

'The possession of power has a maddening influence: parliaments have always wrought unhappiness.'
ELISEE RECLUS.

TEENAGE ORGASM SUBSTIT
UTE ? CONSPIRACY BY
THE OLDIES ? NEO-FASCISM ?
NEED WE BE SUPERIOR ?
Pop goes the Beatle

Police on the Defensive

THE Home Office tribunal's report on the beating-up of three suspects by members of the Sheffield police, is an important document not so much in revealing the brutality which our police are capable of resorting to—important though it obviously is, but in unwittingly, perhaps, providing arguments to show that no body of men armed with the powers they need to carry out the tasks assigned to them are immune from the temptations to abuse them. Indeed, within the hierarchical power structure itself such dangers exist, as the report only too clearly shows. What hope then has the "suspect" citizen, the outsider, of justice once he is in the clutches of the "Law"? The Sheffield "scandal" would never have been ventilated if the Hartley brothers, who pleaded guilty, had not had the determination to strip before the court and show the world the injuries they had received at the hands of the police. Even our prostituted press and judiciary could not close their eyes to such palpable evidence. Yet so far as the Sheffield police were concerned, the report concludes that "apart from the Chief Constable no one wanted to investigate the truth".

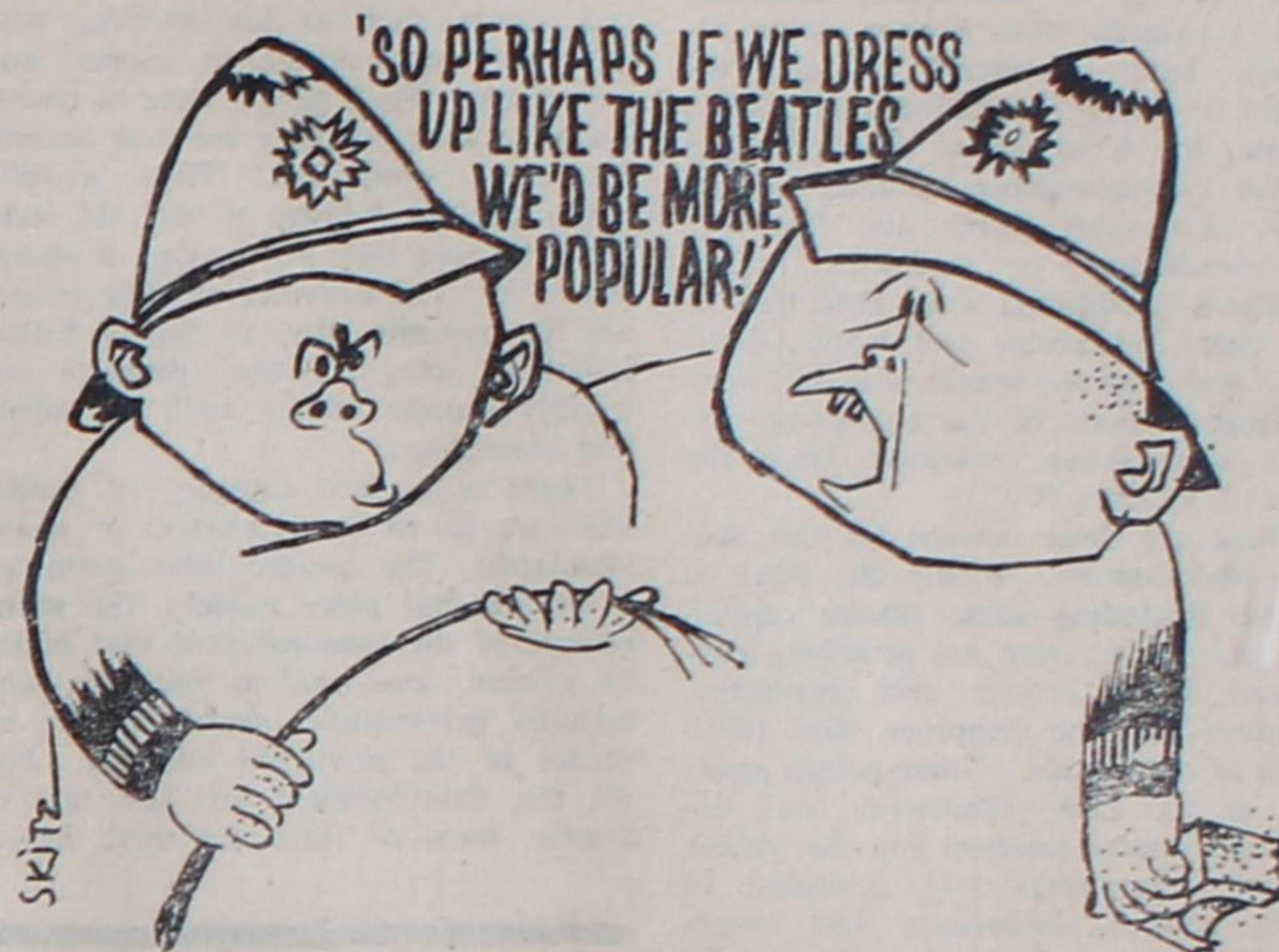
fined and in spite of previous assurances by their chiefs to the contrary, were duly dismissed from the force. Having nothing to lose and the chance of having their own back, the two dismissed "coppers" appealed, and at the tribunal of enquiry which had to be set up, some of the facts have seen the light of day, and they are worth enumerating.

★
THE Chief Constable of Sheffield gave Detective Chief Superintendent George Carnhill the job of forming a crime squad for the city, not—to quote the report—because of "any significant increase in crime, so much as by a drop in the detection rate". He chose the duty inspector for the day, Detective Inspector Rowley, and selected the squad "mainly, as was natural, from those most readily available". Rowley was made "immediately responsible to Detective Chief Inspector Batty, who during the short and ill-fated life of the squad never seems to have taken a grip of it". It is interesting to learn that the

squad was "relieved from dealing with day-to-day crimes to concentrate on serious offences, mainly breaking" (our italics).

The role of Detective Inspector Rowley both during and after the assault is revealing. In spite of all his denials, the Tribunal found not only that he was involved up to his eyebrows in the assaults, but when an enquiry was forced upon the Sheffield police by the Hartley brothers' solicitor, he, and the crime squad, spent "five days in anxious deliberation... concocting versions that might meet or mitigate the allegations". Three versions were produced, the third putting all the responsibility on Millicheap and Streets. The evidence—"sheets either typewritten as drafts and altered by Detective-Inspector Rowley, or wholly produced in his handwriting

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INDUSTRIAL NOTES

The Struggle at Home and Abroad

24-hour Strike in France

This week in France, unions called out their members for a 24-hour strike. This action was taken by workers in the state-run industries and services, and is in protest over the Government's stabilisation of wages plan.

The 1.7 million workers who stopped work made a very effective demonstration of their discontent with their present wage structures. From 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., gas and electricity workers stopped work, bringing production at a large number of factories to a halt. Some of the big plants have their own power supply and so the chemical, steel and textile industries together with the nationalised Renault car factories were unaffected, but Citroën and Peugeot had to close down for the day.

In Paris, the Metro was brought to a standstill and after 8 a.m., other methods of transport had to be found. Things were further complicated on the roads by the lack of power for the traffic signals. Other government employees who took part in the stoppage were telegraphists, postmen, office clerks, dustmen and schoolteachers.

Over the last few years, the cost of living in France has gone up enormously, without any real corresponding increase in wages to offset the rise. The French worker, and especially the state employed, is finding it increasingly difficult to make ends meet. There is widespread discontent and if demands are not met, stoppages of longer duration are likely to take place.

This week's strike seemed at one time as if it would include the coal miners. The Communist C.G.T. wanted the Catholic C.F.T.C. and the Socialist C.F.O. to call out the miners, but they refused. Coalminers were out for more pay last spring, but after a strike which lasted for a month, they were sent back to work by the unions after a compromise agreement had been reached, which attained about half of the pay demand.

Miners' pay is still below that of the national average worker in the privately run industries and it is expected that further strike action is imminent to try to achieve a higher wage.

In France, as in England, it is the workers in the state run industries who bear the brunt of the government's plans

to achieve a planned economy. It is these industries that the Government sets as an example to private firms and

it is the State as an employer from whom the worker finds it hardest to gain any of his demands.

Kenyan Workers Threaten Strike

With Independence Day (Dec. 12th) drawing near, 60,000 members of the Kenya Federation of Labour are threatening strike action in support of their claims for an "Uhura bonus" of one month's wages to be paid to celebrate the ending of British rule. This bonus would cost £1.4 million. The Kenya government has rejected this claim, but Mr. Mwendwa, the Minister for Labour and Social Services has replied with an offer of an advance of £3 to workers who earn under £200 per year. The government has threatened action against workers if they go ahead with their strike.

It seems that at the moment, these threats from the government are not being heeded and the members of the K.F.L. are not being deterred. Dockworkers have voted unanimously on a resolution for the government to pay this bonus by November 23rd and if it is

not granted by then, they will stop work on December 7th.

Private employers are following the government's lead and are also refusing to pay this bonus. Mr. Mwendwa has blamed these threats of strikes on to an anti-government element, these people are working in the trade unions and are creating discontent. Leaders of unions are asking for Kenyatta to set up a Board of Inquiry to investigate these accusations by Mr. Mwendwa.

The Kenya government obviously does not want any industrial unrest, now that they are taking over the country, although industrial action was welcomed at one time, during the British rule, by the very men who are now members of the government. With independence the people of Kenya will find that even though they are under different rulers, the position between the rulers and the ruled still remains the same.

Mill Workers on Strike

250 men were locked out at the William Denby mill at Bradford last week. The Men had stopped work after a foreman was seen doing another man's job during a tea-break. On the following day, these men got their cards by post.

The sacked men are members of the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers and the mill where they worked is 100% organised and has been for 22 years. It is now the intention of the employers to try to break this and make the mill an open shop.

To this end, the management put in a quarter-page advert in the *Yorkshire Post* saying "Open Shop, require immediately 50 non-union operatives with no previous experience of the dyeing and finishing trade. References or details of previous employer must be forthcoming". (my italics).

The union are backing the men, and the general secretary, Mr. Sharpe, has said that anyone accepting a job at Denby's would be considered a blackleg. Pickets have been well manned and so far none of the applicants have gone through the gates after talking to the

men on picket duty. A union spokesman said, "As far as we know, no one has gone in on foot. There have been a few reports, however, of men going in under the cover of vans." The management say they are looking into "dozens" of applications. I bet they are!

The union has had talks with the Denby management, these broke down because the firm insisted on taking back only the men of their own choice. The managing director, Mr. Wright, has said, "We have the right to be selective in the re-instatement of workers the management knew to be agitators and trouble-makers."

This is a clear case of victimisation and the attempt by the management to break organised labour must be defeated. As the job is in dispute, no worker, as a basic trade union principle, should cross the picket line. Others workers at the firm, who belong to other unions, should give their support to these 250 men. If jobs are to be safeguarded and victimisation prevented, solidarity must be shown by the rest of the employees at the firm. P.F.

The Turn to Labour

MOST commentators of the Labour Party's big majority at the Luton bye-election, and the Prime Minister's election in Perthshire have remarked on the apparent paradox of a reputedly affluent town turning so decisively to Labour.

From one point of view it is hard to see why they should be so surprised, since for years the press has been calling on the Labour Party to give up what it called its sectional appeal; and for one reason or another this has taken place to a certain extent.

In another way, they are deluded by the myths of their own creation. While right wing spokesmen, through press and publicity channels have been deprecating the so-called modern materialism, they have assumed without question that in everyday life people act in a money-seeking way, just like businessmen after profits, and the idea that the workers of Luton, equipped

with TV sets and 'fridges should turn against the government, is incomprehensible to them.

While anarchists have no illusions about the effect of putting a Labour government in place of the present one, the fact that people who according to the "realists" should be shedding their allegiance to socialism, having achieved a certain level of material comfort, are on the contrary turning to it is a source of encouragement. Thoreau's remark that even voting for the right course is doing nothing for it, is as true now as ever, but people who are interested in voting for the right are at least more open to the suggestion that something more is possible and necessary.

During recent months the Labour Party has been making an increasing attempt to present itself as a party that is concerned with social questions which are not merely economic in nature. Examples are in education, science and the efficient organisation of industry. The political correspondent of *The Observer* remarked that people in Luton did not feel that the material comforts which they had had come from the government but from their own work, although unfortunately it was not clear whether his comment was a result of observation or conjecture.

Another interesting reaction came from a Labour voter interviewed on television who said that although he himself was relatively well off financially he supported Labour because of the unemployed in Scotland and the north.

These facts go together to suggest that the traditional view that an increased standard of living means the decline of interest in socialist

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ANARCHY 33:
NOW ON SALE, DISCUSSES
The Anarchism of Alex Comfort

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AS the last echoes of the Profumo-Ward-Keeler bore begin to die away one can reflect on a subject which is being discussed by political parties, churchmen, armchair moralists, editors, industrialists, trade unions, etc., at great length and usually with great bias, namely the moral condition of Britain.

The degree of sexual, artistic and intellectual freedom permitted in this country took a turn for the worse after the accession of Good Queen Vic, and nosedived after her bereavement. The trend was encouraged by all sorts of kill-joys, humbugs and professional moralists and a large streak of puritanism of a most hypocritical kind affected commercial life then at the height of the *laissez-faire* period. For instance it was considered morally defensible for pregnant women to drag coal-tubs along mine galleries, for city streets to be full of prostitutes driven there by poverty and for gentlemen to amuse themselves seducing working girls. But it was immoral for an arm or leg to be referred to as anything but a limb or for the word 'damn' to be used in the presence of ladies or for the picture or statue of a nude to be exhibited. Gradually these standards were broken down although bitter rearguard actions were fought by plenty of sniffish middle-class people, the kind whose names appear in the correspondence columns of the *Daily Telegraph*. Since the last war the breakdown of traditional moral standards (traditional since 1840 that is) has been spectacular and books, films, plays and everyday speech and behaviour of large sections of the community exhibit a frankness unknown since the days of William IV.

There are three reasons for this sudden liberalisation. Firstly the sorts of people (including some sincere capitalists and Tories) who are genuinely concerned about artistic and intellectual freedom and the happiness and fulfilment of individuals. These people spoke out at the Lady Chatterley trial, encourage sexual freedom for the young, concern themselves with questions of birth control, euthanasia and homosexuality and are generally busy creating the positive aspects of the current mental climate. People who use this liberal climate include Lenny Bruce whose brilliant act jerks his audience out of mental sluggishness into realising what creeps they really are, numerous writers, painters, playwrights and editors plus many ordinary people who are now

Morals, Money & Anarchism

doing more or less openly what their grandfathers only dreamed about. The good, straightforward, down to earth (in both senses) love affair in *Lady Chatterley* must be worth a hundred clinical pamphlets in its promotion of a healthy attitude towards sex and the banishment of guilt and shame.

The second reason for the liberalisation is the activities of a group of people who did not originate it but are happily cheering it on for they are making big money out of it. The strip club and knocking shop proprietors, literary prostitutes of the Sunday sewer press, real prostitutes and smart landlords established in the former workers' houses in Paddington; Soho operators, film producers who use the corniest stories as vehicles for violence and lust and writers such as Ian Fleming who cater for mass tastes in sadism and masochism. Such people have of course always existed but they are now becoming more prominent. They joyfully watch the breakdown of the old standards because they are making a packet out of it. The activities of these people has the opposite effect to that of Bruce, Lawrence, etc., for they promote unhealthy aspects of sex such as sadism and masochism.

There is a third category of people who are in on the relaxation of moral standards. The people who permitted it in the first place namely, the string pullers of the Establishment that bunch of cynical, unscrupulous old men who adroitly gerrymander society in the interests of the privileged minority. Not all the Establishment are like this of course, most of them are mere figure-

heads left over from the past who haven't the intelligence to gerrymander anything. But the clever few who do, the top industrialists, finance controllers, cabinet ministers and permanent civil servants have realised that in order to get rid of the over-production of capitalism they will have to give it to the workers, after the capitalists have taken what they want. The alternatives are slump or war neither of which are very good bets nowadays. Thus they have created, or rather permitted to come into being (for the desire for it has always been there) a mental climate of waste, never-never, affluence, easy living, never-had-it-so-good, in short the old Roman policy of bread and circuses. The worthwhile, wholesome things that have appeared in society since the last war have been incidental to Establishment policy indeed they have been discouraged—Bruce was banned from Britain, Penguin Books were brought to trial.

Desperately trying to reverse current liberal trends are the usual bunch of kill-joys, nouse parkers, puritan moralists plus a few individuals who are sincere for unhyprocritical reasons. These people are rallying their forces in an effort to stem and if possible turn the tide. But here is an interesting point. Are these people who are so desperately concerned with morality, attacking the industrialists and manufacturers who have large vested interests, in the new standards in that they can easily sell their products to a greedy market? No. Few of them have the sense to understand this and many of them are the lickspittles of capitalism anyway. Do

they then attack the shady club proprietors and prostitutes who have a relatively small vested interest in contemporary moral standards? Only occasionally for while such people are frowned upon they are rarely singled out for attack. The people who are under constant attack by the professional moralists are the sincere liberal-minded people who are breaking down the old standards in the interests of human well-being. Thus we get the Moral Re-armament movement decrying the vice and crime of contemporary Britain and by some extraordinary reasoning putting the blame on the Trade Unions and the Communist Party while the Profumo scandal was the fault of the Bishop of Woolwich, and C.N.D. is responsible for juvenile delinquency. Never a word about the capitalism which with its standards of greed and selfishness is responsible for most of the rottenness in Britain. If the string pullers of the Establishment ever find it necessary to end the 'never-had-it-so-good' society they will use the Moral Re-armers and their like to make the necessary propaganda, the blame for the nation's ills will be firmly placed on D. H. Lawrence and the new official slogan 'British noses to the grindstone' will rally the country, rally share prices and see the Establishment safely through another crisis.

Thus if the current moral climate is mainly to serve the economic ends of capitalism and some of the results i.e. strip clubs are unwholesome and it is something which can be switched off should the Establishment find it necessary, what should be the anarchist atti-

tude to all this? First and foremost it is obviously of value that a book such as *Karma Sutra* should be produced, that a man like Bruce should entertain and enlighten us, that a film such as *Viridiana* should be shown. All manifestations of libertarianism should be encouraged whether they result from anarchist pressure or are the incidentals of Establishment policy. And of course the more they are encouraged the firmer hold they will get and the more difficult will the Establishment find it to turn back the clock should they consider it necessary.

The other result of the breaking down of the old moral standards—the vice, the torrent of vicious filth that pours out of cheap books and films—its obviously to be deplored although the view is sometimes expressed that as people apparently get some sort of enjoyment out of such things then it would be authoritarian to stop them and that the destruction of old values must necessarily be a good thing. This writer does not share the view that the destruction of established values, irrespective of the consequences, could ever lead to anarchy. It would more likely bring about as a reaction a kind of puritanical fascism. The Spanish comrades made short shrift of such things as brothels, blue films and mercenary bottom spanking sessions. The aims of the Spanish anarchist movement were health and dignity as well as freedom and we in Britain should have the same goal.

JEFF ROBINSON.

THE TURN TO LABOUR

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ideas, far more in revolutionary ideas, which has been accepted all too easily by the left itself, is not true.

One of the differences between anarchism and Marxism is that while the latter presupposes that economic conditions are necessarily basic to everything else, the superstructure, anarchists have emphasised that power is the most important factor, and that it is important to attack every aspect of the State by trying to take power away from it.

The present swing towards the Labour Party shows that despite the fact that there is hardly anything to choose in practice between the published programmes of any of the major political parties, the idea of fair shares and a decent society are attracting people, which they demonstrate within the political framework by voting. Furthermore these are 'ordinary' people who cannot be written off as beatniks or intellectuals.

It is one of the dilemmas of anarchists who think in social as well as individualist terms that many of the ideas which we support appear much more likely to be realised by the Labour Party, and the people to whom our propaganda is addressed are likely to support it, and it is impossible not to feel in sympathy with them and admire their support for Labour, even if at the same time we feel that a Labour government will not realise the objects which they expect from it.

What is important, and may be emerging out of the current disillusionment with the hypocrisy of our society with its pretences of being a "welfare state" or "opportunity state" is that people are thinking in much broader terms about social issues, and formulating their ideas in terms of social solutions. At the moment they may still be trusting that governments will carry out these ideas. The next step is for them to realise that they can only be carried out by the people themselves.

P.H.

LFA Notes

ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The "Guy Fawkes" poster has gone very well. We have now on order another batch of posters, the wording of which is as follows:—

"Yes! I Vote. But I'm Just One of the Sheep."

We are also duplicating a leaflet explaining anarchist ideas. Orders with cash (if possible) to Bill Sticker, 17a, Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

CHARLES RATCLIFFE.

POP GOES THE BEATLE

THE teenage controversy between the 'mods' (modernists who favour short hair, wool shirts, casual suede or corduroy jackets, lightweight ankle-length trousers and casual shoes) and the 'rockers' (traditionalists who favour long hair, sideburns, long jackets, jeans and winklepicker shoes) is resolving itself into a uniform pattern of Beatlemania—beatlejackets, beatlehaircuts, beatlevoices, beatlephrasesology and now beatliot. In just over a year four young men—John Lennon, Paul McCartney, George Harrison and Ringo Starr—known collectively as the Beatles, have risen from the relative obscurity of Liverpool's Cavern Club to become national figures.

With a string of hit records behind them, they are arbiters of teenage and even adult taste. Lord Hailsham's hairstyle—surely his least objectionable feature—has been unfavourably compared with the Beatlecut which is "a credit to British professional hairdressing"—no matter that the Beatles cut their own hair! And it's now almost impossible to go a day without hearing the raucous 'scowse' of the Beatles, either on records or from their ubiquitous and imitative fans.

The Mersey Beat or Beatlebeat is simplified rhythm and blues—of the type made popular by urban negro entertainers like Bo Diddley, Chuck Berry, and, to some extent, Ray Charles—with important modifications. The impression left by a beatlerecord is of an uninhibited and repetitive vocal—usually the whole group with one 'lead' voice—and a thumping beat, based on guitars and harmonica, and, above all, enthusiasm. There is no real harmony—the Mersey-side groups don't and probably can't hit the top notes but no-one cares—and little real tune. Their vocal style, borrowed from the Americans but carefully altered and developed, is hoarse and aggressive: their most persistent enemy is loss of voice.

A thousand pop groups play as well as the Beatles but the Beatles are rather more than a pop group. Their fuzzi-plus-fringe haircuts, their Cuban-heeled elastic-sided boots their collarless jackets and rounded shirt collars are imitated everywhere. The Beatles are a fashion in a way that Bill Haley and the Comets, who caused minor riots seven years ago through personal appearance tours and through the film *Rock Around the Clock*, never were.

It's not surprising that the liberals have seen incipient fascism in the Beatles and their fans. There is something alarming about beatledress and beate-

riots, and it is true, as *The Guardian* has said, that the Beatles were much influenced—probably musically rather than politically—by a visit to Hamburg two or more years ago. But it's too easy to put their success down to nascent fascism. They may be a symptom of fascism in much the same way as the arrogant, body-worshipping, leather-jacketed young thugs of pre-Hitler and Hitler Germany were—but they are much more as well. It's one thing becoming a fashion and quite another becoming a fascist.

What started the recent Beatleriot is not clear. It probably began when police had to keep fans off stage at the London Palladium on October 13. The press plugged the story and the "new teenage craze", as the *Evening News* called it, was under way. It reached a peak a fortnight later. In Bournemouth 1,000 beatlefans stormed the Winter Gardens to get tickets. In Carlisle 600 beatlefans started a baby beatleriot and smashed windows. In Hull 2,000 beatlefans swept aside police and crush barriers in a beatleriot and in Cambridge 2,000 beatlefans took up the full width of the road and started throwing bottles through church windows. Two nights later the Beatles themselves were amorously assailed on stage in Stockholm and 7,000 Newcastle beatlefans held another beatleriot. And now the Beatles are to make a film—scripted by Alun Owen who likes "their goonish sense of humour". In a year the Beatles may be finished—they are making the most of their current popularity.

The press has built up these stories considerably. The *Daily Express* says that the 7,000 Newcastle beatlerioters were controlled by only 40 police! The myth is taking over from the reality. But the press is quite right not to print scathing leaders on 'the threat to Law and Order implicit in teenage riot'. The Beatlefans are not challenging anything. A few faint, a few get hurt, a few lose their jobs—just to get tickets so they can join in another riot during the show. In ten years' time they look back on it and giggle.

In these beatlefans we can see the results of a society which allows and encourages the deception and manipulation of young people by vast impersonal enterprises. This society has virtually discarded young people and their ideas. Those who do worry about this have usually shouted at pop music *per se*, as though it were all equal rubbish. They haven't realised that young people buy records like Peter, Paul and Mary's

Blowin' in the Wind and Trini Lopez's *Hammer Song*, which are excellent songs well sung, as well as beatlerecords or that beatlemusic has something. It is new and young and vigorous. It's no earthly good fulminating against beatlemusic unless we have something more exciting to offer young people.

It is fashionable to deride the idea of an anti-youth conspiracy but nonetheless the conspiracy, both conscious and unconscious, exists. The music teenagers make for themselves—and this is what the Mersey groups began by doing—is filched from them by the yahoos of Tin Pan Alley and then fed back at them—shorn of its vitality, flavour and uniqueness. The Mersey Beat was fine when it was the Mersey beat. It's the commercial youth robbers who have turned it into a national teenage orgasm substitute and who are attempting to turn the teenagers in on themselves, instead of out on society.

It's not surprising that young people, when their elders have tolerated the creation of the mechanism of mass destruction and sapped the will to resist it, should turn to beat music, dancing and riots in the search for something less unenterprising than the complacent world of their bingo-loving parents. It was what Joe Brown was getting at when he sang *What a Crazy World We're Living in*. Teenagers can feel that they are being done. They are denied sex and offered war; denied responsibility and offered docility, denied pleasure and offered beatleriot. When they ask for, or demand things they are told they want too much and are irresponsible. It's not the demanding that's wrong but what they demand; it's not so much that they are irresponsible as that they are never allowed to be responsible.

Isn't it time the anarchists acted as though young people really do count, instead of just paying lipservice to the idea? We should be beyond consoling ourselves that the Beatles and their fans are neo-fascists or sub-human twits; we should be beyond putting them away in the back of our minds with the teddy bears and forgetting them as peripheral to our ideas. The point is that they are not peripheral. The beatlefans, the mods, the rockers, the ton-up kids are people with ideas of their own. If anarchism has nothing to say to them it has nothing to say at all. Do we have to be so bloody superior? The other day a teenage pop fan friend of mine advised me to go on a beatleriot: "You can hack the coppers as much as you like and this time you won't get done!" Sure; but isn't there more to life than hacking the fuzz in beatleriot and can't we say just what?

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FREEDOM

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POLICE ON THE DEFENSIVE

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—was available to the Tribunal only because the two scapegoats, when they realised that they were about to take all the blame, "abstracted" the documents "probably from Mr. Rowley's desk"!

Rowley advised them to stick to the concocted story and threatened them that the others would "gang up" on them if they didn't do so. False statements, dated March 15 were typed on March 21 and on Inspector Rowley's instruction the squad then made up their pocket books to coincide with what had been decided.

When at the beginning of May the case was tried, both officers pleaded guilty to the charges. Yet, in the opinion of the Tribunal, Streets pleaded guilty to one offence which "he did not in fact commit"! They were fined £75 and £50 respectively.

Two main reasons for not telling their counsel the whole story were:

(a) They thought that the true story implicating senior officers would not be believed by the justices and that an appearance of trying to shift the blame and of disloyalty would only make matters worse for them.

(b) They said they had received advice to plead guilty and hints that they would not lose their jobs from Det.-Chief Supt. Carnill, Det. Sgt. Oats and Det.-Insp. Rowley.

Superintendent Carnill was appointed investigating officer for the disciplinary proceedings that followed and after a "very summary hearing" the two officers were dismissed.

The Tribunal expressed the opinion that the Chief Constable would have "whole-heartedly abhorred the use of violence"; that he had great confidence in his subordinates and men and a strong sense of loyalty to them; that he found it difficult to accept that any of them would have been guilty of what occurred; he also leaned "far too heavily" says the report on Chief Supt. Carnill—about whom, the Tribunal could find no evidence that he "ever instigated the use of violence". The Tribunal says it has no reason to question the general efficiency of the Sheffield Police Force nor the record of detection of the CID.

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THE Tribunal's assessment of the Chief Constable shows how out of touch he was with the workings of the force he was supposed to lead. We suggest that it is in the very nature of such organisations, and not that the Chief Constable of Sheffield is the exception that proves the rule. Those who have prison experience know, for instance, that the prison Governor is kept a stranger in his own prison. No prisoner can complain to him personally except in the presence of the chief officer and his underlings, and needless to say the governor will refer any complaint to his Chief Officer, whose word he accepts rather than the prisoner's, just as in the Sheffield Report we are told that Chief Superintendent Carnill "believed Inspector Rowley in preference to the Hartleys"—the latter being "well-known criminals"—or in the Profumo case Macmillan had to believe that Profumo was telling the truth and protect himself from the rumour-mongers. This is not surprising, surely. No Chief-Constable, no prison Governor, no Prime Minister can doubt their subordin-

ate's word without the hierarchical organisation of which they are a part, collapsing. But the very nature of such organisations creates personal envy, ambition and vanity among those at top level as well as at the "non-commissioned levels"—there is a field-marshal's baton in every private's knapsack, so we are told—and this leads to the kind of situation where, as at Sheffield, "apart from the Chief Constable no one wanted to investigate the truth". The men at the top remain there so long as they don't interfere with the workings, and this includes the struggle to climb the promotion ladder, of the organisations of which they are the mouthpieces. But it also seems clear that they are most vulnerable to "scandals" such as the "Rhino Whip Beatings" of Sheffield, or the Profumo-Keeler-Invanov relations, or the recent revelation admitted by the Home Office that a Parkhurst prisoner has spent 11 of the past 22 months in "solitary", and therefore it is only natural that they should seek to avoid them!

What has shocked public opinion—or to put it more cynically, some may think—what has shocked those mass-communicators who brainwash the public three quarters of the time and preach moral indignation for the other quarter, but without drawing what we anarchists would assume to be the logical conclusions—is that in the case of the Sheffield scandal it has, to quote the *Daily Herald* (Nov. 7) "taken eight months for the whole truth to come to light. Eight months for the responsibility to be apportioned". And we would add that the *Guardian's* revelation of the prisoner who has been kept in isolation for 11 months was a matter of no concern to the Governor of Parkhurst prison who was probably working to rule. What may perhaps shock public opinion and those who think for it, is that it has been discovered from the Home Office that: "prison governors can give permission for segregation but had to get the consent of a member of the visiting committee or a director, or assistant director of the prison department".

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NOW what is obvious in this authoritarian structure is that you can never pin-down any of the high-ups. They always cover themselves by some higher authority. This writer, many years ago, was able to observe the futility of the so-called safeguards offered to those who find themselves in the clutches of the forces of law-and-order. (We hasten to add that at no time were any of us threatened with, or subjected to, physical violence—but to what extent did we owe this immunity to the fact that both before our trial and during imprisonment we had the support of an impressive list of "names" who commanded the kind of "respect" which neither the police (in our case the Special Branch), MI5 nor the Press could ignore?) This writer's experience of the visiting committee was that they took their cue from the Governor; the very fact that they sat, and conferred, with the Governor and at no time put any questions to the prison-law-breaker before them, confirmed the generally held view that the visiting committee are stooges, hand-in-glove with the Governor, and uninterested in safeguarding what rights even a prisoner enjoys in the eyes of the law. The fact that a Governor refers a case to the visiting magistrates is not in

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME was elected as MP for Kinross and West Perthshire and made legitimate his election as Prime Minister. A reader of the *Daily Express* wrote, "The droplet observed by George Gale trembling unwiped at the end of Sir Alec Douglas-Home's nose was an indication of a true countryman. From October to April, all genuine country dwellers may be seen with dewdrops on the ends of their noses out of doors. Townspeople wipe them away and get sore noses, but countrymen have learned it is simply not worth it."

LABOUR WON the seat at Luton. Sir Richard Acland who resigned his seat as MP in 1955 because he was opposed to the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb announced that he is applying to rejoin the Labour Party. A prisoner in Lincoln Gaol has applied for nomination papers in the Dundee West by-election. He says one of the first things he would do, if elected, would be to raise warders' salaries. He is independent and 'anti-union'. He is serving five years on false pretences charges. Last night his mother said, "I think that if he put his mind to it, he could get on in politics. He has a good head for that kind of thing". . . .

SWISS POLICE are searching for £1,300,000 which disappeared when the American and Foreign Bank moved from a building in Tangier three years ago never to be heard of again. Stavros Niarchos, the shipping magnate, invited friends to dinner in a Madrid restaurant. The bill came to £12, he gave £66 to the waiters as a tip.

DANILO DOLCI and Peter Moule of Committee of 100 fasted for ten days to draw attention to the need for an irrigation dam at Roccamena, in Sicily. This has been promised for thirty years. Now the Italian Government say it is an 'urgent priority'. The President of Dominica claims that he was overthrown because he disclosed the Army's acceptance of commission on arms purchases from Britain to the value of six million dollars. The director of Yarrow & Co., shipbuilders, made a plea for more spending on warships. In the US, funeral expenses will be added to the cost-of-living index calculated by the Government. . . .

the interests of impartiality, but because the law empowers them to inflict greater punishment. So far as the prisoner is concerned he is helpless and defenceless, his persecutors are his judges, for, as we have already said, the so-called outside bodies are hand-in-glove with the prison governor, who is, perforce, hand-in-glove with his superiors no less than with his subordinates. Are there ways and means of safeguarding an individual's rights when you have legally deprived him of his freedom?

The reformists have answered the challenge of Sheffield with "reforms" which don't stand up to examination or which defeat their own objectives. The *Guardian* editorial on the "Sheffield Enquiry" points out that whatever changes in procedure may be considered, it must be remembered that there is a danger in going too far in the protection of the suspect, in that it increases the temptation to the police to resort to improper methods of pressure like those introduced—and fortunately soon stamped out—at Sheffield.

The *Guardian* is saying that the more you protect the interests of the individual the more you tempt the police to abuse their powers. But the *Guardian* has obviously forgotten that, as good liberals, they should be arguing that the police should be protecting the suspect, as well as bringing the wrong-doer to book. Thus on the one hand they present the police as our friends, on the other as superior beings who should not be provoked lest they might lose their patience. Without being superior beings we are all of us at some time or other provoked—and even in an anarchist society we cannot exclude this possibility—but what argument is there for condoning the use of violence to prove our point? If we, the innocent citizen, cannot use violence to oblige the police and judges to recognise our innocence, why suggest

OUT OF THIS WORLD

MR. WALTER NASH, former Prime Minister of New Zealand, said in Sydney that French atom tests in the Pacific will endanger lives in Australia and New Zealand. The atomic reactor at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, which helped to develop the A-bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was 'retired' after twenty years operating. A retired milkman from Woodbridge has been made an honorary airman of the USAF 79th Technical Fighter Squadron in recognition of his "devotion to duty and loyalty to the squadron" in delivering milk. . . .

THE INDIAN government has sent supplies worth £3,000 to Italy as relief to victims of the Valoni dam disaster. American Friends Service Committee has sent a relief team of four to help the victims of the Cuban hurricane. Oxfam has given £15,000 to relief work in Cuba. Roads in rebuilt villages in Skopje have been built by the Russians, £395,000 has been spent by the British Yugoslav Society on pre-fabricated houses built by British teams. . . .

THE MAYOR of Nuneaton, a '39-45 conscientious objector was boycotted by the British Legion at a Remembrance Day parade. He said, "Any person who respects the fact that war has claimed so many people would go to a Remembrance service. It is not just for military people". . . .

LORD SHAWCROSS (an ex-Socialist) said that legislation to make life more difficult for the criminal was necessary. In effect (reports the *Guardian*) he said it was time to remove the kid gloves and flourish the mailed fist of the law.

that the police should have the powers to use it to oblige the guilty to confess?

The failure of the police to detect 75 per cent of the "crimes" against property is no slur on the intelligence of the police. The fact that (a) the police cannot be everywhere at the same time, and (b) that a not insignificant part of the police are themselves engaged in criminal activities would be understood by most anarchists. One need only take the percentage who are prosecuted to form an idea of the proportion who are "bent" and get away with it.

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THERE are those like Lord Shawcross who say that the police should be given more powers to oblige suspects to answer questions while at the same time offering greater protection to the citizen against unprovoked assault by the police. The formula, the proposed cure-all, for our police and crime troubles is the French *Juge d'Instruction*. The police would have the powers to question suspects, in the presence of the examining magistrate only. Thus there would be no chance of "confessions" being beaten out of suspects. In theory this sounds reasonable enough, assuming that the examining magistrate is truly independent of the police, and this the *Guardian's* French correspondent points out is not possible in practise.

He directs but it is the police who necessarily conduct on his behalf much of the inquiry. By the very nature of the French magistracy, many of the *juge d'instruction* of this kind may easily be entirely under the influence of the local experienced police chief.

Furthermore the French system does not protect the suspect from being softened up before he appears in front of the examining magistrate.

"From the moment that a criminal falls under suspicion to the moment of the eventual verdict the suspected criminal is protected against any kind of inquisitorial examination before trial or even during trial: one can almost say that our system falls over backwards to save him from conviction." In many cases, went on Lord Shawcross, the police knew who had committed a particular crime, but for want of admissible evidence they could not make an arrest. As a result, the police sometimes suffered from a sense of frustration and were sometimes led into using undesirable strong-arm subterfuges, or "even sometimes, but I believe most exceptionally, perjury". These expedients were not used against innocent people. . . .

A GLASGOW police constable, Hugh Nimmo, was cleared on a charge of murder of a prisoner at a police station. The prosecution dropped the charge of murder and changed it to 'culpable homicide'. The prisoner, Durkin, who was arrested for an alleged breach of the peace, became 'very abusive at the station, and' said the constable, "used a lot of foul language. I told him twice to shut up. Because of his language I was at the end of my tether and I struck him on the chest. Later Durkin swung round and into me and we both landed on the floor. I was on top of him." Dr. Edgar Rintoul said Durkin died from internal bleeding. Nimmo's weight falling on him could have caused it. There were no external marks of injury. . . .

LORD PARKER dismissed an appeal against a sentence of 12 months imprisonment for the offence of a man of 30 attempting to procure the commission of a gross act of indecency with a boy of 15. The man's doctor said that the appellant had been depressed and taking pills for an anxiety neurosis. He had an abnormality in part of his brain but the doctor found no homosexual tendencies. The judge passing sentence had said "I am old-fashioned enough to think that people can control their behaviour if they are minded to. I think it is very often a lack of inclination to behave decently rather than an incapacity to do so." The Appeal Court said it was impossible to say that a sentence of twelve months erred in principle.

JON QUIXOTE.

Indeed the French police are notorious, and it is a sign of their power in the land that though everybody knows what happens in the police cells very few victims, or the public in general, are willing to make a public issue of police violence. The French system as we understand it simply increases the powers of the police over the freedom of the individual.

The *Observer* puts the problem in some kind of perspective when it argues that the incidence of crime is exaggerated, and suggests that "the need to give the police greater powers to deal with criminals is perhaps the least pressing argument of all. The real need is for a more level-headed approach, by Press, politicians and the courts".

The centralisation of the police under a Minister as in the case of the armed forces, is another argument, put forward by Professor Goodhart and others, as the alternative to the present set-up. Here again the efficiency of the police is viewed as of paramount importance, even if it is at the expense of the public, for in theory at least, the public has more control now than it ever would if the police were centralised.

No, there is no satisfactory way of controlling the police except by drastically reducing their powers and this no government will be prepared to do. The only thing the public can do is to refuse to allow the police to abuse their powers and to a certain extent this can be achieved if whenever they do, the citizen does not hesitate to publicly expose the abuses to which he has been subjected.

From all sides members of the public are coming forward to expose police methods, and many of their complaints have been in the end admitted by the authorities. The police are on the defensive; we must seek to keep it that way.

Freud Revolutionary?

DEAR EDITORS,

Sam Cohen neatly divides the world into the haves and have-nots, those who would have things changed for the better and those who are well-off and wish they would remain as they are. According to this grouping Freud undoubtedly belongs to the conservative camp. He belonged to it by virtue of his class, in the Marxist sense, and was so preoccupied with his discoveries relating to the individual psyche that he tended to regard civilization as "given" i.e. to accept the norms of European culture as, with minor accidental variations, absolute (echoes of the Pentateuch).

My own appraisal of so-called revolutionary movements past and present leads me to the conclusion that they do not cause revolutionary events but follow them, further that the real revolutionary events (discoveries, social processes) occur without any revolutionary intent. When Einstein remarked that he wished he had become a plumber he admitted that he had not foreseen the consequences of recommending the use of nuclear energy to the Pentagon. I doubt that the men of Gottingen would have pursued the secrets of the atom so consistently had they foreseen its consequences. One of the consequences of these non-political, purely scientific, developments has been the emergence of CND and the revival of the Anarchist movement. Marx, who had already in his lifetime stated that he was no Marxist (Freud incidentally also said he was no Freudian) would have thrown down his pen had he foreseen many of the developments now bearing his name. Substantially, Marx's analysis of the impact of the industrial revolution and the emergence of a proletarian class was correct, his predictions were erroneous, and his influence over future events was not of his choosing.

These considerations lead me to the conclusion that so far the Science of Human Behaviour and its associate The Science of Human Transformation have never existed. True, men of the stature of Marx and Freud give us a vocabulary, a system of definitions, some useful hypotheses and a respect for the scientific method (itself not a fixed entity but evolving from generation to generation).

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LETTERS

Science so far has for various reasons concentrated mainly on the inorganic world and its structure and interactions (Physics, Chemistry, Engineering). In the fields of Biology, Psychology, Anthropology the picture is one of dissociated fragments and erroneous general theories.

However it is also true that neither the individual nor society can wait passively for the emergence of a composite and generally accepted Science of Man. Samuel Butler said that life is the art of making correct decisions on the basis of insufficient facts. Just as a man cannot spend a lifetime on the problem of the choice of the correct mate, but must grope blindly for happiness and then pretend he has made the perfect choice for as long as possible, so the individual opts for a system of values and loyalties and then tends to make the best of them.

In the pages of FREEDOM I see a continual battle between opposing beliefs and points of view. I do not think that even the most optimistic can pretend that these are just superficial family differences and all are devoted to the main-stream of Anarchism. What has attracted me to Anarchism has been the absence of dogma. For a long time to come we as individuals must strive to contribute to society, to improve it and to enjoy life without being aware of the consequences of our actions and continually faced with a painful discrepancy between our predictions and what actually happens. "Who is not for us is against us" is an echo of Nazism. Freud would have recognized it as the social projection of family fixations. So what do suspicions of Freud mean? That he deliberately set out to undermine the work of Marx?

Certainly Freud did not act as if he had any intention of "entering politics", or for that matter of abandoning psychotherapy for economics. If he wrote "Civilization and its discontents" and "The Future of an Illusion" he did so because provoked to the task by what he considered to be deleterious outside influences acting upon his patients. If Freud was in any way counter-revolutionary it was the expression of his wish to isolate individual problems from social pressures acting on the individual, so as to define the limits of his field of study, which he already felt to be big enough for any one man (too big in the sense that he was constantly aware that he did not have all the answers). Another consequence of this was his tendency to attribute disorders to earlier and earlier childhood experiences and to underestimate the importance of adolescence and subsequent development.

Freud would have been the last to suggest that Utopia could be reached via mass analysis. At most he held that individual analysis could throw some light on otherwise inexplicable social facts, such as the existence of the incest taboo in all cultures.

Georg Buechner

THE culture pundits who are so eager to commemorate birth-days of mediocrities seem to have overlooked the 150th anniversary of Georg Buechner's, one of the rare, truly creative geniuses. He was born in Darmstadt (Hesse) on 17th Oct., 1833, and died at the age of twenty-three in Zurich as a political refugee from the petty absolutism of a German principedom. During the last two years of his short life Buechner went through the experiences of a revolutionary in both action and thought. He participated in the conspiratorial work of a democratic students' body but recognised soon enough the futility of secret societies which failed to appeal to the exploited masses. He wrote a pamphlet "The County Messenger for Hesse" ("Der Hessische Landbote") which is one of the earliest manifestations of revolutionary socialist thought, anticipating later libertarian and Marxist ideas. It opens with a greeting and a warning: "Peace to the peasants' huts; war to the palaces!" and exposes in powerful language the contrast between the wanton luxuries of the

It would be presumptuous of me to attempt a final assessment of his work. Others may well unearth some revolutionary fact from among his voluminous writings. My view at this moment is he was forced by economic necessity to make his aim the amelioration of neurotic conditions in those wealthy enough to pay for his services and that within the limits imposed by this (apart from some speculative excursions into religion and sociology) he unearthed a mass of new data by means of his incorruptible honesty and courage. He had the gift for putting his finger on the meaningful fact. That he failed to derive his facts correctly in many cases e.g. attributed Oedipal fantasies to the innate sexuality of the child rather than to the socially determined fantasies of the parent, was his misfortune and our loss, but one which can be repaired by an equivalent amount of effort with the help of the related scientific work which has gone on since his death. And that the consequences of the continuation and widening of the basis he created are likely to be both revolutionary and immense.

In his own chosen field he was a true Anarchist (an unprejudiced and fearless seeker after truth). Outside it he was as infallible as the rest of us.

TOM BARNES.

Propaganda

DEAR COMRADE EDITORS,

The editorial on propaganda in this week's FREEDOM was of great interest to me. I have only been in the Anarchist movement for a matter of months now, but I have been amazed at the movement's propaganda, or rather the lack of it. Propaganda should be the life blood of any movement. The comrades who keep on shouting for action are as much full of *petit bourgeois* ideas as the Trots and all other so-called revolutionaries. They call for action which is apart from working class action, in other words by an organisation. They might as well say that an organisation can change things, instead of a class. They are substituting themselves for the working class, and as such are taking on just as much an elitist attitude as the most dictatorial Marxist-Leninist. I am not against organisations, but see them mainly as machines to produce printed and other propaganda, also for providing meeting places for comrades to talk revolution. (And as long as we understand that, all that will come from meetings will be talk). I see the role of the individual anarchist being that of the agitator on the shop floor (or office floor). If CND, or say, the 100 call demos we might as well go on them but not expect much to come from them other than selling a few copies of FREEDOM. Or from my point of view even better still, *Direct Action*. It is even worth while joining CND, in fact I see our role in the peace movement as being parallel to the industrial field. Just one last point: if we do insist on going to demonstrations perhaps the most logical would be the May Day Demos.

Best wishes,
Liverpool 13. J. VINCENT JOHNSON

More on 'Progress'

DEAR EDITORS,

Commenting on my letter ("Need We Progress?" FREEDOM, 9th November), Maxwell points out that the world has 3,000 million mouths to feed. I am well aware of that, but I would question Maxwell's assumption that the only way to cope with this problem is by more technological "progress".

Lord Fleck, a trustee of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, has discussed what should be done by the developed countries to tackle the causes of malnutrition in the under-developed countries, in an article in the *Telegraph* (12th January). The immediate measures he suggests do not involve technology (the replacement of tools and implements with machines) at all. He suggests, for instance, that the under-nourished Asian should be taught how to improve his stock, and how to farm more efficiently with the tools he already possesses, or with better ones (such as a simple bullock-drawn plough of improved design, digging a deeper furrow than those at present in use). He also suggests that the African mother should be shown how to make better use of the food already available, how to preserve its nutritional content in the cooking, and how to balance the family diet to prevent protein-deficiency diseases. Lord Fleck thinks there can be great danger in the sudden introduction of Western techniques of modernisation in these countries: the groundnut scheme gave rise to the aphorism "Give us the job and we will finish the tools." It is far from clear, then, that the only answer to the "population explosion" is wholesale mechanization.

Maxwell completely ignores my main argument: that technological "progress" is driving us towards a "socialized" world in which the individual as such will cease to exist. This, I think, is because he believes that "the problem is that of ownership of the means of production or control"—as indeed it is, but not in the way he supposes. The reason why "progress" is driving us towards a socialized world is precisely that "progress" is incompatible with ownership of the means of production or control by the individual. As Hannah Arendt has put it: "Only if the life of society as a whole, instead of the lives of individual men, is considered to be the gigantic subject of the accumulation process can this process go on in full freedom and at full speed, unhampered by limitations imposed by the individual life-span and individually held property." (*The Human Condition*, Section 15). Hence everything must be owned and controlled by society, and the individual is expropriated and becomes a mere cell in the social body. Maxwell clearly hopes that if only the means of production could be taken out of the hands of private capitalists, we could go on entertaining the accumulation process at full speed and enjoy individual freedom. In reality we should have to choose between stopping the accumulation process or enduring the nightmare of totalitarianism.

Yours sincerely,
FRANCIS ELLINGHAM.

A FORGOTTEN ANNIVERSARY

ploitation has been written. The poor soldier who is used as a guinea pig for medical purposes, is driven to murder and ends his life by committing suicide.

Only this century has acknowledged Buechner's originality. His plays form part of the European repertoire (not in Britain!); they have served operatic composers as material. Georg Buechner's reputation as a writer is now firmly established. This libertarian socialist was far ahead of his period and has a message for our time.

FRED LOTHAR.

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