

'A man that'd expect to train lobsters to fly in a year is called a lunatic, but a man that thinks men can be turned into angels by an election is called a reformer and remains at large.'

PETER F. DUNNE (trans. J. Robinson)

Reflections on Police Violence

THAT WAS THAT WAS THE WEEK THAT WAS THAT WAS

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More Power for the Police

some detail, critically, and not without apprehension, by at least some sections of the public. On the other hand the government would have left itself open to Opposition taunts, and electioneering disadvantages if it had not shown that it was "doing" something to make the Force more efficient as well as safeguarding the public from police excesses such as have been revealed by the Sheffield tribunal (FREEDOM, Nov. 16) or the series of frame-ups at the time of the Greek Royal visit (the notorious "brick cases").

The Police Bill, embodying most of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Police

THE publication last week of the which, it should be noted, reported amine the measures the Government Government's Police Bill was no less than 18 months ago, may in a sense ill-timed—everybody is result in an improvement on the very "police conscious" at the police's present dismal record of moment, and proposals which in solving only three crimes out of more "normal" times, when "our ten, by giving the Home Secretary policemen are wonderful" and ex- powers to amalgamate and co-ordiportable, would go through without nate the 150 or so police forces at discussion, will now be examined in present operating in this country. We are less concerned—indeed, unlike the Guardian which welcomes the Bill as "sound", and declares that it should "be enacted in this session", we are unconcerned with the problem of catching safe-breakers and mail-train robberts whose activities have no effect whatsoever on the daily lives of the overwhelming majority of the community. And while anarchists of all minority groups are conscious of the need to protect the rights of minorities, and are the first to defend them, we really cannot work up any enthusiasm for safe-owners or Banks-or their Underwriters. What we are concerned with however, is to ex-

proposes to introduce which, it is alleged, will protect the individual citizen from a repetition of the excesses pinpointed by the Sheffield exposure, and the "Brick" frameups. Let us get the proposals in perspective. The government's new Bill does not promise any protection from police violence; it only suggests that if our comrade Donald Rooum or "well known criminals" -as the Sheffield Tribunal describes the Hartley brothers—are beaten-up in future at the local police station, the Bill will make it easier than hitherto for them to have their sore ears and weals investigated by the

More Power for the Chief Constable

IT is said that the Bill provides a clear definition of the responsibilities and powers of the three different parties in police organisation—the Home Secretary, the Police authorities, the chief constables. What is clear is that (a) the powers of the Home Secretary are increased, and in consequence, those of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Constabulary as well, and this is significant, as we shall show. (b) the police authorities will have two thirds of their members from local councils and one third from among the magistrates and their primary function will be to maintain an "adequate and efficient force" and, subject to the Home Secretary's approval, to appoint a chief constable. But (c) the chief constable will now have direct responsibility for controlling the force, as well as the powers (hitherto held in the boroughs by

the police Authority) for promotion and discipline of most ranks of police officers. The chief constable is given greater powers vis-á-vis the local authorities though the latter will be "entitled" to call for reports from him and, subject to the Home-Secretary's approval, will be able to order his retirement in the interests of efficiency. Further, a chief constable will now be made "vicariously liable" for the wrongful acts of police officers and is "required to have complaints investigated immediately they are received. He is empowered

to ask another chief constable to provide an officer to undertake the investigation and the Home Secretary, in cases where he thinks fit, will have power to direct that this shall be done. Unless it is clear from the report that no

criminal offence has been committed, the Director of Public Prosecutions and not the chief constable will decide whether the case should be taken further.

What is clear from the reshuffle of powers as outlined in the Bill is that the responsibility for the police is being shifted from the local authorities to the State-in the person of the Home Secretary. Without having any illusions about local councils, to curb their powers in favour of the State is like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. For if they are not representative of their communities how much less is the State as embodied by the government, and on this issue, in the person of the Home Secretary!

The argument is advanced that the Home Secretary's increased responsibilities will mean corresponding accountability to Parliament. It is true that up to now, this Minister could only be questioned on the actions of the Metropolitan Police. The fact that under the new Bill he will be responsible for the goings-on in Sheffield and Birmingham as well, means that in future there will be more questions which

Continued on page 3

INQUIRY ON 'BRICKS' -- CLARK CONVICTION QUASHED, BUT

WHO WILL INVESTIGATE THE HOME SECRETARY?

AS we go to Press there is the welcome news that George Clark, the CND's Field Secretary, has won his appeal against the 18 months prison sentence, imposed on him ten weeks ago at London Sessions, for his part in the demonstrations on the occasion of the Greek Royal Visit to London. We send George Clark warm wishes from Freedom and our readers on his release and for having succeeded, for the second time to have the verdict of London Sessions reversed on appeal. The legal grounds on which the conviction and sentence were quashed is of interest to demonstrators, for according to the Guardian's legal correspondent:

it is the first English case which establishes that for a procession to be a criminal obstruction there must be an unreasonable user of the highway.

This means that in future it will not be enough for the police to show that the highway was in fact blocked. They will also have to show that in all the circumstances the procession was unreasonable.

"Obstruction" and "unreasonable user" are loose expressions and it will be for the courts to define their meaning. They will no doubt consider as relevant such factors as the time of day of the pro-

NOW ON SALE, DISCUSSES

The Anarchism of Alex Comfort

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 1/6 on the first Saturday of every month cession, its place, the number of people involved, the degree of inconvenience to the general public, the object of the demonstration, and, possibly, its social utility.

While the lawyers busy themselves on tightening up these loose expressions, we ought to be concerning ourselves with starting a public enquiry to find out what measures the Government took at the time of the Greek visit, what instructions the Home Secretary gave to the police, and seek to contact all those demonstrators who were arrested or charged, and fined or imprisoned.

The "Brick case" will obviously figure prominently in the enquiry. The police have offered £1,600 to Donald Rooum and three youths all originally charged with being in possession of offensive weapons (bricks), and this sum has been officially accepted on their behalf by their solicitor. The case of four other youths similarly charged, and fined, is now being investigated. The Home Secretary has instructed Sir Joseph Simpson, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police to order a full-scale investigation of this case which involves three officers other than Det. Sergeant Challoner.

But who will investigate the role of the Home Secretary himself? What instructions (if any) did he issue to the police and the courts for dealing with demonstrators? It is as vitally important to establish the Home Office's part in the attempted intimidation of the public during the Greek visit, as it is to publicly expose the brutality and false evidence of the police. And last but not least, such a public enquiry must also examine the handling of the cases by the magistrates' Courts and seek the reason behind the vicious sentence meted out to George Clark by the deputy Chairman at London Sessions.



Lorry drivers in America, organised in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, are negotiating with the employers next month for the first nation-wide wage agreement in their industry.

There has been some opposition to a national contract, particularly from New ship in strike action. York and San Francisco locals, but the majority of them are behind their president, James Hoffa, in his bid for this new agreement. The locals of New York and San Francisco are against this new form of contract because it would weaken their power. Up until now, agreements have been on a regional and local basis, which has meant that members have been more involved and at the same time have more control over their elected district and local officials. Where a road transport firm has national coverage, they are in agreement with a nation-wide contract, but otherwise they consider that it should be left to the locals concerned.

Hoffa is after a three-year agreement covering wages and benefits totalling \$600m. If won, it will give lorry drivers a rise of 30 cents an hour each year. At the moment, their hourly rates range from \$3.06 to \$3.28 (about £1. 1s. 5d. to £1. 2s. 10d.) Employers have denounced these claims as "outrageous", but these are just the standard remarks that one expects before the commencement of negotiations If these demands are won, wage policy, and not only is the claim research men and publicity experts.

denounced by the employers, but it is also seen by them as a starting point by the unions. In fact, Hoffa has already warned the rank and file not to expect too much. Hoffa, it seems, is also unwilling to involve the whole member-

With the impending negotiations in Chicago in December, the employers organisation, the Trucking Employers Inc., have set up a five-man committee to meet the Teamsters' union. Some form of compromise is inevitable from these talks. The employers for their part, would, I think, prefer a national agreement, as it would tie down the locals and give the industry only one contract. Previously, each time that a local contract ended, there was the chance that some form of action might be taken by union members in the area if demands were not met.

With the initiative taken from the locals, the already considerable power which Hoffa holds, will be increased. To him, with over 1.5 million members, the union is big business. Although he offers no vague ideas about a socialist society in the future, as some union leaders in England do, he is all for the present set-up in America. At the same time, teamsters have high wages,

Unions in America, on the whole, are just big business, employing a vast staff. In fact they resemble the big corit will hit the Kennedy Administration porations, with public relations officers,

They are, as we know, part and parcel of the set-up. They offer no challenge or real threat. In fact, one union leader has lamented "All the things we fought for, the corporation is now giving. What we have to find are other things which the employer is not willing to give. We're searching. We're searching". The powerful corporations have nothing to fear from the unions like the Teamsters or from unions in the A.F.L.-C.I.O., from which the Teamsters were expelled for corruption. They are quite willing to get round a table for talks with these unions and to concede wage increases.

Even if workers in America have a high material standard of living under capitalism, although not true of the over 4 million unemployed and a high proportion of negro workers, this is not the "be-all" and "end-all". From recent reports, it looks as if workers, and especially young workers, are looking further than this, not only to a lifetime of material well-being under capitalism, but to the control of industry by the people who work in it. In Berkley and San Francisco, the Industrial Workers of the World, have been gaining sympathy. Their propaganda and membership drive are gaining them support. This proves the point that Anarchists have been making for years, that people want something more than just material well-being, they want control over their own lives. This is seen among the young workers in Berkley and San Francisco, who are now joining the I.W.W. in the struggle for a society where production is geared to needs instead of profits.



INDUSTRIAL NOTES

P.T.

That was That was the Week that Was that

THERE was much that was good in That Was The Week That Was. Even if it wasn't satire, even if it wasn't as brilliant as the Goons, even if it wasn't as influential as the lies of the party political hacks, it was on the right side of the fence some of the time and just occasionally it let loose a stringing broadside which made the David Frost haircut, the Millicent Martin squawl and and the stupidity and the self-conscious undergrad inanity, seem bearable. It was only occasional but when it did happen it was fantastic-quite unlike anything on TV before.

Now the TW3 team has been stuffed with cotton wool and put out to grass where it will not prick the prides and pomposities of the political pygmies trying to foist themselves onto a gullible electorate, and where it will not affect the public in their arduous and responsible duty of choosing a new ruling élite. It was all very predictable. The surprise of the press and public is what is really astonishing. Did they really imagine that Auntie BBC's new liberalism was going to continue, that she would not only get rid of the cami-knickers but start advocating strip tease, into the bargain? Did they really think the voice of the Establishment would allow the politicians' lies, the press idiocies and the public follies, to be analysed, spiked and mocked? After all politics is sacred at a General Election when people are meant to take it seriously. can imagine some grey-haired old director of the BBC, stuffed to the gills with good living, garrulously opposing "anarchy at elections". "After all, chaps, you can't do it-it wouldn't be playing the game". Of course it wouldn't be playing the game which is just why TW3 should have continued, and just why it isn't going to continue.

TW3 was born and lived among publicity: at times I began to wonder

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whether the show really existed, whether it wasn't just a very clever anti-TV publicity stunt in a vacuum. Its impending execution was greeted with similar publicity. It doesn't appear to have occurred to those who protest most loudlypeople like dear Mr. Wilson who always knows when to open his mouth, bless his little cotton socks—that TW3 was coming off in April anyhow, that the ITV was dragging back the audiences with an ingenious fantasy called The Avengers and, more recently, with The Braden Beat. This show featured Brigitte Bardot, who struck a significant blow for sex appeal against satire!

When TW3 was born it became the liberal darling. It was a mirror for the broadminded bourgeois who was hearty and jovial enough to laugh at his own delightful eccentricities. The good TW3 fan never really felt that he was being got at, insulated as he was in his own good humoured liberalism, but he could

always feel that the unperceptive, un. on-one was hurt. It was all part of a jovial, unhumourous Jones next door was a target. He felt the victim of TW3's barbs was specifically the man who couldn't laugh at himself. It was all so clever, so gay, so off-beat. There was also the appealing and somewhat childish raspberry for authority. TW3 approached politicians rather like a schoolboy might approach his headmaster during the holidays. "I can stick my tongue out at you now, and there's nothing you can do about it". The whole programme seemed to be based on fulfilling the fantasy world of the man who want's to tell his boss to go stuff himself but doesn't dare. Imagine the middle-aged sniggering at the double entendre, the young giggling contentedly as some elderly buffoon of a public figure was attacked by the superficial gnats of TW3. Everyone could sit back and laugh at everyone else. No assumptions were challenged,

jolly good game, played by jolly good sports obeying most of the jolly good rules. It was inspired by malice rather than hatred, comic ideas rather than wit. And Jones, the man against whom it was all directed, also liked it. The sophisticated minority felt annoyed and the appeal began to dim.

However, when all is said and done, TW3 had its merits and it will be missed. It did prick pride and pomposity, it did oppose humbug and cant and it was a small heretic as fearless as anything likely to come from ITV or BBC. It did let a breath of fresh air into Saturday night television and just occasionally it fulfilled all its promise, as in the sketch "This is Your Life-Henry Brooke" or in the ingenious fairy tale serial about central Africa. It was a curious mixture of idiocy and brilliance, putrescence and pungency but above all it was erratic and this was its merit.

One never knew what was going to happen next, whether Frost was going to be funny or dull, whether Levin was going to hit or be hit. It conceivably did a little bit to shatter the equanimity of those in authority and that was no bad thing.

The greatest compliment, and probably least deserved one, was to remove TW3 for general election year. It's very doubtful whether TW3 could have exercised as much influence as the BBC seems to think, but that they thought it could is an indication not only of TW3's strength but also of the insuperable difficulty of producing satire through the Establishment.* It's rather like employing someone to speak against blood sports and then sacking him because someone else is going to organise a fox hunt; it should have been apparent to cynical satirists that this is what would happen.

Continued on page 4

REFLECTIONS ON POLICE VIOLENCE

THE fact that police brutality and perjury is in the news may or may not mean that it is actually on the increase. We have no means of knowing. Chance factors have played a great role in bringing certain of the cases into the limelight. After the occasion of the demonstration against the Greek queen a number of persons were fined and imprisoned, and small paragraphs in the press noted their punishment Among those whom the police picked on at random, there happened to be a man who was capable of fighting back with particular intelligence and obduracyso the four "brick cases" collapsed, the police are offering £1,600 hush-money, and the pathetic bully who served his Queen too well is said to be having a psychiatric breakdown. But had the choice of random victims to arrest, assault and charge been otherwise, it is likely that 'right-thinking people' would now be smugly satisfied that those who were charged with carrying pieces of brick in their pockets, were in prison and a good thing too.

The illusions of 'right-thinking people' are not easily disturbed. They wish to be protected from the activities of 'criminals', and they are content to believe that the police, in providing a measure of protection, use methods that are more or less in conformity with the standards laid down by the Judges' Rules. Also, the representatives of 'right-thinking people' who sit on judicial benches prefer to remain blind to the fact that the routine job of bringing offenders before the courts with evidence that will convict involves a measure of routine perjury by the police. It is natural that the police have an attitude of cynicism and justifiable contempt for the 'rightthinking people' who want to have their cake and eat it: that is, they want to have efficient protection of property and the political status quo but don't want to know about how such protection must be obtained in the existing order of things.

When I say that the protection the police afford to the existing order of things must be effected by the measures which they do in fact use, I do not imply that suspects must be flogged with whips for evidence to the obtained in every case. It is only the more sensational types of case in which the police are so foolish as to use so newsworthy an instrument as a rhonoceros hide whip; that hits the headlines. When I say that the police must necessarily use certain types of measures, I mean that our society gets the police force it deserves, and being the institution it is both historically and in terms of presentday personnel, we cannot expect it to operate otherwise.

Although it is impossible to get real evidence in the matter, it is very likely that the present-day police force is becoming more brutal and vicious because of the problems of recruitment in economic conditions less straitened than formerly, which some like to call "affluence". Formerly there was no problem of recruitment. The police force offered comparatively good wages and a great deal of security in times when the working class suffered considerable unemployment, low-wages and job insecurity. In those times young men were recruited who were not much different from their mates, and who would retain a certain solidarity with ordinary social values.

Also, to a greater degree, they would retain the respect of ordinary people. Now, the position is rather different; although the police-force does offer quite good material rewards to young men, no-one feels he is forced to join it for economic reasons. It has less chance therefore, of attracting 'normal' young men today and must get a good proportion of twisted types. One of the attractions of the police-force is that it offers opportunities for exerting power over other people, of giving rein to violence and of inflicting pain, all under the cloak of moral and legal justification It is a cinch for sadists both overt and covert.

Some boys join the police out of an immature but fairly harmless illusion that it is a 'glamourous' occupation; they are influenced by the Dixon of Dock Green type of fiction just as girls are attracted to nursing by the Emergency Ward 10 type of fiction. In their two years' probation in the police they soon learn that it is a dull and sordid occupation and, moreover, they are subjected to continual bullying by their superiors. This makes the better type of boy resign from the force during his probationary period. The more twisted ones remain. subservient to bullying and saving up their resentment for those they can vent it on under the cover of duty.

IT IS NECESSARY to dwell a little on the nature of the twisted personality and of psychiatric breakdown. Many people honestly believe that the type of people (the 'long-haired') who associate with movements concerned with civil liberties, pacfism, racial tolerance, etc., are rather 'neurotic', in contrast to the type (the "short-haired") who are all for patriotism, no-nonsense-with-criminals, blood sports, etc., who are 'emotionally stable' It should be stated quite unequivocally that there is not a shadow of evidence for such a belief. People of either type may be neurotic or stable. The sole difference lies in the type of emotional disturbance to which the 'long-haired' and 'short-haired' are prone. Whereas the 'long-haired' are prone to become distressed and self-blaming over the sorrows of the world and to subject themselves to fasts and penances the 'short-haired' are prone to blame other people for every supposed ill and to resort to toughness and violence in reaction to any frustration. But the suffering martyr is no more of a psychiatric case than the screaming, frustrated bully; both may be equally miserable and socially crippled by their plight.

is cared for in psychiatric hospitals is the authoritarian who is left stranded in civil life. He may have occupied a post like that of a sergeant-major in the army for many years with success and contentment, and then on retiring into civil life where there is no-one to take orders from him, to be criticised, bullied and

A not uncommon type of patient who

punished, his personality simply collapses. Such authoritarian types commonly seek access to jobs such as the prison service or police when they leave the armed forces, not just because they like bullying people but because they simply cannot do without it. As long as they occupy a position which ensures a continuous supply of victims they keep an even keel. This type of bully needs moreover, to be subservient to some power structure which he can respect. When Henry Brooke announced that he was 'furious' that the Queen of England had been booed in the streets and intimated to the police that they should show no respect to the demonstrators, he became morally responsible for the beatings up, lying and framing that followed. Now they are making a scape-goat of one pathetic nut-case, who has served them so well in the past precisely because he is what he is.

THE FACT THAT the generality of 'rightthinking people' do not want to know how the police actually carry out their job will lead to continual measures of whitewashing like the report of the Royal Commission on the Police published last year, and guaranteed ineffective measures like the current Police Bill. Some individual M.P.s will always seek to make capital out of sensational cases which come before the public, but really no legislation can alter what the police do. What is more important is to try to increase the public understanding of what a police force does, and why they do it, and this involves an enlargement of the understanding of the whole nature of our society.

TO the rear of Colin Jordan's grubby headquarters of the National Socialist Party in Princedale Road, Notting Hill, sprawls a string of broken and decayed working-class terrace cottages known as Pottery Lane. At an apex formed by this unlovely Lane and Portland Road, forming a trinity with the Prince of Wales public house and a bookshop offering dusty and faded American pulp erotica to the Kensington aficionados, stood the showrooms of the quaintly titled Merchant Adventurers, a run-of-the-mill profit-making outfit.

These abandoned showrooms, rising like a grey and stranded hulk amid the festering slums of Notting Hill, have now become the Holland Park Gallery and we who live within this area can but be grateful that Antoinette Boisserain has of her charity turned these rooms over to the visual arts. That the gallery will be a financial failure must be accepted, for it is too far, at least a ten minute walk, off the monied strip to attract the gelted kulture lovers, but with the example of the Whitechapel Gallery as a precedent, Antoinette Boisserain could found a gallery that would offer the people of this ill-publicized slum a window onto the world. These large and well-lighted rooms only a few minutes' walk from the Holland Park Underground offer an opportunity that if lost will be cause for regret for many a year among those who value the visual arts, and I would urge all those who live within that part of London to make it their business, to strive and to work, despite any rebuffs from the owners or the local politicoes to turn

this privately owned gallery into a community gallery with its rental guaranteed through the local rates, its cleaning and commissary staff seconded from among the council staff and its walls given over to the best and the most controversial that the Town can offer with its doors open seven days a week so that, as in Whitechapel, no one need fear that they are unwelcomed no matter how shabby their dress, how empty their purse, and the newly minted visual aspects of our culture shall no longer, in this part of London, be the prerogative of a fortunate few. And for those who are interested, the address is 43 Portland Road, W.11., and the operative word is rebuff. It is a measure of the size of this gallery in that it can carry four separate one-man shows and the works of Sam Omori, Wim de Haan, Leslie Cole and Margaret Thomas are a catholic selection that launches this gallery on a pleasant if muted fanfare, for the subtle work of the two women, Californian Sam Omori and London born Margaret Thomas, are ably counterpointed by the brash but masculine competent work of Cole and de Haan.

Tuesday, the 12th of November, saw the opening of this gallery and its future lies with all of us who have for so long publicly carried the torch for the brave and the beautiful. If, in spite of the owners and the Kensington council, we succeed in creating an art gallery of national note within this crowded and festering slum we shall have helped to light one small flame to illuminate a dark world too long surrendered to the crazy lunacies of the local Nazi party,

the legalized exploitation by the scum Rackman landlords and the self-mutilation of the racial riots. The slum is there, the gallery is there and the people are there and only you brother, with your torch, are missing.

LYALL WATSON IN his fashion cares, and this director of the Woodstock Gallery at 16 Woodstock Street, W.1., has had his first major exhibition, albeit unfortunately in his own gallery, for his work justifies another impresario. Watson tends to become too emotionally involved in the surface aspects of that which appeals to the heart, but the act of recording is an intellectual act and the result is that his genuine gifts become diffused and lost in a mist of visual sophistry and as such loses its barb. Watson is a polemical painter of the uncommitted left, and these paintings reflect in an extraordinary fashion the personality of the painter. Sprawled across a huge surface area they demand rejection on the first impact by the crudity of the draftsmanship and the harsh and insensitive use of raw colours, yet within this brash jungle of screaming reds and lowering blues lies work of a surprising and tender beauty. As a background to his Buddha are two female torsos that in their conception and execution are equal to the work of any living painter, and time and time again, as one searches one is rewarded by discovering such passages. For here is a painter destroying his own gifted work by lack of personal discipline; Watson must realise and accept the harsh fact that fine sentiments do not make good paintings. The Establishment. financial and political, can always find competent hacks to gloss their evils and gild their scabs. Watson owes a duty to himself to eschew pamphleteering on the grand scale even if it wins our sympathy. ARTHUR MOYSE.



November 23 1963 Vol. 24 No 37

MORE POWER FOR POLICE AND STATE

Continued from page his department will have to cook-up answers for. But with the Home no executive powers, of the Inspec-Secretary's increased responsibilities the powers—or to be more exact the responsibilities, since they have tors of Constabulary are also that

much greater. Who are these seven (£5,000 a year) officers who, according to the Guardian

normally inspect each police force (outside London) in England and Wales at least once a year, and [for whom] much of the collection of records and statistics can now be done by the super-

intendents who assist them.

Who are they, you ask? Why they are "selected from chief constables by the Home Secretary and his advisers and are appointed by Royal Warrant". So, even the Inspectors who, under the Act of 1856, to which they owe their appointment, and who have the onerous task of

visiting and inquiring into the state and efficiency of the police appointed for every county and borough . . . and also into the state of the police stations, charge rooms, cells or lock-ups or other premises occupied for the use of such police. . . .

as well as reporting to "one of Your Majesty's Principle Secretaries", are, to put it vulgarly, coppers.

The Guardian report points out that there is "generally a good working relationship between the chief constables and the Inspectors". Did you imagine that with such a set-up it would, or could, be otherwise? But in this Police Bill what provisions are made to protect you and me not from the criminal but from our "protectors", those individuals whose livelihood is guaranteed, and paid for, by the likes of you and this writer? None.

According to the Government it has aimed at holding the balance between the need to "ensure that justice is done to the public and that of maintaining efficiency and morale in every police force. It is felt that efforts to give justice to the public may sometimes be at the expense of efficiency." And the Guardian reports that

For this reason, among others, the Government has rejected the idea of an ombudsman or commissioner of rights ... It is felt that police morale would be better maintained if officers knew they would be judged by someone understand-

ing police problems.

But when it comes to complaints by the public, the government does not by the same token suggest that public morale would be better maintained if it knew that its complaints against the police were judgeg by fellow citizens. We must appeal to the good offices of the Chief Constable. As a matter of fact we don't expect any government to be logical when discussing the police. They will be the first to tell you that a worker is answerable for his actions to the man who employs him. The public are the police force's employers in so far as they pay their wages every week. Yet under the proposed Police Bill they will have even less powers to control their actions than before. Alderman Joseph Hoy, chairman of the police committee of the Association of Municipal Corporations which represents all borough police authorities has attacked the "new concentration of power" envisaged by the Bill. Not only is there "grave doubt as to where the chief constable stands in his accountability to the watch committee for the effi- jected or sacrificed.

ciency of his force" but, to quote the deputy chairman,

"Under the new system watch committees will have very little power and the Home Secretary not so very much. The chief constables will be less accountable than they are now; the Inspectors of Constabulary are all former chief constables and this could mean that the police will be running the police. That is why the Bill is so objectionable," he commented.

There is no satisfactory solution to the police question for the reasons exposed by a correspondent elsewhere in this issue (Reflections on Police Violence). This does not mean however that the thinking public should allow legislation to be passed unchallenged which confers greater powers on the police and greater control of the police by the

The more remote the police are in all respects from the citizen, the greater are the possibilities that in order "to get results" they will resort to the Sheffield-type of methods and the cultivation of professional (that is, paid) informants (backbone of the police state).

More Power for the Home Secretary

RUT, above all, we see the proposed changes in police structure as a move by the State to have at its disposal a more efficient, more mobile, force to deal with demonstrations of a political nature. The significance of the civil disobedience movement in this country has not been lost on the Authorities. Every demonstration has, we are sure, been studied by them in detail; we assume too that they have included in their calculations and countermeasures the possibility of demonstrations taking place without prior consultation between the organisers and the Special Branch at Scotland Yard. And of course "popular movements" can be more effectively controlled and suppressed by a police force which is an important part of the State machine rather than one which springs from a public need and is directly paid for and controlled by the public.

With the State assuming every day greater powers over the running of our lives, that it should, in reorganising the police, put the emphasis on defence of the status quo rather than that of the individual citizen is what one would expect. But just as exploited workers create their own organisations, and do not look to the State to protect them from the inhuman demands of employers, so must those of us who believe that the public should be protected from police abuses, create, and publicise, our organisations to serve our ends. But we should also learn the lesson from the failures of the trades union movement: that you never lose sight of the fact that your function is not to collaborate with the enemy, but to seek to contain him if you are weak, and to destroy him if you are strong. Only those who aim at the abolition of the police, the judiciary and the whole legal system can uncompromisingly and successfully defend the ordinary citizen from the violence, the frame-ups, the perjury, and the prejudice, the collusion and the abuse of legal powers to which any one of us may at some time be sub-

NEXT YEAR being election year "That was the Week that Was", a satirical TV show was declared redundant as from December 28th. The Labour candidate (Mr. John M. Bloom), for Bromley wrote a letter to the Guardian pointing out the similarities between his ideas and that of the Independent Nuclear Disarmament Election Committee candidate for the constituency. He concluded his letter: "I must frankly admit that I have become increasingly perturbed with the situation inside the Labour Party, since Harold Wilson became its Parliamentary leader, and expect to be making a statement on this in the near future. The next day the Herald reported inconspicuously, "Local Labour Pary leaders at Bromley, Mr. Macmillan's constituency, last night accepted the resignation of their candidate Mr. John M. Bloom. This followed the publication in a newspaper of a letter from Mr. Bloom saying he had become 'ncreasingly perturbed at the situation inside the Labour Party since Mr. Wilson became leader' . . . Last night Bromley Labour Party sent Mr. Wilson a telegram Seventy MEMBERS of the Aetherius pledging him full support". . . .

An American arrived in Moscow with a scheme to try to persuade the Russians to send 'peace hostages' to the United States. In return, American hostages would live in Russia, thus deterring both sides from an all-out nuclear attack. He suggests that a pilot scheme should be started immediately. Fifty people would be exchanged, if possible relatives of President Kennedy and Mr. Krush-

DR. ADENAUER suggested that the West should use food as a cold war weapon against Russia in the same way that medieval leaders starved besieged cities into submission. Ex-President Truman said that the Soviet leaders had 700 million Chinese who could walk in their back door. "They're scared to death and we want to keep them that

MR. MICHAEL McCREERY attacked the present leadership of the British Communist Party. He is an old Etonian and the son of General Sir Richard McCreery. His group, which is pro-Chinese, are to issue a series of pamphlets published by David and Goliath Ltd. The Peking Review commemorates the 13th anniversary of "the Chinese People's Volunteers crossing the Yalu River to fight with their Korean brothers against the US aggressors." A speaker at a celebration banquet said "The militant friendship forged between the Korean and Chinese peoples and armies in the war is a concrete expression of the lofty revolutionary sentiments of those ready to sacrifice themselves for



the benefit of others in times of difficulty and a vivid example of proletarian internationalism." The bilateral talks between the Central Committees of the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and New Zealand have been adjourned with the understanding that they will be continued. . . .

Society prayed for more than half-anhour in a gale on a hill above the Bristol Channel to combat the spread of a fatal disease, said to originate from Asia, which they consider threatens to sweep through the world. The society believes that if it can transmit enough cosmic energy through prayer by Boxing Day, the disease will be cut down by 95%....

PROFESSOR L. KEKWICK of Middlesex Hospital told the International Food and Agriculture Symposium in Amsterdam that there were no food additives which could be proved safe. Laboratory experiments with animals were no safeguard because the human diet was very different from that of animals. "We must not make the world safe for mice"...

THE UNITED STATES tested a minuteman rocket with an increased range of 6,300 miles compared with its previous 5,000 miles. An explosionu at a secret atomic energy plant in Texas shook buildings more than 29 miles away and sent people fleeing in panic from their homes. Professor Richie Calder speaking to the Town and Country Planning Association, stressed that he was not a neo-Luddite, but some of the perils inherent in the machine-age needing a redirection of ingenuity and resources into things that matter were: the emotional effects of the atomic age, fall-out dangers, difficulty of disposing of radio-active waste (it cost U.S. more to bury 'live' atoms than it had cost to bury the pyramid kings of Egypt); atmospheric pollution from factories and vehicles; shortage of water, and Professor Calder said, "In the name of our technological civiliza-

tion and in advanced countries, of our affluent society, we are squandering our resources and hardening our arteries. We enslave our landscape with bigger, wider roads to carry the carrs which have become our masters, and airports to carry jet and presently supersonic air liners, so that London Airport today represents a mass of concrete enough to pave a road from London to Edinburgh. We condemn ourselves to live in cities which are living machines and inefficient at that. Our traffic grinds to a standstill, a mechanised dinosaur, helpless, because it is too big." At the same time half the world's population, which was increasing by 160,000 a day, did not get enough to eat. He was confident they could be adequately fed by 1980, but it was a question of human intention rather than technical feasibility. . . .

A CONSUMERS' ASSOCIATION report on comparative testing of contraceptives suggested that many people are paying too much for unreliable products. "Advertising, often misleading, was disguised to look like disinterested advice; meaningless claims were made for products; prices bore no relation to effectiveness, and with chemical contraceptives the manufacturer did not have to say what was in the tube, nor show it was safe to use." Lack of public knowledge, the report suggests, is mainly responsible for these abuses. There is no contraceptive which is 100% safe. Ten out of fifty 'Dutch caps' failed test for strength of diaphragm springs. Only twenty-four out of forty-one spermicides tested were found to be powerful sperm killers. Out of fifty brands of suppositories thirtythree failed the sperm-killing test. Only nine out of sixteen brands of foaming tablets passed the test. An aerosol foam contraceptive tested passed the test for sperm-killing. A manufacturer said, "There is no truth in the rumour . . . that we are compelled by law to supply one ineffective pessary in each box." Marjorie Proops of the Daily Mirror said, "One thing about the report that pleases me, it may make those 'unofficial' users of contraceptives—the unmarrieds—who slink into rubber goods shops think twice before taking a chance." The Report (price 10s.) is available to members of the Consumers' Association, membership £1 a year, at 14 Buckingham Street, London, W.C.2. Cherwell, the Oxford student newspaper claims that fifteen girl students have had illegal abortions for between £7 and £150 in the past twelve months. . . .

CAPTAIN MONMEGE, leader of the gendarmerie band which failed to play the Last Post at an Armistice Day commemoration attended by General de Gaulle has been confined to barracks for thirty days. JON QUIXOTE.

Conspiracy by the purveyors of Law & Order

demned as yet another of the anarchists' sweeping, all-or-nothing, statements we would invite readers to ponder the following: Is it true that if there were no crime, no liti- of the Insurance Companies?. In gation, there would be no police, no judges, no legal profession, no prisons? It is therefore reasonable to assume that these four branches the law-and-order-profession have a vested interest in crime, and that each has a vested interest in the other. If the police didn't arrest suspected criminals, solicitors would be kicking their heels and drawing national assistance; magistrates would have neither business nor the their evidence. opportunity to commit some cases for trial-which means work for barristers and Q.C.'s, shorthand writers, more solicitors, typists and "experts", not to mention of course, bewigged judges and their entourages; and the magistrates and judges in their turn keep the prison service, from governors and chaplains, via principal officers and turnkeys, right down to black-maria drivers, sufficiently employed to justify a sense of security and a pensionable job. Think of the thousands of highlyand poorly-paid jobs, the status jobs, the outlets for the sadists and the power maniacs, the perverts and the snuff-sniffing paranoics, all of them depending on the existence of "crime" and of a police force which will arrest and charge suspects.

IN case this may be ignored or con- when the "show" opens? And what would happen to them if the role of the police were limited to protecting our persons as opposed to the property of a few and the interests a word the legal profession, in all its ramifications depends on the police for its bread-and-butter. And the police know it and have ways and means to make a magistrate's life uncomfortable if he has the temerity of preferring the defendant's evidence to that of the police witnesses; or of driving out of town a solicitor who persistently questions police methods, or the veracity of

It is noteworthy, the exceptions only confirm the rule that (a) magistrates faced with an overwhelming. irresistible, defence, never bluntly declare that the police have cooked their "evidence" or that they are blatant liares, though they are never tongue-tied in the same way when addressing a defendant of whose guilt they have no doubt and (b) it is extremely difficult to find a solicitor who is prepared to defend a would-be client who insists on questioning the legality of police methods. The reasons are not far to seek. For the solicitor the local court it's the place where he and others earn a living day in day out; the routine, has been established, you get your job done with a minimum truth and nothing but the truth", . . . as a matter of fact if he has coveries in the field of scient as they all solemnly swear to do, been long established in the district their personal profit.

he must be on intimate terms with the local magistrate and the local Inspector for the obvious reason that they all meet daily in court as professional processors of "justice". It is said that familiarity breeds contempt; may it not also encourage conspiracy (in the legal sense of "agreement") and collusion between them? What overwhelming arguments and proofs can, in any case, be advanced to show that the guardians, the wholesalers and purveyors of "justice" (read "the law") are less prone to the temptations, the weaknesses and ambitions of their fellow beings over whom they sit in judgment?

Indeed, if the much publicised view that we are unable to run our own lives is correct, can someone tell us from which planet or womb the political geniuses, the law -makers, -interpreters, -upholders and -enforcers have emerged? If as we suspect, the answer is that they are mere mortals like ourselves, then the sooner we set about sheering the judges of their wigs, the magistrates of "your Honour", the police of their uniforms and truncheons, the legal profession of its jargon and high fees, the sooner will we, the people, unprotected, deprived of these "legal-eagles", evolve our own methods to protect ouris what the factory is to the worker; selves from the real anti-social. criminal, elements in our midst. And in assuming this responsibility against the mentally sick, we may also learn how to protect ourselves But that is not all. What would of effort and resent any outsider from those, the ruling minority, who happen to all these jobs if every- who is awkward and upsets the exploit our labour, squander natural body concerned were to tell "the routine. Your solicitor knows best resources and misuse Man's

THAT WAS ...

Continued on page 2

Amidst all the outcry in the popular press only one writer has seen the issue at all as I would see it and that is Dee Wells, the sophisticated Daily Herald columnist who is a liberal in the best sense of the word. She comments: "Who is to make us laugh at the political somersaults that will be turned? And I mean make all of us laugh—the peasants, the masses, the lower orders, everybody-not just a privileged IN handful who will be laughing anyhow. WHO IS TO DO IT? NOBODY. That's who. It wouldn't be good for us. It happy. It might even-God forbidedgy. Inclined to be disrespectful. Not happy. It might evn-eGod forbidmake us think. Even wonder whether our beloved leaders are the latter-day Christs, Galileos and von Clausewitzes they make out to be. . . . So it's to be naughty-naughty. And off to beddybyes. And don't you worry your tousled little head about nice Sir Alec or nice Mr. Wilson. They won't let the nasty old bomb get you. And even if they say funny things sometimes, we mustn't laugh at them must we? It wouldn't be nice, would it? Mummy wouldn't like it. Daddy wouldn't like it. And we know who else wouldn't like it, too. Don't we? Don't we just".

That I think indicates why it is a bad thing that TW3 has been axed, why it is a bad thing that the BBC pygmies should want to send us back to the nursery so the political delinquents will not be treated as a laughing stock, so that their little game will not be exposed at a time when it is essential we should all believe in it. The anarchists. if you like, have lost one erratic parttime ally, not a very brave one, not a very witty one, but the best one, despite everything, that we had in that part of the world where liberal dreams are manufactured to shade the fraud and the dishonesty, the cruelty and the savagery of England, Our England, in the 1960's.

*Either of them!

CHARLES RADCLIFFE.

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DEAR EDITORS.

'MAXWELL' dodges the main point of Francis Ellingham's letter (FREEDOM. 9/11/63): that is, that the end result of the modern technological process will be the complete absorption of the individual into society. It is noticeable that 'Maxwell' makes no mention of what is surely the central tenet of anarchism- the sovereignty of the individual. The citizen of the brave new progressive world may be well housed, fed, clothed and entertained, but he will be no more self-determined than his forefathers. Indeed, it can be strongly argued that his servility will be the greater the more efficiently he is "integrated" into the community of Machineville. Scornful remarks about living in 'the thousands of years before the Industrial Revolution' do not dispose of the problem, and 'MAXWELL's attitude is typical of those who exalt the social at the expense of the individual. Significantly, he links the economic demands of the anarchists

Who's for Machineville ?

approach, in fact, clearly derives more from socialism than from anarchism.

Another point made by Francis Ellingham that 'MAXWELL' avoids is the question of the "population explosion". As more and more people live in less and less space what will happen to individual privacy and the room to move? It is all very well, if you are a socialist, reducing everything to a question of the 'ownership of the means of production', but I would have thought that anarchists would have avoided such a simplistic view. If the increasing density of the population, threatens our aspirations, why the hell shouldn't we say so?

Again, there is the question of the psychology of the crowd. Crowds are the raw material for all kinds of dictatorship, visible and invisible. As the

population grows so will the crowd. Gustave Le Bon many years ago, and Erich Hoffer more recently, have shown how individual autonomy is swallowed up by crowds and their mass mentality. Perhaps some of our progress-mongers, who so calmly talk of how lovely it will be when changes in the ownership of the means of production enable us to satisfy the needs of an ever-increasing population, would like to answer the case made by Le Bon and Hoffer-with evidence, not professions of faith. As usual, however, I expect we shall be treated to cries of 'So you want to put the clock back!' (Why not, if it shows the wrong time?) and accusations of wanting to live in the Stone Age, etc. It might be more useful to abandon such incantations against evil in favour of rational argument, but years of hearing and reading the defenders of machinism have made me a rather acid sceptic, as this letter testifies.

Sincerely, London, Nov. 12. S. E. PARKER.

PROPOSED BRITISH FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS Co-ordinating Secretary: J. E. Stevenson, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

CENTRAL LONDON

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.

NOV 17 Philip Sansom: Just Speaking

NOV 24 Arthur Uloth in: The Slave Trade

DEC 1 Bob Green on: Symbols as a substitute for thought

DEC 8 Sid Parker on: Josiah Warren and Modern Times

DEC 15 S.F. on: Community

DEC 22 Social in Aid of Anti-Election Activities

DEC 29 Frank Hirschfeld on: Laying the Ghost

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chester.

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DEC 5 Bert Benson

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Tunbridge Wells, Sussex.

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ham, 23.

Staffs.

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Anne-Marie Fearon, c/o Traverse

Theatre Club, James Court, Lawnmarket,

Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close,

John McEwan, c/o Farrish, 4, Sanby

Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Man-

Fred Spiers, 35 Ridge Park Avenue,

Meetings third Friday of each month

7.30 p.m. at Eric and Carol Morse's,

John Chamberlain, 74 Upper Rainham

Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION

Meeting Sunday December 8th, Mitre

Hotel, Dale Street, Liverpool. Details

from Vincent Johnson, 43, Millbank,

Meets Tuesdays (in term), Q5 Queens.

Details and information, town and gown,

Adrian Cunningham, 3 North Cottages,

First Tuesday in each month at 8 p.m.

at Jean and Tony Smythe's Ground

Floor Flat, 88, Park Avenue, Enfield,

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m.

at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street,

First Thursday of each month, Tom

Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green,

2nd Friday at Brian and Doris Leslie's,

242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham

N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

Sociology of the Peace Movement

Trumpington Road, Cambridge.

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

D. Gilbert-Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion,

BIRMINGHAM (UNIVERSITY)

7, Birches Close, Moseley,

COUNTY OF STAFFORD

TRAINING COLLEGE

Gala of the 'Monde Libertaire'

FIVE comrades from L.F.A. went over to Paris for the 17th Annual Gala of "Le Monde Libertaire" this year. The Gala is a variety show at which sympathetic entertainers give their services free of change, in aid of the paper. The seats are about 10/- each and 2,000 or more people attended.

to those of the socialists. His whole

As at our Ball the majority of the local comrades were hard at work. The large foyer was crowded with literature stalls, paper-sellers and leafletters. Inside the theatre about 20 comrades were selling "Le Monde Libertaire" and "Liberté".

While waiting for the Gala to begin, records of revolutionary songs such as "Hijos del Pueblo" and "Internationale" were played. Those of us from the L.F.A. were feeling quite excited by the atmosphere and proximity of so many comrades and sympathisers.

The Gala opened with a young man giving dramatic recitations accompanied by a guitar. This form of entertainment is very popular in France and there were several similar acts in the programme, though varied in subject. One was very anti-militarist, another, a particularly nervous-looking little man, was very anti-police and several of them had a dig at advertising and "pop" artists. Lita and Jose Manuel gave a very exciting display of Spanish dancing, accompanied by Victoria de Granados at the piano, who also gave a solo medley of Spanish traditional tunes.

Léo Noel, a French comrade who often performs at the Galas himself, brought along the artists from his Cabaret, the most popular of whom was Monique Tarbes "une enfante terrible". whose songs and simperings were greatly appreciated by the audience. Then, to end the first part of the Gala, came "les 3 Horace", a group of men in black tights, with whitened faces, who sang and illustrated their songs by mime

NEW GAME

THE APPOINTMENT OF Mr. Iain MacLeod to the editorship of the weekly journal The Spectator and the equally sudden dismissal of its present editor, has had. in spite of the profuse apologies of its proprietor, just the volume of free publicity which he had hoped for. All the moralising cant about freedom of the press, and the treatment accorded to the late editor, in which the Press indulged, is not worth the paper it is printed on. Who, after all, leaked the news of the appointment, if not the Press-even assuming it was with the tacit encouragement of the proprietor, Mr. Gilmour,

And there has been a lot of talk about a Trust which was set up to ensure the independence of the Spectator. Yet it was this same Trust which agreed to the journal being sold for £100,000 to one man, who became its editor, and in due course a Tory Member of Parliament. What kind of Trust is it, what kind of independence are the trustees protecting, which allows them to sell a journal to one man for such a large sum of money? Obviously the buyer, unless he doesn't know what to do with his money, will

Owing to lack of response, the idea of having a Conference at the beginning of January has been abandoned. No steps will be taken by the L.F.A. to organize a Conference, until such time as sufficient response and enthusiasm is shown by groups throughout the country.

Protest against Fascist Minister

The National Confederation of Labour exiled in Great Britain invites you to support all protests against the official visit of Francos minister Fraga Iribarne From 24th to 28th of November

Franco's envoy will be in London. By demonstrating we will express our solidarity with the Spanish people. ASSEMBLE AT MARBLE ARCH Sunday, November 24th at 2 p.m.

> for a PROTEST MARCH to the Spanish Embassy.

expect to make something out of it, either politically or financially. My information is that circulation has been going down rapidly. What better sales gimmick than that of appointing Iain MacLeod, who has been portrayed as the Michael Foot of the Tory Party, as Long before the clean-up at the

Spectator, Tribune had announced for this month a typographical spring-clean, more pages, and more pennies per copy. Two issues of the new shilling Tribune have appeared. The formula is the same; the Labour Party and the Sunday Citizen have advertised their wares in whole page advertisements, the printers have lavished more ink and more care on the printing as well as vulgar splashes of red ink here and there as their contribution to the extra fivepence, but the editorial formula has not changed; it is the Labour Party mixture, with the usual reservations, which do not, however prevent the new look Tribune from being as keen to win the next election for Harold Wilson as he is himself.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, Sir John Hobson, told the House of Commons that no prosecutions in the Sheffield police case are to be initiated by him. "Proceedings were taken against two officers and they have been dealt with by the Court". He was of course referring to the trial of the two Detective Constables who were responsible for the unprovoked beating up of suspects they had taken to the police station and who would not confess. For the "brutal assaults" described in detail in the Sheffield Inquiry Report the constables were fined £75 and £50 respectively.

At Old Street police station last week a 27-year-old labourer, Daniel Mac-Donald, was fined £5 with £2 costs for being drunk and disorderly, and for assaulting a police constable-in which he became "quite violent" and kicked the constable in the groin and "stamped" on his hand—he was sent to prison for six months.

I am not suggesting that the Sheffield constables should have been given vindictive sentences; I am suggesting however that the six-month sentense imposed on Daniel MacDonald was vindictive. It's the old old story, the police are protected by the courts from assault by members of the public, but the public when it complains against the police is almost invariably disbelieved by them. MAXWELL.

and complicated manipulations of banners of coloured paper.

Léo Ferré, a stocky, squinting little man dressed in black corduroy, but who nevertheless had a fantastic stage presence, was the highlight of the Gala. He opened with a tribute to the Spanish comrades in prison in France, which was received with great enthusiasm. He went on to perform for about an hour, mostly his own compositions, a mixture of poetry and satire. After several encores from Ferré, the Gala finished at about 12.15 a.m. and the audience departed, throwing what they could afford into large blankets which were held out at each exit, to go towards the support of the families of comrades in prison. MARY STEVENSON.

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Weeks 45 & 46

EXPENSES: 46 weeks at £70 £3,220

INCOME: Sales & Sub. Renewals Weeks 1-44 1,690 Weeks 45 & 46 - 1,740 New Subscriptions Weeks 1-44 (348) 382 Weeks 45 & 46 (18) 399

DEFICIT £1,081

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