

FREEDOM

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The moment the minority becomes the majority, it ceases to reason and persuade, and begins to command and enforce and punish.
BENJAMIN TUCKER.

Religion & Mediaeval Ribaldry

IN Nairobi last week political representatives of eighty countries attended the lavish and expensive (it was a £400,000 spree) celebrations to mark Kenya's emergence as an independent African State. The Union Jack was hauled down and in its place fluttered the new flag of Kenya; the white administration has gone and a black one has replaced it; the old army has gone, and the newly named Kenya Rifles march in its footsteps.

Four former Mau Mau "generals" dressed in smart khaki uniforms attended the garden party given in honour of the Duke of Edinburgh who was there representing the Queen. And dominating this gathering of British Cabinet Ministers and other VIPs was the corpulent, benign, fly-swatting, grand old man of them all, Jomo Kenyatta, enjoying every minute of his triumph.

Ten years ago, in Nairobi, the 58-day trial of Jomo Kenyatta as

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leader of Mau Mau came to an end with the pronouncement of his guilt and the imposition of the maximum sentence the law would permit. But we pointed out in FREEDOM at the time (April 18, 1953):

If nationalism triumphs in Kenya as in India and West Africa, the trial will have set Kenyatta securely on the road trodden by Nehru and Nkrumah—the road that ends in the premiership.

That same year the 100,000 strong Kenya African Union, of which Kenyatta was president, was proscribed, and the then acting Chief Native Commissioner in a statement to all Africans declared that "The Kenya Government can never again allow such an association as the KAU". That same year, in spite of assurances that the situation was improving in Kenya, the British government dispatched four-engined bombers "designed for use against concentrated industrial and military targets" to supplement the liberating mission of the 35,000 troops in Kenya. In 1953, too, there was the trial of Captain Griffiths for murder, which resulted in an acquittal but lifted the lid on colonial military methods and made a growing number of people in this country aware of the ghastly things that were being carried out in their name in Africa.

The imprisonment of Kenyatta did not bring the resistance to an end. By mid-1954 the slaughter of Africans was proceeding at a faster pace than ever, and the hangman was never idle. Among the white rulers there was no intention of giving Kenya her independence. Sir Michael (then Mr.) Blundell, Minister without Portfolio, and a member

of the Kenya War Council warned the resistance "Your casualties will continue and will increase till you give in". He gave as 5,000 the number of "terrorists" killed since the beginning of the "emergency". In the House of Commons the Colonial Secretary said that in the previous 12 months 566 Africans in

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Rhodesian Settlers' Plot

(From our Correspondent)

THE *Observer* (1/12/63) carries a report by Colin Legum concerning the Rhodesian Front caucus meeting which discussed, in secret, the timing and nature of Southern Rhodesia's independence.

According to the South African newspaper, the *Star*, the final decision will be taken before the end of February on whether to declare unilateral independence or to assume independence little by little.

This report is supported by another reporting the secret meeting which has appeared in the *Citizen* paper here in Southern Rhodesia (19/11/63). The *Citizen* claims that "invitations to the meeting were extended by voice of mouth to the inner circle of the select few, who get together to help formulate Government policy". The leak to the paper confirms the report in the *Observer* in all respects: either independence will come gradually "through embarking on foreign relations agreements with friendly countries without prior British consultation and little by little extending the acts of independence to cover every facet of our national life" or it will be declared if Britain "does not grant independence on acceptable terms", or if it seems likely that the Labour Party is certain to win the next election.

The Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr. Field, has declared it an impertinence to claim that he has "an affection and respect for" the *Citizen*, but he has admitted that he had once an interest in the paper. I have also recently heard a Cabinet Minister, Mr. John Gaunt, refer to the *Citizen* as an honourable paper.

Only the other day the daily paper *The Rhodesian Herald* (23/11/63) printed a letter from a Civil Servant in this country which said in part: "Any Government of Southern Rhodesia declaring independence unilaterally would be moving into open rebellion against the Crown, thereby imposing a personal decision of the utmost gravity upon every individual Rhodesian."

"Every Rhodesian is a British subject owing allegiance to the British Crown and aiding and abetting a rebel Government, even passively, would in effect be a party to treason."

This would seem to indicate that if the S. Rhodesian Government is intending to declare independence, strike action will not only be taken by the African population.

Other warnings have been sounded. A prominent member of Sir Edgar Whitehead's Opposition, Mr. Butler, has suggested that a declaration of Independence would probably lead Britain to invite the UN to deal with "an illegal State". Also Dr. Palley, an Independent, has declared that unconstitutional action would kill and cripple Rhodesia financially and would lead to a situation "like the Congo". Mr. Joshua Nkomo has simply said that should the S. Rhodesian Government declare independence it would be "for it".

All this talk of treason and unconstitutional action might lead the anarchist to think that something encouraging is afoot, but if anything underlines the difference between rebellion and insurrection this particular example does. The rebellion envisaged by the Rhodesian Front Government (which represents half the white dominated electorate) is grossly authoritarian. Whereas the "treason" of the Spies for Peace last Easter was responsible, in that it informed the people of the heinous plans of the British Government in the event of war and of the lies told about nuclear exercises, this "treason" plot in Rhodesia seeks to perpetrate minority privileges by unconstitutional means only because the Reactionary minority see no other way of maintaining their privileges.

No 'Freedom' Next Week

With this issue of FREEDOM we complete this year's publications, and this is the last opportunity we shall have to urge all readers who value the work done by the FREEDOM PRESS to send a contribution to the Deficit Fund before the end of the year.

By the time this issue reaches you, those of you who have still not paid their 1963 subscriptions will have received a reminder, and we trust you will not put it aside but give it your immediate attention. We can, after all, attack the Deficit Fund both by contributions to the Deficit Fund and by paying up arrears of subscription!

ANARCHY-35 will be posted to subscribers during the first week in January, and the first issue of FREEDOM for 1964 will be published on January 11th.

We send greetings to all friends throughout the world who have contributed in one way or another in keeping Freedom Press and its publications going this year and rely on their support and their activity in the coming year.

EDITORS.

ANARCHY 34:

NOW ON SALE, IS ON

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CLAIMS ALL ROUND

A number of unions have recently either gained pay awards exceeding the Government's "guiding light", are in the middle of negotiations, or have made it known that they will soon be joining in with their claims.

A few weeks ago, following Vauxhalls and Fords, the engineers gained a pay award and they have now come back for a 40-hour week. Following them came the shipbuilders and, their employers remembering the Government's decision to refer the engineers' award to the National Incomes Commission, replied that all they could offer was an 8/- a week rise. Ted Hill, the leader of the Shipbuilders' Union, turned this down saying that it was inadequate.

In the State-controlled industries, the busmen's leaders are still negotiating and sticking out for an interim increase while the inquiry into bus transport and conditions is carrying out its investigations. At the moment, London Transport have offered 15/- for drivers and 10/- for conductors, increasing the differentials again. The busmen want 30/-, a third week's holiday and a 40-hour week. Garages are still banning overtime, but this week 550 men at Highgate garage started a work-to-rule to increase the pressure on the L.T.B. A conference to be held in the coming week may decide to follow Highgate's example.

The British Railways Board, another section of nationalised transport, has offered an overall pay increase of 4% which has been flatly rejected by the leaders of the three railway unions. Ray Gunter, M.P., president of the Transport Salaried Staffs Association and Labour's "shadow" Minister of Labour, called the B.R.B.'s denial of Govern-

ment intervention "hypocritical". Perhaps if and when Ray Gunter becomes Minister of Labour we shall see who is really hypocritical.

Mr. Dunbar of the B.R. Board (Dr. Beeching was significantly absent, perhaps, as I think, he is in favour of a higher award), said that the offer was based on increases in other industries over the past year. A nice little get out when one considers that most awards have been kept very near the "guiding light" policy with the help of Government pressure. The unions claim, and quite rightly so, that the comparison with outside industries goes back to the Guillebaud Report of December, 1959.

Now that the talks about staff status in the electricity supply industry have been abandoned, the five unions representing the 128,000 men have put in for a 40-hour week. Together with this, they are claiming a third week's holiday, and 10/6d. overall increase after two years' service instead of 8/6d. for craftsmen and 5/6d. for other grades, which are paid at present. They are also after a further increase for craftsmen.

The unofficial Shop Stewards' Movement has campaigned for a reduction in hours for some considerable time now and has continuously fought against the offers of the Electricity Board on staff status. With these offers, the Board is seeking to cut its overall wage bill and obtain greater mobility of labour, not only regarding jobs but also transfers to other power stations. At the moment, the power worker is saddled with a three year agreement. Under this, he is due for a measly 2½d. an hour rise next February. The unions say that these

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

further claims do not violate this agreement. I doubt if the power worker will worry if it does.

The union of another nationalised industry has, this week, given the Government notice that it intends to lodge a claim for higher wages in January. This is the National Union of Miners and it is claiming a 15/- a week increase for day wage men. The basic rates now stand at £11. 7. 6d. for underground workers and £10. 7. 6. for surface men. A further increase is being claimed for 55,000 craftsmen who are part of the 260,000 day wage men.

In an agreement made last April, the miners got an average increase of 9/- a week and seven extra rest days if productivity went up to an average of 34 cwt. output per man-shift over a period of four consecutive weeks. This target has now been reached and will probably be maintained. In some areas where there is highly automated plant, this national average has been greatly exceeded. In the Eastwood and Ilkeston areas of the East Midlands division, miners have reached 3 tons 1 cwt. output per man-shift.

The coalminers of this country have fought a long hard struggle, firstly against private employers and now, more recently, against the State. They have often borne the brunt of the bosses' attacks on work conditions, and in the 1926 General Strike, they stayed out from May to November. Since nationalisation, with "State Planning", we first had plans for a large labour force with a big Government recruitment drive. After achieving this, it was found that with the increase in the use of other types of fuels, there was overproduction of coal. This was followed by sackings in order to reduce the output of coal, and now, with a small labour force, automated machinery is being brought into use to increase the output once more.

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Poverty, Population, Religion..

POVERTY and ignorance are two of the problems which have to be tackled on a world-wide scale if the population growth, now worrying some present day affluence which characterises large areas of the industrial West.

The immediate aim should be to raise the standard of living; to remove the day to day misery endured by people who do not have enough to eat, and who dwell in shacks of such squalor, that by contrast make the slums of our industrial cities seem snug.

But it is not enough just to feed hungry people. It is also necessary to supply the knowledge and the means for each willing family to limit its size. In some areas of the world age-old hostilities and indifference have been overcome, but pleas for the resources and skill needed from the technically advanced nations, if birth control techniques are to succeed, "are all but ignored".

Whether we accept the view that the rate of population growth is the "first world problem in history", which can only be solved by making adequate birth control available on a vast scale, the fact is that for millions of people who for religious or other reasons are unable to make use of a rational contraceptive system the problem is pressing and personal.

We can assume that to Governments human problems are only so many statistics, availability of industrial and military man-power, etc. There seems to be an adequate supply of cannon fodder these days since most Governments now seem to view the problem of population growth as an international one, but paradoxically seem reluctant to do anything about it.

In his book "The Time Has Come", John Rock, a leading Roman Catholic gynaecologist and a "major contributor" to the development of the oral contraceptive pill looks at world population figures and concludes that a world-wide contraceptive system is essential. He questions the theological validity of the Church's opposition to mechanical birth

control and examines the political role of the Catholic Church as a factor in blocking contraceptive information, not only to its adherents, but to the non-Catholic as well.

As a humanitarian Catholic in opposition to the official view, the author of "The Time Has Come" is not without his own problems. Even so it is not out of the question for the Church to re-examine and re-interpret the "natural law", if by so doing there is no loss of face. All that would be necessary by way of explanation would be the publication of one of those complicated encyclicals which no one would understand!

Meanwhile however, Catholics continue to have babies which they cannot feed. But also non-Catholics are prevented from limiting their families as a result of Church pressure. Outside the non-Catholic countries pressure can be seen at its strongest in the United States. John Rock writes:

In Western countries, and particularly in our own, medical research establishments are engaged in a . . . quest the value of which no one can deny: victory over painful, disabling and killing diseases. But the research needed for effective and morally acceptable means of fertility control—humanity's organised institutions can spare, or feel free to devote, only a tiny fraction of the funds required . . . action by some governments and by the dominant international agencies is paralyzed mainly because of the religious controversy over permissible means of fertility control.

The Church not only seeks to control its own flock, its aim is to block the dissemination of knowledge to the non-Catholic world as well. The following report shows how they work through the United Nations:—

On this matter the history of the U.N. and its specialized agencies has been a troubled one. Since family planning is considered by many to be largely a health factor, proposals and requests to the U.N. concerning it are often referred to the World Health Organization. In 1951, India requested technical aid in establishing its family limitation programme and a special WHO mission was sent there to provide this assistance in a programme confined to the rhythm method. *Catholic nations at the next WHO World Health Assembly established a ban on further aid even of this kind, and the prohibition has remained in effect ever since.*

Shortly after the Kennedy Presidential elections Sweden raised the matter of fertility control in the United Nations. (On this matter Kennedy has been more forthright than his predecessor Eisenhower). This was followed by a petition to the U.N. by a group of forty Nobel Prize winners and others urging the U.N. to take the lead "in establishing and implementing a policy designed to limit population growth the world over—in order that human beings may grow on a qualitative rather than a merely quantitative level".

In 1962 a resolution placed jointly by Sweden and Denmark on the agenda a year previously entitled "Population Growth and Economic Development", and co-sponsored by Ghana, Greece, Tunisia and Pakistan was finally debated in December of 1962 and adopted, "after a deletion of a clause providing techni-

"LOVE LOCKED OUT" by James Cleugh (Anthony Blond) 30s.

Love Locked Out is a fascinating chronicle of the sexual resistance to clerical moral vindictiveness in the Middle Ages—a resistance notable for its excesses, blasphemies, appetites and penalties.

It is a relatively short (300 pages), but detailed, survey of the effects, amusing and horrifying, conscious and unconscious, intentional and unintentional of the attempted wholesale superimposition of Pauline anti-physical Christianity on a bawdy, boisterous and relatively uninhibited people—a people emerging from paganism and seeing no very good reason why their lusty sexuality should be sacrificed to the apparently arbitrary condemnation of the body and all its functions by the religious authorities.

This well documented account deals with all aspects of sexuality—from castrating instruments (introduced on the first page) by way of artists, dancers, flagellants, monasteries and nunneries (the homes of absolutely hair-raising viciousness, as much from the clerical authorities as the "rank-and-file" inmates, as well as delightful, rebellious bawdiness), witchcraft, to whores, who presented at various times a very severe and sustained threat to the clerical and secular *status quo*. The whores lead on to the bathers and the bathers to the scourge of syphilis which in ten short years (1493—when Columbus returned from America—to 1503) is said to have wiped out a third of Europe's population, men, women and children. Cleugh concludes his survey with chapters on pornography (which traces the effect of sophisticated Eastern sensuality on the Christian and semi-Christian world) and censorship.

Love Locked Out is not unabashed praise of a generous and unthinking sexuality which, in some ways, contrasts well with our own guilt-ridden anti-sexuality, for it was simply a different reaction to a different brand of irrational morality. Neither is the book condemnation of the lustiness of the age—it was as much a product of circumstances as our passivism is. The Europe of the Middle Ages was neither glorious nor incomparably wicked.

It is rather a sociological and critical investigation into a fascinating and in

cal assistance on population control to nations requesting it".

The "international conspiracy" it seems is not confined to Jews and Communists!

The merits or otherwise of the actual techniques and developments discussed by the author cannot be gone into here. We know that the oral pill is already in use although the long term effects are as yet unknown. One female member of the medical profession known to this writer uses the pill herself and enthusiastically recommends it.

On enquiry some male members have been non-committal (that too might be a subject for fruitful discussion!). One

doctor in this country said that he issues the pill to "black men and women with large families" with a high fertility rating.

Mr. Rock also deals with research into the rhythm method known to many as the infamous "safe period". To practising Catholics the author's scientific intentions may give hope. He envisages that ovulation detection can be reduced from a complex laboratory procedure to a simple home test.

Unfortunately it may not always be convenient to make love on the days (or nights) permitted by the Church.

R.M.

.. and Mediaeval Ribaldry

many ways shockingly unhappy age. There can have been little security in a society where confessors regularly raped their penitent confidantes behind the altar, where a priest of some standing, on losing his hawk when hunting, stripped off his breeches, presented his anus to heaven and then returned to his chapel to excrete on the altar in his fury at an irresponsible deity, and where nuns and monks were as likely to be raped and rapist as whores or blacksmiths. In the welter of hypocrisy—oaths of celibacy and lives of rape, incest, sodomy and bestiality—it was hardly surprising that nunneries became brothels and prioresses their madames, that religious processions became the venue for rape, sacrilege and buggery, that Popes kept massive harems, that cathedrals became houses of assignation and that monks and priests were numbered among the worst deviants from their own hopelessly unrealistic morality. Thus total laxity was practised by the same men who fulminated most violently against it—a state of affairs uncomfortably familiar to us. Such circumstances were the product, as well as the further cause, of violent sexual neurosis on a social scale. Our own civilisation suffers a similar neurosis though our attitude has been largely one of submission—probably worse psychologically than the active, though damaging and chaotic, resistance of our mediaeval ancestors. Today the anti-sex crust of our own culture is cracking up but it is doubtful whether we shall escape the consequences of a thousand years of sexual repression and ill-health, and our own chaotic and often irrational resistance to it, for a very long time. Our sexual ill health is one of the key areas for contemporary anarchist investigation and it is instructive to be able to look, reasonably objectively, at the analogous ill health of mediaeval society.

Cleugh is at pains to point out that not all priests were liars, lechers, fornicators and concubine-keepers, neither did all of them rape their parishioners, visit harlots or sleep with young children—some, like the priests in Chaucer's tales, were almost too good to be true and others were doubtless reasonable men, both in morality and sentiment, neither unduly passive in tolerating vice nor unduly active in perpetuating it.

But, as Cleugh's book indicates, wherever men in a position of power insist on preaching an impossible ideal of fastidious spirituality there will be people whose natural anarchic sexuality will resist, often with damaging results to all concerned, not least of all to society at large. And, as at other times, a psychologically ambivalent or largely artificial disgust at the sexual instinct and, indeed, the body, tends to cultivate an unhealthy and morbid preoccupation with the enjoyment of these prohibitions. As the tolerant and witty English divine, Thomas Fuller noted: "Virginity is least kept where it is most constrained" and the English historian H. C. Lea wrote thirty years ago: "When the desires of men are once tempted to seek through unlawful means the relief denied them by artificial rules . . . unbridled passions are no longer restrained by a law which has been broken or a conscience which has lost its power. The records of the Middle Ages are accordingly full of the evidences that indiscriminate licence of the worst kind prevailed throughout every rank of the hierarchy" and added, elsewhere: "The Church issued countless commands of chastity and tacitly connived at their perpetual infraction".

Love Locked Out is a brief history of these unbridled passions, perpetual inflections and those who tacitly connived at them while officially condemning them. It is a model of its kind—sensible, clear, amusing and detailed. It is a serious, minor work of historical sociology and, incidentally, quite the best short anthology of mediaeval ribaldry I have read. It presents facts and opinions succinctly and manages to present a large panorama of European history as an intelligible and exciting whole, without undue prejudice or sensationalism. It is a history of the ignoble attempt by orthodox Christianity to impose a futile and self-defeatingly anti-human pattern of existence on a fundamentally libidinous people. Its tolerance and objectivity add weight to its humour and occasionally withering scorn for the hypocrisy of the authorities, both then and, by implication, now. *Love Locked Out* is an extremely interesting and infinitely readable book.

CHARLES RADCLIFFE.

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Reflections on Capitalism

THERE seems almost to be a conspiracy of silence on the subject by those who control the mass media. Occasionally the word 'capitalism' appears in the financial or editorial columns of the less venial newspapers but there is never any discussion on the morality of it nor on its effects on people. Perhaps there is no conspiracy and the silence is because so few people are interested in economics unless, as in the thirties it effects them personally in a direct and obvious way. There is not to say that capitalism or indeed any other economic system does not have an immense effect on the lives of nearly everybody, but few people seem aware of it until a disaster such as a big slump occurs and even fewer want to know about it so long as their own material well-being is thriving. Up to the late 1940's there was great controversy about whether capital should be owned privately or be nationalised by the state but hardly an echo of it is heard today.

Anarchists must never forget that capitalism just as much as the state must be rendered obsolete. Greed is as big an obstacle to human harmony as power. It is to protect the interests of capitalism and to legislate against its worst abuses that the state has come to be the colossus it is today.

'Capital' properly speaking is some-

thing no anarchist should object to because it means factories, plant, machinery, tools indeed any wealth used to produce further wealth. 'Capitalism' as distinct from 'capital' is an economic system whereby the capital, i.e. factories, etc. of a community is owned by a small section of it. To a capitalist 'capital' means money, i.e. the financial value of the factories, etc., and the wealth being used to produce further wealth is not the machine producing some useful object but the financial investment producing the financial dividend. A capitalist regards everything—factories, products, workers, consumers in cash terms and manipulates them to produce the largest possible profit. In Marxist countries the capital wealth is taken over by the state and is controlled by civil servants and state managers. But this does not mean that it will no longer be gerrymandered for sectional interests. Greed is the motivating force of capitalism and there is no reason why a civil servant should be less greedy than a private capitalist. A civil servant does not get profits, it is true, but he makes very sure that he gets a higher standard of living.

Sometimes the economy slumps and causes unemployment. At other times the capitalisms of various nations clash and war results. Most wars have economics high up in their list of causes.

The 1914-1918 war was, in spite of all the elevating slogans, fought primarily for business reasons. The American President admitted as much and there was little to choose between the social systems of the main antagonists. People were told that the war was for Freedom' and in defence of 'King and Country' and so they went. Today few people believe all the old jingo propaganda or the hate stories about the enemy soldiers spearing babies on their bayonets and eating them raw for breakfast. The powers that be are not worried that people no longer believe such guff. Those slogans were only necessary when ordinary people were hostile to capitalism because they were only getting a pittance out of it. Now they (or most of them) have affluence (material affluence anyway) the old slogans can be ditched; people will willingly fight for capitalism when they are doing well out of it. Plenty of my neighbours supported the Suez war because they thought it would safeguard British oil supplies and unless this were done there would not be enough petrol for their cars and they might have to stand in a bus queue. Capitalism will not rely on people's patriotism in the future. It will rely on their greed.

My main objection to capitalism is not the danger of war because I think the top capitalists have got the world apportioned out by now. I don't fear slump because what with Keynesian economics, ad-mass, built-in obsolescence, wastage on arms and space, industry will keep roaring away for a

long time to come. What enrages me is that there will never be a let up, that capitalism will go on producing more and more until long after a sensible living standard has been passed, until the world's resources are used up and that on into the future things will get faster and noisier and uglier and more nerve-shattering and Britain will be a mass of motor ways, satellite towns, heliports, mental hospitals and occasional stretches of carefully laid out insipid national park. What people will be like hardly bears thinking about.

I am aware that most people approve of capitalism because of its ability to produce on a large scale and because material living standards continually rise. Undoubtedly capitalism is a great success by its own utilitarian standards. It is a regrettable fact that for most of the human race to produce anything more than cabbages, the most effective methods have been fear and greed. Fear of unemployment and poverty up to about 1950 and ad-mass inspired greed since. George Orwell once sadly remarked that people are like pigs. To get them to do anything you either kick them in the backside or rattle a stick in a swill bucket.

If we adopted a sensible standard of living and forgot about having three cars and two tellies we could take things easy for once and develop our minds as well as our bellies and send surplus production to less fortunate countries. When we start doing so we could be on the path to anarchy. Until then we have capitalism.

J.R.

KENYA-under new management

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Kenya had been sentenced to death and of these 289 had actually been executed. Major-General Hinde, Director of Operations in Kenya said in a speech that

from a soldier's point of view it would be a good thing to expel Kikuyu tribesmen from their reserves for the rest of their lives . . . What every soldier wanted was a kind of "swill tub" in a large area where 100,000 Kikuyu could be put out of the way on works projects and told that they were there for life.

The general was addressing an audience of European settlers and business men and warned them that "if such a plan is not practical, then you must not be disappointed if things in the reserve go slower than you wish".

In 1954, the Church Missionary Society in Kenya estimated that there were more than 50,000 natives of Kenya in prisons or detention camps* awaiting screening and assessment".

Towards the end of 1954 the new British Colonial Secretary (Mr. Lennox Boyd) on a visit to Kenya declared that the "unredeemable" Mau Mau leaders and followers "would never be allowed to return to areas where loyal Kikuyu lived" and he told the Kenya Christian Council that

the Kenya government was planning to detain such inveterate Mau Mau on an uninhabited island in Lake Victoria. It is believed that there may be as many as 10,000 Kikuyu regarded as unredeemable by the Government.

The balance sheet at the end of 1954 showed "a definite improvement" according to Mr. Blundell. The Deputy Governor had some encouraging figures to cheer the white settlers:

"7,000 Mau Mau have been killed by security forces, not counting those killed in air raids, and 750 have been killed in the last ten weeks. Terrorists were surrendering at the rate of 70 a month."

The hangman could also look forward to a bloody Xmas. His contribution to the liberation of Kenya was summed up in a parliamentary reply by the Colonial Secretary. More than 1,000 had been sentenced to death in the two years of the "emergency" of whom 756 had been executed (for the record, only 248 were hanged on "murder" charges). The news for the British tax payer was that the cost to date was £22m. and running expenses for this glorious blood-letting was at the rate of £1 a month.

★

1955 opened with an offer to the officially estimated, 4,000 Africans still holding out in the forests of Kenya to give themselves up: "If you surrender now with your arms . . . you will not hang, no matter what you have done". The whites had not budged an inch towards recognising African rights. Their reaction to the surrender offer was almost one of open revolt. They demanded that the military campaign should be carried on for another two years; in the words of a Legislative Council member, Mr. Humphrey Slade, it should be "fought to a finish". (These "colons" are all alike; they were saying the same thing in Algeria, with 500,000 French troops to bolster their courage). Mr. Blundell appeased the white settlers by assuring them that "although murderers who surrendered would not be prosecuted they would be deported for life".

Such assurances could not remove from the white settlers the horrible feeling that just when the military operations seemed to be going more

successfully the government in London was showing itself less intransigent towards the African resistance. (Again there is a parallel with Algeria). Was it that it had at last dawned on the government's advisers that, in the long term, to butchered Africa's millions in order to keep a few thousand white herrenvolk in possession of land (which they could never cultivate without the Africans) was expensive, as well as self-defeating? Africa as a market for the industrial capitalist nations depended on the opening-up of the Continent to the millions of Africans. Whatever the apologists of white occupation of a country like Kenya may say, what they have achieved in seventy years (by their know-how, business connections and unlimited slave-labour) could have been achieved in a fraction of the time had the "occupation" been in the interests of the Africans, and with the African masses disposing of a larger share of the wealth they had produced.

An important consideration if you are looking for new markets. 20,000 or 50,000 settlers however wealthy and however extravagant they may be, represent a limited market in this age of mass production, compared with 4 million Africans whose demand, even for the bare necessities of life, is "good business" for shrewd middlemen, financiers, as well as a worthwhile outlet for mass producers. The "wind of change", of which the lamented-Prime Minister spoke of, comes not from the Highlands of Kenya and the white settlers' lobbyists in the House of Lords, but from the Stock Exchange and the F.B.I.* seeking to exploit the sacrifices of countless Africans for their own ends.

The fact is, and let us not allow the new and old rulers of Kenya to gloss over the realities, that as far back as 1923, the Kenya White Paper declared for "the paramountcy of African interests" and this was never implemented. Not because the rival African tribes were cutting each others throats, but because white interests both in Kenya and in Britain were determined, as well as powerful enough, to prevent it. After all, what was the situation? By the end of 1935 some 7 million acres of the best land in the Highlands had been transferred to occupation by Europeans only. This not only sought to perpetuate a policy of segregation but was a means of safeguarding European ownership in the areas where their capital was invested. In spite of encouraging European settlement, for reasons unconnected with African interests† only about 600,000 acres, that is 11 per cent of the land was developed and owned by less than 2,000 of the 19,000 European population. The other 89 per cent went begging while more than 3 million Africans were squeezed into 31 million acres, which included desert and semi desert land. It needs little imagination to assess the position: 1 European to 350 acres

*American readers please note: in your country F.B.I. refers to your super-coppers the Federal Bureau of Investigation; here it means the Federation of British Industries We trust neither. The former are bosses-men, the latter are the bosses.

†According to the Everyman Encyclopedia: "the encouragement of European settlement was largely due to the desire to establish in the vicinity of the railway line a population that would provide sufficient railway traffic to repay the heavy outlay in its construction!"

of the best land, 1 African to 10 acres of the worst land. Only colonialist-publicists like Mrs. Elspeth Huxley would have the face to argue their way out of these bitter truths. In last Sunday's *Telegraph* we are offered extracts from a forthcoming book of hers which contains gems of doublethink such as this:

All this forms part of the so-called million acre scheme, an outcome of the momentous Lancaster House conference of January 1960, when the decision was taken to end Kenya's 60-year-old experiment of white settlement, abandon the objective of multiracialism, and hand over as quickly as possible to a wholly African government with no privileges or protection for white or brown minorities. (Our italics).

Mrs. Huxley is not going to get away with that rubbish however much applause she may be accorded by the retired colonial officers and ex-settlers among the *Sunday Telegraph's* readers. She has conveniently telescoped three stages in British governments' policy over 60 years into one paragraph. We can understand Mrs. Huxley's indignation; were we Blimps and not anarchists (or even politicians) we would share it. Were we not anarchists we could, with Mrs. Huxley, expect "privileges and protection" for "white or brown minorities" if we lived in Kenya, and for "white and black" minorities if we lived in "brown" India! Because we are anarchists we do our best to expose the Elspeth Huxleys not as experts on the problems of Kenya but as orthodox colonialists, and Blimps.

Let us again cite this "expert" on Kenya. She writes:

The total area of the white highlands was about 7½ million acres. Most of this lies in regions of low fertility and rainfall . . . suitable only to ranching; about three million acres consists of mixed farming land and can be cultivated. The government is therefore buying one-third of the mixed farming land formerly leased to Europeans.

This is an expensive exercise. The land alone, with all its improvements, is costing £12 million; the whole scheme, nearly £30 million, spread over five years . . . The aim is to settle 50,000 families. Only one third of the cost is to be given away; the rest is on loan and is supposed to be repaid by the settlers, with interest, over 30 years. Whether they really will repay this loan money is a moot point.

Considering that some of the Highlands were granted to white settlers free of all cost in 5,000 acre blocks, and that the bulk is held in 999 year leases on merely nominal terms, the less Mrs. Huxley talks about Africans paying for the return of their land, the better. The fact is of course that the white settlers who were largely responsible for the years of bloodshed and strife in the colony have already left with full compensation for their land. Had Kenyatta or his lieutenants been revolutionaries and not ambitious politicians, as a matter of justice they would have expropriated all the land held by the white settlers without compensation, granting to those wishing to remain, as much as they could manage by their own unaided efforts. This might well have driven most of the white settlers with their bank balances into Verwoerd land, and it would have been no loss to Kenya. As it is, to quote the last Sunday's *Observer*, "there are still vast white estates left" and their owners, members of the "right-wing landowning aristocrats", are remaining, and in our opinion will represent a permanent symbol of privilege in a country which could have started to build on ideas based on liberty and equality.

★

BUT neither the aged Kenyatta nor the young Tom Mboya are revolutionaries. James Cameron reports in the *Daily Herald* that

there is not the slightest concealment of the fact of Kenya's dependence on the goodwill and industry of European farmers and business men.

We are probably going to witness another Ghana, with all the corruption, the power-seeking and the emergence of another Nkruma. Kenyatta won't be there for long;



AN OUTBREAK of peace and goodwill to all men (with certain exceptions) seems imminent. Norwich Union offered an olive-branch to Lord Mancroft. The Brazilian Chamber of Deputies is considering a bill ordering all Congressmen to leave weapons at the door of the Chamber: four Congolese trade-union leaders were released from prison to "take part in drawing up the new Constitution of the Congo Republic"; General de Gaulle ordered the release of 103 prisoners under 25 years of age; Jomo Kenyatta opted for Harambee (togetherness); the United States Secretary of Defence announced the closing down of 26 military establishments in the US and seven US bases overseas; Mr. Krushchev proposed a cut in the 1964 military budget but he said "Already the Soviet Union has everything necessary, and more than necessary to curb any aggression". A steady, discreet withdrawal of Soviet occupation forces from Hungary (after seven years) is reported by the *Observer*. . . .

CHOU EN-LAI, the Chinese Prime Minister, started a two-month tour of Africa, President Nasser was not at the airport, he was at Bizerta with Ben-Bella, only returning later to receive Chou en-lai's assurance that Egypt's civilization was older than China's. . . .

If no goodwill prompts Mr. Brook there will be no reprieve for Russell Pascoe and Dennis John Whitty who will be hanged at separate jails for capital murder on Tuesday. They murdered a farmer for his money so they will hang with the sanction of the law, for the protection of property, with the presence of the clergy. In Ghana two members of the Opposition United Party were sentenced to death for conspiracy but three were acquitted and immediately detained indefinitely. The Chief Justice was later dismissed and the *Ghanaian Times*, the Government party organ wrote "What we want to tell the world is that we are not after death sentences just because we want people to die, but we want true justice to prevail in this country so that our revolution shall be wholesome and true. We do not want our judges running away from the truth and indulging in acrobatics to aid and abet assassins and plotters against the Constitution and the State. . . .

LORD PARKER, the Lord Chief Justice, was reported in the *Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review* as saying that judges, and not sociologists or penologists should determine sentences when the main object is to punish or deter (they also, apparently, must determine whether reformation, punishment or deterrence is the proper treatment), for example, says Lord Parker, Borstal is reformative therefore Borstal authorities should rightly determine sentences. He himself had sentenced offenders to three years' corrective training wholly unaware that the Prison Commissioners had intro-

duced a new form of training which took only two years. Judge Aarvold summing up in the De Courcy case told the jury he thought in listening to the 'great argument' they might have some sympathy with Omar Khaayam when he wrote, "I never more came out by the same door as in I went". According to the Oxford Dictionary of Quotations (via the *Guardian*) the quote is "But evermore came out by the same door as in I went". . . .

KENNETH DE COURCY, editor, publisher and investment promoter was sentenced to seven years on eleven of fourteen charges of fraud, forgery and perjury. Half-a-million was invested in one of his promotions to build a new town in Southern Rhodesia. Only sixteen houses have been built. In the USA an exporter of edible oils, Allied Crude Vegetable Oil Refining Company gambled on Russia needing edible oils and accumulated stocks on which they borrowed eighteen million dollars, this threw a security house into financial trouble and the New York Stock Exchange settled with the firm's customers. 'The Allied' went bankrupt and the creditors went for the collateral, the vegetable oil. The tanks at Bayonne contained only seven million pounds of vegetable oil. 360 million pounds of oil has 'vanished'. A man in Aberavon bought a redundant railway station for £30. The station was not his, although he claimed he had bought it for £5. The thirty-pound cheque 'bounced'. Mr. C. A. de Bernales, managing director of the Commonwealth Mining and Finance group died, aged 84. He emigrated to Australia on a borrowed £74. A few years later he returned, sponsor of companies worth £6 million. He floated eight mining companies, in 1939 they collapsed and the Stock Exchange suspended dealing in his shares. In 1952 the Solicitor-General stated that he was not fit enough to stand trial. . . .

MR. JOHN BLOOM, washing-machine millionaire has, it is announced in the *Daily Worker* obtained exclusive rights for British tourist visits to Bulgaria for fifteen years. "My aim," he said, "is to give the ordinary working people a holiday on the Bulgarian Riviera for the same price that they would pay for a fortnight at Blackpool." Bulgaria has imposed nation-wide power restrictions. They include a three-hour ban every evening on householders using electricity for anything other than lighting, radios and television. . . .

CAYTON of the *Daily Worker* was present when a bookie handed over £800 to a pensioner who had backed Cayton's four winning tips plus his own hunch (in the first race). He and his mate had a 2/6 accumulator and ten shilling doubles, ten shilling trebles, and five one shilling win fourfolds to win £816. 1. 3. for 35/-. Cayton, says the *Worker*, has now tipped thirteen thousand winners. . . .

TWO HUNDRED and forty-nine people were discovered sleeping out in London on one night in November. About 40 said they had no money, four had missed the last train and seven gave their reason as domestic trouble. One in seven of the babies born in London last year was illegitimate. This is due to "the facilities London offered in the way of anonymity, ante-natal care and support from moral welfare associations". . . .

WE ARE about to celebrate the reputed arrival of probably illegitimate, certainly homeless, and allegedly Jewish refugees on this planet about two thousand years ago.

JON QUIXOTE.

he's too content to bask in the glory and wallow in the luxury of two luxury cars, two wives and the Aga Kahn's former residence. No wonder Cameron found him "relaxed and confident". For a country at the beginning of its struggle however, he is "relaxing" too soon to justify being "confident" about his future. And will the Kikuyu with their background of struggle and sacrifice under colonial rule stand idly by when they discover that the new gang is no better than its predecessors?

We would like to believe that for a new generation in Kenya the achievement of independence is not and end but only the first step in the process of sweeping away a past so blatantly symbolised last week by the very ceremony of independ-

ence with its VIPs, its military show, its cliché-ridden speeches and messages, and last but not least with the presence of Kenyatta himself.

Kenyatta's watchword is "togetherness" which will mean falling over backwards to ensure that the white settlers retain their privileged status. The watchword of the people of Kenya must be "Land and Liberty".

The achievement of independence is a valuable step in that direction only so long as the people follow it up by occupying and working the land that is theirs before governments and lawyers have the time to rob them of it once more; and only so long as they succeed in preventing a new privileged class from climbing on their backs. The vultures young and old, white and black are only waiting for the moment to pounce.

Baa-aa!

DEAR COMRADES,

Your correspondent David Rose categorizes abstention from voting in a parliamentary election, as the act of an 'enraged sheep' (unless my French is very rusty). Our woolly friends are likely to be referred to a good deal as the election draws nearer, so I should like to express a preference for *enraged* sheep rather than *tame* sheep, as the former are at least showing a bit of spirit.

You will remember how Squealer got the sheep, and other subservient animals in *Animal Farm*, to support the despotic pigs by saying "Surely, you don't want Mr. Jones back!" whenever they grumbled. Mr. Rose appears to be doing much the same thing in canvassing support for the Labour Party. As we have been cursed with a Tory government for some years now, no doubt the rival mob seem less obnoxious simply because they are out of power—just as the Tories seemed less obnoxious when Labour was in power. But if self-styled anarchists aspire to a little political commonsense they should not fall for such trite slogans as, "any government rather than a Tory one". Baaaaaa!

TONY GIBSON.

LETTERS

Naivety...but

DEAR COMRADES,

I think David Rose worries too much. Spoilt ballot papers at an election will certainly demonstrate our weakness of numbers, we know that, but what he may not know is that involved politicals tend to have metaphorical apoplexy every time they see or hear of such a happening; furthermore people will want to know why so many hundred (or thousand) people acted in such an unconventional manner—it is up to us to let them know in advance, and this I suggest is far more important than numbers.

As for abstention, I have previously pointed out why I believe this to be inferior, as propaganda, to ballot paper spoiling. David's point about the Gil Robles government is valid (though only where workers do not have control at the point of production); but I believe that Spanish anarchists did also at some times or places put up their own blocking candidates who did not take their seats when elected—this method is in my view fraught with dangers both theoretical and practical.

Perhaps the best method of resolving this problem, academic though it is at present, would be to follow the example of the comrades in Argentina, who put up a stuffed hippopotamus as candidate—it won. I am sure this would go down well over here, where large numbers of people are already accustomed to voting for stuffed shirts.

As for preferring Labour getting in to the Tories, this, to an anarchist is an example of naivety, more to be pitied than censured—dangerous though it be—perhaps David has not yet read "How Labour Governed" available from Bill

Christopher, 34 Cumberland Road, E.17; and if he thinks the Communist Party is an alternative even more radical, I understand that a pamphlet along the same lines is being prepared in the same quarters entitled, "Twist with the C.P."

However, I too have my worries. Does the LFA honestly think it will gain public support for its anti-parliamentary stand on the basis of the two posters it has produced to date. The Guy Fawkes one presents exactly the image of anarchism that our opponents give us—adolescent, negativistic, and hinting of bombs and explosions. As for the Sheep poster, it seems to be designed to drive people onto the defensive and it smells of elitism, even what you might call intellectual fascism.

What seems to have been missed is that in this country, there no longer exists a general libertarian pattern of thought or living to which people can turn when the idea of government is destroyed, even the family is authoritarian, so if one removes the parliamentary or clerical icon without suggesting what we think should replace them people do not think of themselves, but of totalitarian administration stepping into their place.

London, W.2.

P.R.

Freud

To the Editors, FREEDOM,

Your correspondence published concerning Sigmund Freud, has been extremely interesting and when contemplating his person and works, one is quickly appreciative of the man's courage and the quality of it—venturing into the Abyss of the Self.

Sex springs deep into life and human existence. Sustaining. More people are injured by sexual restraints than by indulgence and such manifestations should be consummated in joy and happiness, abjuring any cruelty, especially where children are implicated. Mutual attraction primarily concerns the persons involved and elicits personal freedom. None knew this better than Freud, but is sex the focal spring of life? What of Beauty? Does it not truly light sex itself? Was it not so with Freud?

Amongst the volumes of Freud's, works recommended for reading by your correspondent, is contained the monograph on Leonardo da Vinci, first published in 1910, and now re-issued in Penguin Books. Readers will find this fine work illustrative of Freud's life-

long attraction and intense study of his subject. The author adheres to the view—current amongst his contemporaries and widely held since—that Leonardo was an homosexual. It may have been so, but the truth may have been otherwise! An opinion first expressed by the late Havelock Ellis, in a letter to Freud, when the monograph was first published.

The truth of this matter most probably lies in Leonardo's relationship to Isobella D'Este of Ferrara, at whose husband's court he sojourned for a time. Married to the boorish Ludovico, Isobella was a vital, versatile, beautiful and extremely intelligent woman. Outstanding in her day, for a period noted for such of her sex. The attraction between her and Leonardo was immediate, and he was soon commissioned to paint her portrait. The taking of a lover—in discretion—while retaining her wealth and position would not have been possible for her. But the portrait was never painted and Leonardo cut short his stay at Ferrara, and quickly left, never to return, though Isobella made many attempts and inducements—over the years—to get him to do so. She had become for him a two-headed woman. Yet the affection which had sprung from the very centre of his life remained and was the occasion of the anguished cry, "I can go on", made in late middle life.

"Man know thyself, and to thine own self be true", was an injunction to which Leonardo adhered all his life through. The supreme artist—he was capable of that utter, impassioned and heretofore. Naturally loyal, single and unique. In this self-knowledge, he gave recognition in conferring the 'Gioconda Smile'. Leonardo set himself, with Promethean courage, energy and discipline to pursue knowledge—to achieve such formidable results.

Encyclopaedic and daring as were Freud's discoveries, they remain in consideration of his own personality, and in particular of experience of anyone who would learn from them.

Gloucester, Dec. 11. S. L. ROBINSON.

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LAMB & FLAG, SUN DEC 22
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CLAIMS ALL ROUND

Continued from page 1

With the present-day pattern of union-boss negotiations, any award from this new claim is not expected before next April. Coalminers are now breaking all records in productivity and Lofd Robens, chief of the National Coal Board, has praised this, but will he pay up? Although the N.C.B. made a surplus last year of £1.5m., now with new plans of self-financing in nationalised industries, £10m. has to be allocated for the replacement of plant and machinery. Later next year a higher fall-back payment will have to be agreed for miners who are downgraded when new forms of mechanisation are introduced into pits.

Every effort is being made by the Government, assisted by "Neddy" and "Nicky", to keep wages down. Union leaders play an active part in this by assisting in the deliberations of "Neddy". They help to decide at what rate the output is to rise and, although they do not take part in the Incomes Commission, this is likely to change under a Labour Government.

Mr. Maudling, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said recently, when he spoke at a bankers' dinner, that the present boom in industry was due to the "guiding light" policy. This had kept the wages down and the hours up, in Britain, while on the continent, large pay awards and cuts in hours had been won. This had favoured British exports, but the worker who produced these goods has lost out on it. It is the worker who gets the raw deal. While fellow workers across the channel may be enjoying the benefit of these increases now, the position may be reversed later on.

While obviously under the present system, higher wages and better conditions must be fought for continuously, with the emphasis on the closing of pay differentials in industries. These struggles must be linked with the eventual aim of workers' control. In 1912, this aim was put forward in a pamphlet brought out by miners in South Wales. It was called "The Miners' Next Step" and in this they put forward their object of taking over the mines and running these themselves. Now, with the failure

of State control of mines, it is still the next step not only for the miners but for other industrial workers as well.

MUTUAL AID IN BRADFORD

The 250 men sacked at West Denby Mill in Bradford are still out on the stones. They were dismissed after taking strike action when a foreman did another man's job. (Reported in FREEDOM 16/11/63).

Despite active picketing, it is estimated that about 60 scabs are smuggled into the mill every day in vans. Recently, in spite of the very cold weather, the numbers manning the picket lines have increased. These are maintained from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. People living nearby have made tea and given food to assist these victimised men.

Mr. Wright, the Managing Director of the mill, is unwilling to take back the men and during negotiations with the union (the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers), and a Ministry of Labour official, he said that he will take men back only on an individual basis.

A number of lorries, on which the mill depends, have been stopped by the Transport and General Workers Union. Financial assistance has been generously given by workers in other industries in Bradford. Several money-raising ideas have been used. A local Tenants' Association organised a concert and sold 600 tickets at 2/6d. each to assist the sacked men and their families. In fact, people in the area are practising mutual aid by running raffles, shows and even a football match to raise money. Some women are making toys to give to the children for Christmas.

This week, the executive of the Bradfords Trades Council is meeting to discuss what further action can be taken to get these 250 men reinstated. They have been out for six weeks now and have stood firm, refusing to creep back individually. Some further action is needed to force Denby's to take back these men. They have put up a good struggle against their employers and people locally have shown their sympathy and support. These efforts should not be wasted and the spreading of the dispute will make certain they are not.

P.T.

£258 DOWN!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT DECEMBER 14 1963

Week 50	
EXPENSES: 50 weeks at £70	£3,500
INCOME:	
Sales & Sub. Renewals	£
Weeks 1-49	1,823
Week 50	42
	1,865
New Subscriptions:	
Weeks 1-49 (380)	415
Week 50 (5)	6
	421
	2,286
	DEFICIT £1,214

DEFICIT FUND

Berkeley: E.A.B. £1/7/6; E. Rutherford: A.S.* 7/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Reading: R.A. 5/-; Pacific Grove: F.H.C. £1/1/-; Belfast: W.G. 10/-; Edinburgh: W.J. 2/6; Hounslow: L.* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.R.W. £1; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Cleveland: T. & D.H. £1/15/-; Newport Pagnell: W.S. £3.	TOTAL	10 3 6
	Previously acknowledged	946 11 8

1963 TOTAL TO DATE £956 15 2

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DEC 22 Social in Aid of Anti-Election Activities. Admission 2/6.

DEC 29 Frank Hirschfeld on: Laying the Ghost

JAN 5 To be announced.

JAN 12 Max Patrick:
Subject to be announced.

JAN 19 Nicolas Walter:
Beyond Non-Violence.

JAN 26. Jack Robinson:
On Violent Non-Resistance.

ALL WELCOME

PROPOSED GROUPS**BIRMINGHAM AND WEST MIDLANDS**

Peter Neville,
12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

BIRMINGHAM (UNIVERSITY)

Dave Chaney,
7, Birches Close, Moseley,
Birmingham, 13.

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Anne-Marie Fearon, c/o Traverse Theatre Club, James Court, Lawnmarket, Edinburgh.

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Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close, Hereford

MANCHESTER

John McEwan, c/o Farrish, 4, Sanby Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Manchester.

PLYMOUTH

Fred Spiers, 35 Ridge Park Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.

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Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at 8 p.m..

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Details from Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13. (STO 2632).
Every Saturday 2.30.

Outside Lewis's paper-selling.

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

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

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