending the destruction and suffering of an unfree society.

J.K.R.

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*Two Short Accounts of Psycho-Analysis. Sigmund Freud: Penguin Books Ltd., 1962.

TUC and the 'Daily Herald'?

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consult the membership on this question and, just as any member can opt out of paying the political levy to the Labour Party, so only those who considered a daily paper a valuable propaganda instrument in the workers' struggle, would make their weekly contribution to the fund set up for the purpose. If only half the Trade Unionists in this country supported the levy they would still have to contribute a mere penny a week for the daily. If the alleged faithful "600,000 old socialists" whose lives would not be the same if the *Herald* disappeared, were the only ones prepared to raise that £1m. a year it would still cost them only about 6d. a week to have a *Herald* which was not at the mercy of the multi-million International Publications Corporation.

From the foregoing considerations this writer has long ago concluded that there are reasons other than financial for the Trade Union movement not having its own daily newspaper, and the stumbling block, in our opinion, is the leadership who do not want it because they are acutely aware of the dangers to their power and the stability (that is in terms of apathy or obedience) of the movement that it could generate. After all, since the end of the war the leadership has been continually out of step with the membership it is alleged to represent; most strikes have been unofficial, and more and more has the leadership seen itself as an integral part of the establishment. Thus, a daily newspaper of the Trade Union movement would either be an official voice which excluded discussion—in which case in a short time it would have neither readers nor subsidy, because most members would opt out of the "newspaper levy"—or, to flourish would have to be the expression of the militant and forward-looking sections and individuals in the movement, as well as that of the executive. Such a paper would be controversial, militant and anti-establishment, and would certainly make life much less cosy for the labour bosses than at present.

It is interesting to note that when the *Daily Herald* was founded in 1912 (with a capital of £300—what is that in contemporary terms?) it apparently "did not even start with the blessing of the leaders of the Labour Party". During the first world war it only managed to appear weekly but it is said of it that it "created controversy" and "kept up a high literary standard". After the war it resumed daily publication, financially dependent on Trades Union subsidy—though it was still independent enough to resist the £75,000 kiss of death offered it by the Third International in 1920. By 1929 with a circulation of 450,000, and still not paying its way, due to lack of advertising revenue, or to put it another way, charging less than it cost to produce, the TUC sanctioned a scheme for putting it on an equal footing with the capitalist press. Retaining 49 per cent. of its interest, and control of the paper's political policy, the *Herald* passed into the hands of one of the most powerful publishing houses in the country, Odhams. The "miracle of Fleet Street" as the old struggling *Herald* has been called joined the ranks of the capitalist press, enjoying at one stage a

world record circulation of 2 million copies a day. It achieved these heights by having vast sums pumped into it; by employing the "stars" of journalism and, as our source puts it,* by "considerably moderating its

THIRTY years ago the TUC was helping the *Herald* to survive. Today, we are told, that so far as the *Herald's* future within the *Mirror* empire is concerned, what will dominate subsequent discussions is the question of the jobs of the 2,000 people at present employed on the paper. Yes, two thousand people are engaged on the production and administration of the *Daily Herald* and Cecil King has promised that his new paper will absorb the lot! What a far cry from 1912 and the £300 on which the daily was launched. Times have changed, workers' conditions are better, the purchasing power of money has changed. We know all that. But not to the extent that some interested parties would have us believe. It is well within the means of the Trades Union movement in this country to have its own daily paper without engaging in the obscene waste of resources, or the rat race for circulation, which characterises our National gutter Press. Any attempt to boycott such a paper by the distributors, at the behest of the millionaire proprietors and multi-millionaire corporation, could soon be scotched by the Trades Unions calling out their members working for the millionaire press.

Indeed if they so wished, the Trade Unions could put the millionaire Press out of business simply by their members refusing to work for them. But the bosses have seen to it that their employees should not be troubled with ideological scruples, or the truth, by paying them considerably more than the recognised rates in the industry. In fact the official wage rates for the National Press whether for journalists or printers are covered by special agreements. So there is not much to be hoped for from this privileged section of wage slaves to curb the power of the Press barons.

The approach must eventually come from a public which in increasing numbers stops reading the gutter press, and from writers, journalists and technicians who resolutely refuse to write or work for it, but at the same time create organs of communications which spring from public initiative and do not depend for their continued existence on mass circulation and advertising revenue. In many parts of the world today serious and reliable daily papers are being published on circulations which the spokesmen for the Press monopolists in this country would assure us are "grossly inadequate". Just as the *Herald* was launched on a capital of £300, so in the '20s the anarchists in Italy and Argentina managed to maintain dailies on shoe string budgets and enjoy a 50,000 circulation; and in Spain in the '30s published a number of flourishing dailies, among them *Solidaridad Obrera* which was said to be one of the most widely read newspapers in the country. To assert that independent dailies, without the backing of high finance, are no longer possible, is to show how successful the propaganda of the Press monopolists has been.

*"Everyman's Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition, tone".

LADY DOROTHY MACMILLAN sang *My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean* and *Little Brown Jug* at a crayfish and schnapps party in the Swedish premier's home. Mr. Macmillan and Lord Home beat time vigorously on the dinner-table, Lord Home having recently quoted Burns on Moscow radio.

"FOR ALL THAT", Mr. Rusk, giving testimony before the American Senate Foreign Relations Committee said that no conditions or undertakings had been attached to the test-ban treaty, the treaty in no way affected the use of nuclear weapons in time of war, it did not attempt to ban the bomb. "The treaty," said Mr. Rusk "set no limits on underground testing for either peaceful or military purposes and the U.S. would continue to do both—provided any resulting radioactivity was confined within national frontiers." Mr. Rusk pointed out that any significant violation of the treaty by the USSR would become known to the US and would immediately invalidate the treaty leaving the US free to resume testing at once. The Secretary of State emphasized that it was the intention even at considerable cost, to be permanently prepared to meet such an eventuality. General Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff testified that if the US were at war there would be no restrictions on the use of nuclear weapons. He added that Mr. Rusk had informed him that the treaty phrase in question had been the subject of very detailed discussions with the Russians and that it had been established to the satisfaction of both sides that this prohibition did not apply in case of war.

HUNDREDS of tons of scientific equipment are being hurriedly assembled and dispatched to a camp in the Hogga Mountains in the Sahara in preparation for a French nuclear underground test. The United States conducted an underground low-yield nuclear test in Nevada. Benjamin Spock said that between 25 and 50 per cent of American children depending on age and I.Q., expect a nuclear attack some day. "Younger children fear separation from their parents, poisoning from fall-out and maiming and death among members of their family. Adolescents are most worried about their lack of future and the possibility of having children deformed at



birth, and they feel the futility of studying". It has been discovered that last July's nuclear testing in Nevada produced ten times greater fall-out of dangerous radio-iodine than had been supposed. Anything from four to 400 times more iodine 131, a radio-active isotope with a short life has fallen on the area within 400 miles of the test-site. Miss Pat Arrowsmith thinks that Christopher Driver's project to write a history of the British nuclear disarmament movement is premature.

DR. WERNER VON BRAUN disputed Sir Bernard Lovell's claim that the Russians were uninterested in putting a man on the moon he said that America would have to "run like hell" to get a lunar landing by 1970. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration announced that it had signed a £333,400,000 contract for development of the main components of a space craft. The Council of West Hartlepool, Co. Durham where 2,289 people are out of work have worked out a diet menu to feed a family of four for less than £5 a week. The consignment of 700,000 bottles of fish and meat paste which were to be dumped into the sea because the bottle design has been changed, are now to be given to the Save the Children Fund for distribution in Korea, Skopje, Tibetans in India, and Greece, Jordan and Italy, Somaliland and Kenya. An official of the fund said, "One of the worst diseases we have to fight is called kwashiorkor which is caused by lack of protein. This paste is very high in proteins and it will do wonderful work".

FARMERS in Verona, Italy, protesting against low prices handed out peaches free. In Southern Italy farmers dumped tomatoes on the road. The French Government postponed the application of relief to wine growers. Potato growers in Lille, tipped 12 tons of potatoes in streets in the city centre and gave potatoes to the old as a protest against the failure of the government to do anything about surpluses. Previously, market gardeners in West Germany had protested, 5,000 Walloon farmers in Belgium rioted "against taxes" and in Finland it is reported that communism flourishes in the countryside. America has taken counter-measures against the Common Market's rebuff of her attempt to put two chickens in every European pot. Vine-growers in Lanquedoc have set liquid fire flowing across the country roads, felled trees and telegraph posts and jammed railway signals, all in protest against the failure of relief to wine-growers.

IN MADRID a military tribunal passed the death sentence on two anarchists charged with causing bomb explosions injuring 32 people in Madrid last month. Accomplices received prison terms ranging from six months to six years. 20 youths with an anarchist banner broke into the Spanish Consulate at Montevideo (Uruguay), threw a portrait of General Franco out of the window, and held the building for several hours before the police dislodged them. The execution of the two men was delayed by the absence of a military governor, and the divine intervention of the Feast of the Assumption. The tourist season being at its height it was necessary to push the thing through quickly so they were garrotted on Saturday morning. The garrotte was chosen says the *Sunday Telegraph* as an indication of ignomy. It is said to kill quickly through squeezing the neck and at the same time breaking the spinal cord. It is hand-operated and arranged like a barber's chair. It is alleged by the prosecution that they received ££3,500 and £4,000 respectively for carrying out the bombings. The men were sons of prominent Spanish anarchists who had fled to France at the end of the Spanish Civil War, they were members of the French-based anarchist Youth Movement, Juventudes Libertarias. They were both thirty years of age. JON QUIXOTE.

Struggle in South Vietnam

THE publicity-inspired, public suicide of another Buddhist in South Vietnam, again by the horrible method of soaking in petrol and then setting light to it, focusses attention once more on this ramshackle South-East Asian republic. Since the end of the Second World War an almost continuous struggle has been going on in the country, firstly between the Vietnamese and French Imperialism and now between the Washington-backed government and the Peking-backed Communist guerrillas who have infiltrated from the north. Up until comparatively recently the struggle, followed the usual course: two rival authoritarianisms with the ordinary people as the main victim. Now, however, a third force has entered the scene. The Buddhist monks supported by about four-fifths of the population have begun a non-violent campaign against their persecution by the autocratic South Vietnam government. The government and indeed all the upper-crust of the land are Roman Catholics but the constant harassment and mass of petty restrictions to which they have subjected the Buddhists is not motivated by religion. The reason is much more mundane. The government realises that the gentle, easy-going Buddhists will never make good soldiers in the struggle against Communism. Hence they want to see the Buddhist influence in the land diminish and to this end have persecuted them. Some government spokesmen even maintain that the disapproval of wealth, and the communal outlook taught by Buddhism somehow equates it with Marxism. The Buddhists are poorly organised and their campaign has so far consisted of demonstrations and the spectacular public suicides. Some of their number have been killed and injured by police and soldiers. They do, however, have one great advantage which may bring them success. This is the fanaticism of most of the participants. While Buddhism teaches gentleness towards others it also preaches indifference to one's own suffering and one's own death. Buddhists believe in reincarnation, and think that if they die in a good cause they thereby achieve

merit which will be suitably rewarded when they are re-born. Consequently they have no fear of any weapon the government can bring against them.

Meanwhile in the jungle and the paddy fields the savage struggle between Communism and capitalism continues. The savagery of the guerillas is to a certain extent forgivable. To live and fight in steaming, snake-infested jungles with little food or sleep and constantly watching for attack by well-armed, airborne troops is enough to make anyone use barbaric tactics in an effort to win speedy victory. While the Communist is hurriedly swallowing his meagre rice meal or is snatching a few hours' sleep on the jungle floor his American adversary is sinking whiskies or lying in a comfortable bed in the Officer's Mess in Saigon. For it is Americans (in an advisory capacity only of course,) who are doing most of the dirty work for the government. The men who fly the planes which drop the vegetation-destroying chemicals which pollute great tracts of countryside, the engineers who operate the noise-making devices which are switched on below water level in the paddy fields to burst the eardrums of the guerillas who hide below surface during daylight breathing through tubes, the strategists who cold-bloodedly decide which villages to annihilate to prevent the guerillas obtaining supplies there—these men are Americans. Their savagery is that of men who are highly trained, highly civilised in their private lives, highly educated in everything except morality and who have been told to kill and so they kill and as far as they are concerned that is all there is to it. Not since the mass slaughters in Korea where towns were incinerated with napalm rather than attack them with ordinary infantry methods and thereby risk a few American casualties has such callous indifference to human life been shown. Just as the Communists and Fascists of the thirties used Spain to test military tactics (undefended Guernica was destroyed by the Luftwaffe solely to test new bombing technique) so the Pentagon death-dealers have used Asia in the forties, fifties and

sixties. First Japan with their A-bombs, then Korea with their napalm-dropping jets and now Vietnam with the latest filth.

Little comment on the military methods used appears in the Press. Lord Russell has written protest letters to leading U.S. and British newspapers but, as can be expected, to no effect. The gutter press is only interested in the sensational public suicides. Recently a picture of a wretched peasant woman fleeing with her screaming children from steel-helmeted soldiers who were supervising the destruction of her house, appeared widely in the press but with no comments that I know of. Perhaps the artistic and technical excellence of the photograph was the reason for its publication.

The ruthlessness of the Peking-backed Communists and the Washington-backed government troops contrasts vividly with the non-violence of the Buddhists who are backed only by an idea. Anyone who has visited a Buddhist country, a part that is, which remains uncorrupted by Western Imperialism, Marxism, American materialism, Buddhist institutionalism, or other anti-life forces will have been struck by the kindness and happiness of the people. There are no long faces, little crime, delinquency, alcoholism or mental illness. People are sexually uninhibited except those who are aspiring directly for a good next rebirth. There is a reverence for life not in the clinical, abstract sense the West is at last coming round to, but in a warm, human manner. Needless to say such people are to a certain extent vulnerable to ruthless foreign influences (read Kipling's stories of the seizure of Burma by British Imperialism 80 years ago) but the more sophisticated Zen can hold its own in industrialised Japan. Now however, in Vietnam, the simpler kind of Buddhists, tired of persecution and of seeing their ideals contemptuously ignored, have come out in direct opposition to their tormentors. It will be interesting to see what degree of success, if any, their campaign brings. In the turmoil of South East Asia the followers of Buddha are one of the few decent, positive forces and libertarians and all other people of goodwill should wish them well.

Builders Strike

Continued from page 1
 a means for not agreeing to wage increases, nevertheless higher increases will be granted if it is in their interests and providing that the unions will compromise, but only if no government retaliation is expected. With the State taking over more of the economy and the government policy boards setting down wage and hour limitations, the worker faces increasing opposition to his demands.

The outcome of this deadlock in the talks is that from Monday, August 19th, the N.F.B.T.O. has called for a week's strike action on selected building sites and joinery shops, together with a national ban on all overtime and bonus schemes. Regional secretaries have listed jobs in their areas which they

think will come out 100%. The list is expected to involve over 150,000 workers. In Liverpool however, stewards have organised a complete stoppage, and in fact, the list given out by the union leaders is being extended all the time as more jobs vote to take action. Regional offices of unions have been overwhelmed with phone calls of support from jobs whether they are on the list or not. Support is strongest in Liverpool, Manchester and London, but it is by no means limited to these cities.

On some jobs in London where organisation is not so strong, pickets from other jobs are being brought in to help. The unofficial London Sites Committee is helping in this and is also trying to get other sites to join in. The aim during the strike will be to gain further

support. Contrary to what the employers say, rank and file members are ready to fight for their demands. Meetings and demonstrations are being organised to show the employers and the government that we are determined to gain our demands. Union leaders were not going to organise a mass demonstration in London at first, but, with pressure from below, they have now asked the stewards of three big sites to do this. With the help of the London Sites Committee, preparations are going ahead and leaflets are being printed. The London Sites Committee are also organising site strikes committees and area centres which can help with the liaison between jobs. They are also putting the case for our demands to other workers, both those connected with the building trade and others outside our industry.

There is to be a further meeting of the National Joint Industrial Council next Friday, when the unions will probably be urged to go to arbitration. The rank and file must resist this and any other attempt to control this stop-

page and it is up to us, the rank and file, to run this show. We are the members who are on strike and it is up to us to decide what we accept. The running of the strike must be in our hands. It is not blind faith, loyalty and obedience to the union leaders that will win this dispute, as George Smith seems to think, but the strength of the ordinary members to follow this strike through that will defeat both the employers and the government.

The union bureaucrats have no stomach for a real fight and will be seeking ways in which to end the dispute, so we must prevent any attempt to compromise. At the moment it is we, the rank and file, who are making the real show of strength and if we can maintain control and by our efforts build our own movement, based not on leaders at the top but on workers on the sites, then we can win our demands. It is only by our own strength that we will succeed and so it is up to us.

P.T.

Fruition

DEAR EDITORS,
 Now that the long years of patient effort by the Editors and the older members of the Freedom Press group are beginning to bear fruit, as shown by the growing interest in libertarian ideas, may we see greater realism in some of the movement's ideas, for without it many of these ideas can only be ideas. Realism, practicability, common sense are the first things which should be considered in questions which crop up: with some people they seem to be the last.

In this connection I should like to mention three points.

1. A plea was made recently (Albert Porter 3/8/63) for a morality superior to the morality of capitalism. This is a fundamental requirement without which little constructive progress is possible. Yet people who adopt specific moral positions—Catholics, Quakers, Buddhists to name but three have all been dismissed as woolly-headed in FREEDOM. Many people still seem to think that if only government, authoritarianism, etc. can be booted out then some wonderful natural law comes into play and society automatically adopts a libertarian pattern with everyone co-operating. Can anything be more absurd. People without principles, without values, without some agreed standards of behaviour (and I don't mean economic organisation but personal behaviour) would be a bunch of cruds who couldn't organise a booze-up in a brewery. The only thing they could produce would be chaos. Decent co-operative behaviour is something which has to be taught, it is not something that automatically appears out of thin air after a government has been kicked out. Whether the ideas come from Christ, Buddha, rational humanism or anything else seems immaterial to me. But they have to come from somewhere so let's have less sneers at those comrades who adopt specific positions.

2. Advocating that everyone who can possibly be described as a constructive, socially useful member of society should get more and more out of capitalism will not lead to anarchy in a month of Sundays. Anarchy becomes a practical proposition when people know what they want and are certain they can get it. There must always be enough of the necessities of life to go round. If every one became a Buddhist monk or nun tomorrow then anarchy becomes practicable tomorrow. If on the other hand everyone (and large numbers of people do) wants to live like a millionaire, in a world where two thirds of the people never see a square meal then anarchy is impossible. The amount of wealth wasted on arguments would only marginally alter this situation, if it was used for a constructive purpose. So it is surely self-evident that people in more prosperous countries must voluntarily limit their standard of living. Many anarchists I know do this and are therefore in a unique position in that they practice a far higher standard of behaviour than they preach. Here in the London groups I meet people who throw up University careers and take menial jobs on principle. People who devote large slices of their pay and free time to the movement. People who continually stick their necks out at demonstrations. Yet what do many of these people advocate for the world at large: the same standards of materialistic garbage as the advertisement hoardings, only more so. More anarchists should preach what they practice.

3. The third point regarding which more realism should be shown, is violence. While this subject has been discussed at length recently those persons prepared to use violence in certain cir-

LETTERS

cumstances have so far avoided answering the question which has been continually asked, namely 'in view of the tremendous power of modern arms which governments have an abundance of, how can any violent struggle result in victory for the people?' It is surely obvious that if the State is planning to smash an anarchist movement by brute force then it will use weapons more powerful than those of the anarchists. (Assuming the anarchists have weapons anyway). The State can produce napalm, nerve gas, radiation devices and as a last resort nuclear bombs. Do you think the State would not use such weapons? Do you think governments have scruples? Can you think of an effective defence against nuclear bombs, for the top scientific brains of Britain cannot? If you think the vast material damage that nuclear weapons cause precludes their use by property-minded governments then remember that capitalism would thrive rebuilding smashed cities (as in Germany and Japan). Perhaps you think the armed forces would voluntarily come over to the anarchist side. Obviously the State would attack the anarchist movement before such large scale desaffection could occur. And even if munition did suddenly break out it would only need one Bomber Squadron or Polaris crew, remaining loyal to the State, to pulverise this country. I challenge the Editors, or anyone else, to name one violent tactic which could bring COMPLETE victory to the people of a modern, industrialised country in armed conflict. Certain tactics of limited effectiveness such as assassinations, riots, ambushes and sabotage could succeed at local level but they could not bring COMPLETE victory as anyone whose knowledge of military strategy has passed the Cowboy and Indian stage must realise. And anyway, logically, the Editors would not support violence of only limited effectiveness for 'if the people are unsuccessful, the fact must be recognised and as far as possible reprisals avoided and concessions won.' (3.8.63) Obviously limited, local outbreaks of violence would invite reprisals so the Editors, logically would not support them.

So if violent clashes with the State are bound, sooner or later, to result in defeat for the anarchists does it render anarchism eternally impotent. Only if your imagination is so limited that you cannot visualise a future without armed clashes with the State. In both FREEDOM and ANARCHY there have been discussed many ways forward which do not envisage violent clashes with the State. Perhaps the Editors think it unrealistic to think that any aspect of anarchism can develop without at some stage becoming a target for State violence. This may be so but it is much more unrealistic to believe that any armed, major conflict with the forces of authority could possibly result in anything other than defeat for the libertarian cause.

London JEFF ROBINSON.

Out of date

DEAR EDITORS,
 Albert Porter's comments (FREEDOM, August 2nd) on Utopia in 3000 A.D. are fifty years out of date.

Pre-1914, some justification existed for this pessimistic view. Since then, two world wars have fantastically speeded up economic development and the second industrial revolution now taking place, must of necessity revolutionise the social outlook and has, in fact, already done so. Without being con-

sciously anarchist, each succeeding generation increasingly rejects the inhibitions and restrictions of former years, to the bewilderment of magistrates and others, who have still to learn that the pattern of social life inevitably follows the method of wealth production. This development will—must—proceed even faster and faster, and the changes which will follow will bear no relation to progress in the past. Our task, as far as we are able, is to guide this change in a libertarian direction. If the attainment of anarchism depended on the perception by the mass of the people of the basic cause of the disorders in this troubled world, it would indeed take a very long time. Fortunately, it is not likely to happen that way. Social revolutions happen without our realisation that changes are taking place, and the overexpansion of capitalism (like weeds forced to unnatural growth by selective killers) must give way to social ownership if Society is to survive. The necessity for governments and instruments of coercion will inevitably dwindle, as governments exist solely for the protection of private property and its continued maintenance, by regulation of the worst excesses which would otherwise inevitably cause explosion and disintegration. As Jacquetta Benjamin a few months ago write in a letter to FREEDOM, Anarchism is not something which could have happened earlier, but the time rapidly approaches when anarchist ideas will be accepted quite naturally and without recognition of change, following the

changing economic structure.

Albert Porter in his last paragraph appeals for a morality superior to capitalism. Does he expect this whilst capitalism is still in being? "Plight of the aged and handicapped", loneliness and other social problems are inherent in capitalism. Immediate "remedies" have been the ideal of every revisionist in history and have always failed, because root causes have been ignored. Palliatives lead inevitably to Bunyan's Slough of Despond, and to identify oneself with any other cause than that of anarchism is the certain way to lose identity. To slightly revise Francis Ellingham in the same issue (although I know he will not agree with me on the economic issue) would anything be more absurd than seeking to promote the cause of anarchism by pointing other people in promoting totally different causes? Whatever opinions Mr. Porter may hold, I do hope he will forget "anarchist Utopias" in 3000 A.D. Such observations are entirely contrary to reasoned anticipation and will certainly not be helpful in presenting the anarchist case.

Yours sincerely,
 F. BALL.

POLICE GAZETTE

THE POWER-DRUNK BANDA

Zomba, August 12.
 Billie Chipwana, an African police pensioner with 20 years' service, has been sent to prison for one year and fined £50 for using insulting language against Dr. Hastings Banda, Prime Minister of Nyasaland.

Two other Africans have been sentenced to six months' gaol each for refusing to buy membership cards for the Malawi Congress, headed by Dr. Banda.

—Reuter.

FINANCE

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT AUGUST 17 1963

Week 33	EXPENSES: 33 weeks at £70	£2,310
INCOME:		
Sales & Sub. renewals:	£	£
Weeks 1-32	1,237	
Week 33	50	
		1,287
New Subscriptions:		
Weeks 1-32 (261)	282	
Week 33 (12)	13	
		295
		1,582
		DEFICIT £728

DEFICIT FUND

Nuneaton: D.H. 7/9; Nuneaton: W.G.O. £3/8/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-; Hounslow: L.* 2/6; Rickmansworth: P.J. 7/-; Chelsea, Mass.: J.M. 14/-; London: Share of proceeds from Anarchist Ball £14; Sale: D.F.M. 8/-; Reading: R.A. 10/-; Hartford: M.G.A.* £2/4/10; London: H.M. £1; E. Rutherford: A.S.* 14/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Peterborough: F.W. 2/6; New York: N.S. 5/-; Hongkong: M.S. 7/6; Pittsburgh: O.S. 7/8.	
TOTAL	25 13 9
Previously acknowledged	643 16 0

1963 TOTAL TO DATE £669 9 9

*Indicates regular contributors.

CENTRAL LONDON

CHANGE OF MEETING PLACE
 "Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.
 AUG 25 Tommy Farr (of St. Stephen's Tenants' Association):
 The Property Racket.
 SEPT 1 Brains Trust

ALL WELCOME

HYDE PARK MEETINGS

Sundays at 3.30 p.m., Speakers' Corner, mitting.
 Weather and other circumstances per-

ROMFORD & HORNCHURCH ANARCHIST GROUP

For details please contact:—
 John Chamberlain, 47 Upper Rainham Road, Hornchurch, Essex. OR Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster.

BRISTOL FEDERATION

Bristol Outdoor Meetings:
 The Downs (nr. Blackboy Hill) every Sunday, 3.30, circumstances and weather permitting.

MANCHESTER

Would anyone interested in forming some sort of anarchist group in Manchester, please contact John McEwen, c/o Farrish, 4 Sanby Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Manchester.

GLASGOW FEDERATION

Meets every Thursday, 7.30, at 4 Ross Street, Glasgow, E.2 (off Gallowgate).

READING

Anyone interested in forming an anarchist discussion group in READING, BASINGSTOKE AREA should contact R. ADAIR, Wantage Hall, Upper Redlands Road, Reading, Berks. or at 4 Castle Bridge Cottages, North Warnborough, Odiham, Hants.

SHEFFIELD

Any anarchists or readers in the SHEFFIELD AREA are invited to contact Peter Lee, 745, Ecclesall Road, Sheffield 11, who is interested in the possibility of forming a group.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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 Leslie'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.

First Thursday of each month, Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

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

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

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.

Freedom

The Anarchist Weekly

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 ANARCHY (1/9 or 25 cents post free), a 32-page journal of anarchist ideas, is published 12 times a year on the 1st of each month.

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