

'It is generally conceded that corporate bodies of men will frequently be guilty of mean and cowardly acts for which not one of the individuals composing such a body would willingly be responsible.'
DR. GREVILLE MACDONALD

The Pope's Political Circus

Dealing with Drug Addiction

The State of the Union

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S State of the Union message which he personally read to a joint session of Congress, contains proposals for the future of the American people many of which, anarchists would be the first to applaud. The President declared that the new Session of Congress should be known as the one "which did more for civil rights than the last hundred sessions combined . . . which declared all-out war on human poverty and unemployment in these United States . . . which finally recognised the health needs of all our older citizens . . . which helped to build more homes, more schools more libraries and more hospitals than any single session of Congress in our nation's history".

All this and more should and

could be done declared the President, and he stressed that it could be done "without any increase in spending".

In fact under the budget I shall shortly submit, it can be done with an actual reduction in Federal expenditure and employment.

We have in 1964 a unique opportunity and obligation—to prove the success of our system—to disprove those cynics and critics at home and abroad who question our purpose and our competence.

The President can't have it both ways. If in 1964 Congress does all the things outlined for it by Mr. Johnson, with less expenditure than

was needed by the Kennedy Administration to do none of them, one might have to admit the competence of Mr. J.'s set-up, but what should one say about the late Mr. K.'s? How much wealth was squandered in the past, and how much will be squandered in the future, even if Mr. Johnson's programme is adopted? For instance he maintains that "while maintaining the full strength of our defence", civilian personnel in the Department of Defence would be the lowest since 1950, and there would be a saving of some \$4,000m (a little less than Britain's annual defence budget!).

Even in the absence of agreement [at Geneva toward the control and eventual abolition of arms] we must not stockpile arms beyond our needs or seek an excess of military power that could be provocative as well as wasteful.

It is in this spirit that in this fiscal year we are cutting back our production of enriched uranium by 25 per cent, shutting down four plutonium piles and closing many non-essential military installations.

Why, one is tempted to ask, have "non-essential military installations" been kept going for so long? What has the Johnson administration "got" that Kennedy's lacked? If these military installations were necessary before and not now, is this an admission that the Russians

have also been "cutting back" or perhaps were never the military threat they were made out to be, in order to justify the huge armaments budgets in the USA? How can one ascertain when a nation is "stockpiling arms beyond our needs" unless one knows what arms the "adversary" possesses? But for years we have been told that one can only surmise, what military power Russia disposes of, because of the secrecy, the censorship, the iron-curtain with which Russia protects herself. How then do the American political leaders determine what are their country's defence "needs"? What special intelligence is available to Mr. Johnson to justify cutting down the production of enriched uranium by 25 per cent (no small cut) which was not available to his predecessors who we are sure had very powerful arguments to justify such production?

★

IN the West—and above all in the USA—we are living in an age of affluence, at least so we are being told every minute of the day. We deny this, and since there are those who pity us anarchists who "live in the past" and are unable to see what's going on around us, we will

quote Mr. Johnson's very words "on the State of the Union":

Unfortunately many Americans live on the outskirts of hope—some because of their poverty, some because of their colour, and all too many because of both . . . The programme I shall propose will . . . help that one fifth of all American families with incomes too small to meet their basic needs. (Our italics).

If "the richest nation on earth"—to quote the President's description of the United States—has a fifth of its population—that is some 40,000,000 people—unable to afford their basic needs, what is the situation for the other 90 per cent of the world's inhabitants? But let us limit ourselves to the problem of America's 40 million living on "the outskirts of hope". Are they poor because there are not enough of the basic necessities in America to go round? Are they second class citizens because American society is a class society whatever the Constitution may declare to the contrary? The answers are No and Yes, respectively. This has been the situation for a long time. What does President Johnson offer apart from fine words and promises, to reverse the trends which have produced the situation?

Continued on page 3

WHICH WAY IN SWAZILAND?

(From a correspondent in Swaziland)

IT must have given Dr. Verwoerd much pleasure when, last year, a general strike in this country led the British Government to send troops to end the month-long resistance. Here is a British protectorate on the borders of South Africa which demonstrates the failure of Britain to treat the indigenous Swazi population with humanity, whilst chinning away about the evils of apartheid in South Africa. The British ruling class in not merely guilty of duplicity in attacking South Africa in the United Nations and also arming the country and investing money in the Republic, but next door to South Africa a policy of repression unimaginable in Britain is carried out to quell a strike of the working population.

Currently much publicity is given to the 90-day detention without trial in South Africa, latterly Dr. Nkrumah has received a pasting for dismissing his Chief Justice for being just, but the fact that in Swaziland now a strike trial is in motion does not receive banner headlines. Nor is it generally known that malnutrition figures for Swaziland have increased annually since 1959. A visit to an African Township in Mbabane, the capital of Swaziland, speaks to even a casual observer of dire poverty which emphasises for one the veracity of the statistical evidence.

It is a wonder that the South African government now wishes to take over the protectorate? It sees in this neighbour a country that can be favourably compared with itself.

Yet, this beautiful hilly land of hot springs and large tree plantations that has not as yet constructed a railway, has another side to it. One just does not see a young white man taking his black girl-friend for a drive in South Africa, and a multi-racial bar in Swaziland is not just for those who wear a tie and jacket, as it is in the posh Salisbury hotels in Southern Rhodesia; here in

Swaziland the bar is for anyone with sufficient cash.

Swaziland could go in various directions, it looks as if the protectorate will become an independent country with African majority rule fairly soon. The general strike has shocked Britain into changing its "Suez image" into a "wind (appropriate word) of change image". But things could go the other way: to South Africa and apartheid, if the pressure both here and abroad slackens in its abhorrence of racism and of all those who support it.

THE STEEL STRIKE

FOR three weeks now, the Abbey works of the Steel Company of Wales at Port Talbot has been closed. The dispute started with the members of the craft unions taking a week's "unpaid holiday" over Christmas, following the Company's decision against the claim for a third week's annual holiday. Coupled with this claim is that of the Amalgamated Engineering Union for a pay increase to bring their members' wages up to those of the production workers. To back this claim, which is for increases of between £5 to £8 per week, the A.E.U. called for their members to strike on January 2nd.

The union had given the stipulated 21 days' notice of this decision but the Company, in order to forestall them, decided on a "lock-out" when the men returned to work after the Christmas break. The Managing Director of the Company, Mr. Cartwright, said that the dispute over holidays and pay should go to arbitration and, meanwhile, the strike notice should be withdrawn.

This was rejected by the A.E.U. because recent arbitration decisions have been unsatisfactory to the unions. However they added that arbitration would be considered if it only dealt with pay and conditions at Port Talbot and did not include the wider issues of the national situation. This was later withdrawn and the unions refused to consider arbitration in any form. The Minister of Labour, Mr. Godber, follows the management in favouring arbitration.

The 1,300 member of the A.E.U. are receiving £2 10s. strike pay per week from the union. The other craft union members have no income, as unemployment benefit has been refused. The T.U.C. has recently stepped in to try to get a settlement and is proposing a get-together between management and the A.E.U. at national level.

The whole situation at the steel works

at Port Talbot is one of complexity and confusion. This is reflected by both sides in the dispute. The Steel Company of Wales is not a member of the Iron and Steel Trades Employers' Association. It left in 1957 when negotiations were in progress for a pay rise for the coke-oven workers. The reason for this withdrawal was that they did not want to embarrass other firms in the association by paying higher rates. At that time, the Company, with the latest modern equipment and machinery for making broader sheets of steel, had overflowing order books. Their broad sheet steel was especially in demand by the motor manufacturing companies and this brought huge profits to the Company. The workers employed there, of course, demanded pay increases and the Company has, until now, usually conceded these, bringing an engineering worker's pay up to about £4 11s. a week more than that of similar workers employed by other firms.

The Steel Company of Wales has now decided to fight further demands and, according to Mr. Cartwright, they are feeling the pinch from competition from other companies and from abroad. The S.C.O.W., at present, holds 75% of the tinplate and 45% of the steel sheet export market, but has recently held a meeting of its sales agents in 66 countries to push them for further efforts to win markets.

All this is the management's problem, but it is expected that when a company is enjoying a trade boom its employees will seek to acquire some of the increased profits, which, after all, they have produced. But what of the union side in this dispute? There are 17,500 men employed in the steel division at the S.C.O.W. works at Port Talbot. Of these, 13,500 are manual workers. The maintenance men number about 2,800, while of the remainder, the vast majority are production workers. The crafts-

men's wages are said to average £21 10s. to £28 10s. a week. A few may earn more than this. Production workers are in the £30 and more bracket.

All these workers are split up into craft and non-craft maintenance unions. The production workers belong to the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, which is an industrial union formed in 1917 by the amalgamation of various other unions. This confederation has a central organisation called the British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association (B.I.S.A.K.T.A.) which is led by the new Knight, Harry Douglass.

From these complexities and divisions in organisation, it is no small wonder that differentials exist between the different sections of workers. In fact, very shortly the Amalgamated Union of Building Trades Workers, which also covers workers at Port Talbot, is putting in for a pay rise. Obviously there is friction between the leadership of these unions and there seems little co-ordination. This is specially noticeable with B.I.S.A.K.T.A. Joint meetings which have been called in the past have been unattended by one or other of the representatives of production and maintenance unions. In fact, feeling has been so bad at times that craft workers have called the Confederation a "bosses" union. Apparently during the brick-layer's strike in 1961, some members of B.I.S.A.K.T.A. offered to scab on the strikers.

It does not end here. The seven craft unions have no joint committee. Efforts by the Electrical Trades Union and the A.E.U. to formulate common pay demands were unsuccessful. There have also been difficulties between the craft unions over the Company's scheme for a "pool" of "mates". It is usual for each craftsman to have a "mate".

With so many different organisations and interests, the strength of the workers at S.C.O.W., and throughout the whole of the industry, is severely weakened. The production workers are earning higher wages than the others, probably due to their numerical strength and the vital position of their job. Surely, in this case, parity of wages is

a just cause and is in the interest of every rank and file member. Why not parity for all workers employed at S.C.O.W.? What about the other maintenance unions? A joint claim would have been far more effective. It is obvious that the employers and union leaders benefit from these divisions, for the overall strength of the workers is destroyed. There must be solidarity if disputes are to be won.

The aim of workers in any industry should be that of equal wages, no matter what jobs are performed. Whether the worker is skilled or unskilled, whether he maintains plant or operates it, he relies on other workers and their interests are the same. While a policy of divide and rule is carried out by the union leaders and employers, there can be no solidarity and demands will not be won. What is needed to enable the rank and file members to form their own industrial organisations and to win their claims, is liaison and co-operation, together with joint action.

P.T.

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THE pope's recent visit to the middle east has been hailed by the entire press and communications system as a unique and historic occasion, a sign of approaching peace and goodwill towards men, etc.

It may have had that unfortunate delusive effect on believers, a term which includes not only those of the Christian faith but all those unfortunate people who through mental or psychological inadequacy find a need to believe in some god, church or government to keep them safe from the trials and pleasures of life.

However, observing affairs without the distorting mirrors of faith in any religious or political system, we have seen so many cunning politicians making journeys to unlikely places, making hypocritical speeches declaring their deep concern for the people they wield power over, and finding "allies" among states that at a different stage of the power struggle were their bitter rivals, that we are unable to share in the enthusiasm.

An article in *The Observer*, 8/1/64, on the "Holy Places" to be visited by the pope, ends up with the words "Absolute authenticity seems an unnecessary thing in this country. It is the idea that overwhelms". The most dangerous thing in the world is when people become overwhelmed by ideas. It

The Pope's Political Circus

was rather amusing that the veneration of the Arab Christians expressed itself so forcibly that it nearly overwhelmed the old fox himself. It was less amusing to read that at the same time communal rioting had flared up in Kashmir because an alleged "hair of Mohammed" had been stolen from a shrine, although this quietened down when a hair was restored, despite impious suggestions that the second one might not be genuine.

Authenticity is quite irrelevant when an idea or creed is used for persuading people to give up their own interests and happiness to support a parasitic ruling class, and to die and kill heroically and dedicatedly to further their rulers' cause.

Christianity has been foremost of the politically potent ideologies during the last two thousand years, having provided the idea under whose banners were fought the crusades, the Spanish and Portuguese subjugations of South America, the Empire building of the European powers with the Spanish inquisition, the religious wars in

Central Europe, the British colonisation of Africa and many more bloodthirsty episodes. The pope's particular claim among Christians is a kind of mystical personal inheritance of the burden of much of the viciousness that has been committed, by the Holy Roman Church; a position that any humane person would shy away from, but humane is not a quality which leads to political success.

Among other non-authentic ideas that have wreaked havoc in the world in recent times one may quote nazi anti-semitism which together with associated irrational nonsense, led people to acquiesce in massacres which, with the aid of modern civilisation were even more extensive than those achieved by Christians in previous ages. The idea that the government of Russia has something to do with communism is another idea which has led people to accept mass murder and deportations, mutual assassination of the leaders and so on with the intellectual humility of the truly faithful.

In his pamphlet on *The Catholic*

Church in the Modern Age, F. A. Ridley characterises the church as being able to adapt itself easily and cleverly to take advantage of the political situation at any given time or place, quite independently of considerations of doctrine or faith.

The antics in Jerusalem at the beginning of January seem to be part of this kind of manoeuvring by the church to take best advantage of the political situation in the middle of the twentieth century. It cannot of course seize political power itself, and it can only bid to assist in holding power wielding as much influence as possible itself. The other partners are of course the government of the western bloc and as far as possible those on its fringes.

When one considers the requirements for a successful ideology for the Western world they are first of

FREEDOM

all a conviction that freedom doesn't mean living one's own life but voluntarily agreeing to what experts, planners, statesmen, civil servants, spiritual advisers and advertising agents decide is best; a readiness to look the other way when the government is carrying out repressive brutality in some part of the world or other; and at the same time the ability to be seriously convinced that one's own government is being generous and altruistic when it uses the "friendship" tactic as a weapon of foreign policy. At the same time the suitable ideology needs a certain international quality which will unite the United States, the N.A.T.O. powers and Latin America, and reinforce the beliefs of their people that the political juggernaut they are involved in stands for truth, justice and goodness.

It is not surprising that the Roman Church feels that it is time old barriers were swept away, and a determined effort made to spread its influence into fields which had been closed to it for centuries.

Continued on page 4

A Follow-up to 'Brave Cowboy'

"FIRE OVER THE MOUNTAIN", by Edward Abbey (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 16s.)

THIS is a disappointing book—disappointing not so much because it isn't good but because it does not fulfil the high promise of Mr. Abbey's highly and deservedly praised *Brave Cowboy* (filmed, with Kirk Douglas, as *Lonely are the Brave*). *Brave Cowboy* was based on the classical "western" myth of the lone horseman, defying everything for freedom and independence. It was a coherent, biting and passionate novel. Its hero was the lone, anarchist horseman—a warm, humorous and uncom-

promising individualist, cutting down the fences which threatened his freedom on the prairies, smiling half ironically, half fearfully at the soulless, mindless and frenzied mechanistic civilisation, which surrounds and which eventually destroys him.

Fire Over the Mountain is the story of a stubborn, veteran rancher's refusal to compromise with the authorities when they compulsorily purchase his ranch in order to extend a missile range. The old man, supported by his young grandson and discouraged by his best friend, settles for the honourable, but ultimately futile, course of armed resistance when the authorities finally attempt to take over the ranch. The story is based on fact, which may be why it strikes me as journalistic 'fiction' rather than creative writing, a good magazine serial rather than a convincing novel. This is not to say *Fire over the Mountain* is not worth reading. It is. It manages to convey atmosphere, particularly the physical atmosphere of mountain and plain. It does not, however, convey the atmosphere of tension and frustration, of bitterness and toughness which I am sure the author intended, and neither does the rancher ever become a complete person. There are moments of wry humour, of clever observation, of considerable sympathy, but they are only moments and they do not live in the mind like episodes from *Brave Cowboy*. The failings are not because of lack of realism, not because the book concerns a futile defence

rather than a profitable surrender—the same applies to *Brave Cowboy*—but because Mr. Abbey has never got under the skin of his hero. Jack Burns, the hero of the earlier book, was a man of flesh and blood, courage and obstinacy. Doubtless the old rancher is a similar sort of person but one is never allowed to realise this fully. The book left me with the uncomfortable feeling that it had been written as a follow-up to *Brave Cowboy*, using essentially the same ingredients, exploiting the great American myth of the 'Great Outdoors' and the rugged, leathery-faced frontiersman, defending himself on all sides against monumental odds, and forever extending the boundaries of God's Own Country. There need be nothing wrong with the myth. Abbey has already used it once to great effect. But there is something very disturbing in using the myth as a magical key to successful writing. I believe Mr. Abbey failed with this book because he didn't care enough.

Having said this much I must in fairness add that the book is readable and that Mr. Abbey has dared to write a book of the sort which few American writers, outside the science fiction genre, would attempt. He has done this twice and will probably do it again. After reading *Brave Cowboy* I thought that Mr. Abbey had an excellent minor novel in him. I still think so and I hope that *Fire over the Mountain* is only a temporary, and not very serious, setback.

CHARLES RADCLIFFE.

*"Brave Cowboy", Four Square Books, 2s. 6d.

AROUND THE GALLERIES

FOR my part would hold that death by violence is too great a price to pay for a little posthumous applause from the cultural rabble and that a few lines of trade jargon in "Art News" and a brief mention in the "Guardian" are not worth a moment's breath.

But men must die by order of the State or through its misadministration and so it is fitting that those of little talent should use their bloody and lonely deaths for a moment of butterfly glory. Many a man has made the anthologies with a piece of ill-rhymed doggerel by dangling from the end of a rope, and the philistines love to believe that the daub that disfigures their walls was painted by some unfortunate who died of malnutrition.

But for his death by suicide Stephen Ward would have lived out his life as a rich and popular panderer to our best families if it had not been for his brief and regrettable excursion into politics and his light and pleasant talent as a draughtsman would have been accepted as a minor but amusing vice. But Stephen Wade ended his own life and for that he was granted an exhibition of his collected works in a dingy gallery within the slum fringe of the British Museum and the Town turned

out in force to find some virtue in work that they had managed to overlook while the artist was alive.

On the 9th of August, 1963, that ancient Irish rebel Claud Cockburn took over the editorship, for a single issue, of the fortnightly magazine "Private Eye" and he placed his single stewardship to good purpose by printing a story that had lain around Fleet Street for nearly a year. It concerned a man named Hal Woolf and the circumstances surrounding his violent death. On November the 10th, 1962, Hal Woolf met his ex-wife in their favourite pub, the York Minster in Dean Street, and after a few drinks left her, never to be seen alive again, for a fortnight later he was found dead in the Atkinson Morley Hospital. Here was a man of sixty, a smoker of marijuana, who had been admitted to hospital after being knocked down by a car, released from hospital and then re-admitted, guarded by police until he died, and all behind a veil of official denials. The police denied that they knew of Woolf's whereabouts even while they guarded him and how he came by his injuries was again and again the matter for official lying. Another ineffectual was asked for to no purpose until now the matter has been forced out into the public viewing. But Hal

Woolf was of all things a painter by profession and it is fitting that his wife should honour his memory by financing the exhibition of his works at the Woodstock Gallery at 16 Woodstock Street, W.1.

We for our part can do no less than show our respect for the man than by an honest reporting of his work for good or ill it is the only way a craftsman can be recognized and accepted. And the work itself is of the type and style that graces so many conservative mixed shows, so many Academy walls at their Summer shows. Pitched in the key of Pissarro it has the same pinch-penny look. Colour dies upon the canvas and every scene is seen through a grey veil. Academic efficiency but without a spark of poetry to light a single canvas. Scenes and sitters on canvas after canvas merge into a limbo of uninspired technical ability but when one has walked away not a single brush stroke stays in the memory. Yet for all that Woolf was a man who loved his craft and when he could no longer live by it he earned his bread as a common labourer. When Bond Street is given over, month by month, to any paint-slapping clown who can pander to a venal press, this exhibition of the work of Hal Woolf deserves to be honoured, not for any cultural values it may offer but as the work of a man who loved the craft he chose to practice.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

agencies of this particularly unpleasant arm of the law "fighting the dope-fiends" are produced.

Dr. Schur clearly sees the impossibility, nay, destructiveness of the American approach, and one can only hope he finds a huge market in the USA for his book.

Recently, in Britain, journalistic televisionary sensationmongers are trying to persuade us that here, too, we have a mass problem. The number of young beatnik-like creatures, half arty, half crafty, endlessly searching for kicks and giggles, ruthlessly determined to transform themselves into the modern equivalent of the dyonisian maenad, the "junkie", are growing at a terrific rate, and the whole of the younger generation is severely menaced, so we are told.

However, a group of general practitioners decided during the last year to test this statement. They threw their list open to every drug-addict who did not wish to buy on the black market, who could not afford private prescriptions, and who were aggravated by the punitive, restricting and anxiety-stricken attitude of their general practitioner. They are given National Health prescriptions and asked only to co-operate ultimately in a scheme of withdrawal of the drugs, when they feel the necessity to do so has come. Neither coercion, pressure or punishment are exercised. The necessity for self-acceptance and realisation of the physical and mental damage and disintegration is the only criterion. Strange to say, the fact of, sometimes, severe physical and mental illness is grossly underrated and underestimated by most sources concerned with drug-addiction—including the book under review here. A rapid rise from 4 to 40 occurred in the first 4 months, but in spite of the grapevine of this "secret society", only a further 15 drug-addicts joined their list during the following 5 months. As the appeal would have meant most to the poor, the young, who could not afford to go for private prescriptions or buy on the black market (which exists in England, as said above, but is of very little importance), and those are the ones specified to be at risk, one cannot but conclude that the number given by the Home Office as circa 500 addicts in Britain, of which about half live in London, is correct. The figure for USA varies between 45,000 and 1,000,000. The United Nations Health Office estimates the USA figure as 180,000 Hong Kong is supposed to have 150,000 addicts. These figures are given to put the British local problem into perspective.

The appendices to Dr. Schur's book consists of opinions given by 13 specialists, details on 21 "representative" addicts, and detailed views of a sample of 147 misinformed London Suburbans. All are irrelevant and of no importance. The selected bibliography is very compact and of great value. This book is up to now perhaps the best on the subject.

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THE STATE OF THE UNION

Continued from page 1

He, in our opinion, rightly says that "the war against poverty will not be won in Washington. It must be won in the field—in every private home and every public office"; but in spite of that he depends on Congress passing the necessary legislation and does not mount the soap box and incite the people to revolutionary action!

He says that "very often a lack of jobs and money is not the cause of poverty", yet how does he propose to get the "basic needs" to those "with incomes too small to meet them"?

We must release \$11 billion (£4,000m) of tax reduction into the private spending stream to create new jobs and new markets in every area.

So here we have it. Those who pay taxes—that is the 4/5ths who are not in need are to have another £4,000m to spend on goods and services they don't need but will thereby create a demand which will be satisfied by increased production and services. And this will create jobs for the unemployed, who will then have the money to buy the necessities of life as well as putting down the deposit for gadgets, thus stimulating further production and the need to employ even more of the unemployed, and so on until everybody is unemployed, and a situation of "inflation"—when too much money is chasing too few goods—is reached and the country is faced with another crisis which can only be "solved" by such measures as compulsory saving, increased taxation, etc., in other words measures designed to curb spending; and this curbs production, creates unemployment and we are back to where we started. Meantime a few more millionaires will have made their pile, while workers will be back to pawing their gadgets and tightening their belts.

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MR. JOHNSON'S sentiments are fine, but he thinks that capitalism is the instrument which must ensure that "all members of the public should have equal access . . . equal chances" to the good things of life, when by definition capitalism is the instrument of inequality and the exploitation of man by man. Far from advocating the redistribution of existing wealth among everybody, and the redistribution of work

among all willing hands (that is a reduction of the working week), Mr. Johnson leaves things as they are, gives the haves more and relies on their increased demands creating jobs for the unemployed. Thus he can say:

I believe the enactment of a 35-hour week would sharply increase costs, invite inflation, impair our ability to compete and merely share instead of creating employment.

Elsewhere he talks of the need for "a co-operative approach", the need "to give our fellow citizens a fair chance to develop their own capacities" and in the same breath—or at least, in the same speech—he refers with "pride" to "the unprecedented progress of our free enterprise economy over the past three years" which has to its credit the creation of 70 million jobs, a gross national product of \$600,000m, "wages, profits and family income at their highest levels in history" but also "four millions workers and 13 per cent of our industrial capacity still idle" and 40,000,000 American without the means to provide for their basic needs!

What an inspiring balance sheet of capitalist free enterprise. Mr. Johnson suggests that Congress can legislate away the black spots, the social and economic injustices. His speech clearly reveals that this will not happen because the method he proposes, as we have tried to show, will in fact create greater inequalities between the haves and the have nots.

But the average member of the American public will not bother to examine the means but will cling to the promises, and they offer something for everybody: \$11,000m in tax relief for the have as well as their share in the programme to extend "social security"; jobs for the unemployed, housing, education; more money for the old folk, the disabled and those still unemployed; social and economic equality for the negroes; and a foreign policy which ensures that the US is "strong enough to win a war and wise enough to prevent one".

A message full of hope for everyone. *Kennedy est mort; vive Johnson!* 1964 is the year of peace and prosperity for all Americans . . . and just in case you didn't know, it is also Election Year in the United States as well as in Britain.

OURSELVES

FREEDOM PRESS finances for 1963 ended with a flourish. Apart from the large sum of £75 from the Estate of the late Edie Ballard (widow of George Barrett) a further £66 was sent by readers in the last fortnight of the old year in response to our appeal. And during the same period we received £91 in subscription renewals, sales and new subs. Thus we ended the year in a healthier position financially than seemed likely a month ago. Our thanks to all those comrades and friends who responded.

A final balance sheet incorporating the activities of the Bookshop will be prepared and published as soon as we can spare a moment, and we hope it will show that our deficit has been covered. But now we must look ahead to the problems of 1964. This year as well as continuing to issue our two journals, we are aiming at replenishing FREEDOM PRESS'S much depleted literature list. We hope to produce new pamphlets as well as new editions of "classics" now out of print. But to carry out such a programme on the kind of scale we

have in mind—and this means large enough editions of each title for sale over a number of years, and tying up money in paper and printing costs—we need more than our usual funds. More even than the £100 which we have just received from a comrade and which we have decided to use exclusively for the republication of a F.P. title long out of print: Alexander Berkman's *ABC of Anarchism*. What we need however are long-term loans repayable over a number of years, which will allow us to bring out a dozen or so new F.P. titles this year. Are there readers able and willing to help?

The 12th annual volume of Reprints from FREEDOM covering the year 1962 is now on sale. The title we have given it is *Pilkington versus Beeching* which is the title of one of the 82 articles reproduced. "Fans" of the weekly feature "Out of this World" will be specially interested to know that we have reprinted the whole feature in chronological order at the end of the volume.

The price of this 259 page volume is 7s. 6d. (paper) 10s. 6d. (cloth). And as in the past we offer the paper edition to subscribers who order direct from

ZANZIBAR, after a month of independence had a left-wing coup; Panamanians revolted against American occupation of the canal zone, although Mohammed's hair was restored rioting took place in Calcutta between Hindus and Pakistanis, talks were held on the Turkish-Greek-Cypriot troubles in Cyprus. . . .

THE POPE made a pilgrimage to Jordan and Israel. Police and troops used rifle butts and batons to clear the way to the tourist attractions. It was reported that a young girl was killed in the crush. Chou en-Lai continued his pilgrimage in Africa and made a side-trip to the shrine of Albania. The other pope (Paul) said he hoped his pilgrimage would help the cause of "peace and union among all men". The Berlin Wall closed up again. Five policemen were injured in a fight between police and members of the audience at a Paris theatre during *The Representative*, (the play which places some responsibility for the fate of the Jews in Europe with the Papacy). Fighting began after a man shouted out against the play. . . .

THE COPTIC Patriarch ordered his clergy to read on January 6th (the Coptic Christmas Eve) a message condemning the Jews as Christ's assassins. The Jews will be told that Christ's blood is on their heads and the heads of their children. The *Jerusalem Post* deplored the failure of Israel's Chief Rabbi to greet the Pope, "since it was a mere question of prestige his refusal was an unhappy one". The protestant Alliance protested to the BBC about the "extremely tendentious presentation and reporting by the BBC of the recent visit of the Pope to the Holy Land . . . A picture was shown of the Pope and the comment made by the announcer that this was the spot on which Christ appointed Peter to be head of the Church and this was his twentieth-century successor. The truth of this is emphatically denied". . . .

THE REVEREND ERNEST STREETE, rector of St. Nicholas's Church, Bramber Sussex laid a curse on those who removed stone crosses from the graveyard, damaged figures of angels and made



alleged "Black Mass" signs on the church door. He stood with arms outstretched at the altar and said, "I pronounce a curse on those who touch God's acre in this churchyard. May their days be of anguish and sorrow and may God have mercy on their souls." He said to reporters, "As for the Home Secretary, I say he's not doing his job—he should bring back the cat for these vandals." The cross was restored, the graveyard cleaned up and the 'black mass' signs removed. The vicar said, "My curse has worked", and decided to lift it. The police claim that they cleaned up the churchyard. On the BBC a self-proclaimed 'white witch' said that curses had no deterrent effect on witches—they liked them. If the vicar had blessed them they would have fled. . . .

DUTCH NEWSPAPERS criticized as 'blasphemous' a programme on TV which criticised 'the new religion of watching TV'. The television set was presented as God, the aerial as the cross, journalists taking part in the programme quoted from the Bible and the Ten Commandments substituting for the words "God" and "Jesus"—"the Screen". . . .

A LABOUR MP has tabled the question of the acceptability of Dr. de Wet as ambassador to Britain. Dr. De Wet seems highly representative and quite able to present the views of the present South African government. He is a political extremist with ingrained bitterness. He

has said "that if it had not been for the struggle by the Nationalist Party against the bonds of Whitehall, South Africa would have been in the same position as Kenya and Rhodesia today". He was concerned that *only one person* had been killed in a riot . . . "the whites in this country have also the right to protection". He claimed that Harold Macmillan "was stabbing the white man in the back to satisfy Mr. Gaitskell". He said "South Africa had been hard hit by the freedoms of democracy, particularly the freedom of speech in Parliament". . . .

MR. SIPHO JAMES TYIFA (aged 30) was found hanged in his cell while awaiting trial in Port Elizabeth under the "Sabotage" and Suppression of Communism Act. An inquest is still proceeding on Mr. I. Solwande, a 90-day detainee who was found hanged in his cell in Pretoria. Evidence has been given that the police indulged in systematic torture of political detainees, counsel alleged that Mr. Solwande had hanged himself to avoid further torture. South Africa's african urban population has risen by 45%. The white population has risen by only 23%. An argument for apartheid is that it will check the flow of Africans into towns. Dennis Brutus (38) teacher and president of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee was sentenced to a total of eighteen months' imprisonment on five charges mostly breaking banning-orders and escaping from custody. . . .

BERTRAND RUSSELL has returned to East Germany the Carl von Ossietzky medal for peace awarded him last year. This is in protest against the East Germans' failure to release Heinz Brandt. Brandt was a prisoner in Auschwitz from 1933 to 1945. He was a member of the Social Democrats and disappeared on a visit to West Berlin in 1961. Last year at secret trial in East Germany, he was sentenced to 13½ years' imprisonment. . . .

ROBERT MULKA, on trial for mass murder and aiding in mass murder at Auschwitz, where he was adjutant, said, "I never saw a gas chamber. But I heard that people were gassed and in the evenings I saw ghastly funeral pyres blazing". Karl Hocker, former SS captain in the same trial said he only "suspected something frightful because of the reek of burning bodies which hung oppressively over the camp". . . . "I learned of those dreadful things with horror. But what was I to do? I could only obey the orders of my commandant". . . .

PROF. LINUS PAULING said at Copenhagen that two months after a nuclear war involving the major powers and the larger European countries only eighty million people out of their eight hundred million population would survive. JON QUIXOTE.

EASTERN ELECTRICITY BOARD

1964—or is it 1664?

I GO in to get my work on Friday night and the fellow who gives it to me says "The chief clerk wants to see you."

Mystified I go downstairs to his office. When you get told this it means you're in for a ticking off about something or other. I knock. "Come in". I sit down. "We've had a complaint about you."

"Oh yes" I say. Thinking what have I done now.

"On Wednesday you went into a church to read the meter". I can't remember. One day is very like another on my job. Then seeing that I don't remember he says. "Crescent Road, Waltham Abbey, St. Cyprians."

"Oh Yes" I say. Still looking a little puzzled.

"The vicar has complained that you were very rude."

"But I didn't speak to him."

"He says that he was taking holy communion and you walked in and read the meter without taking off your hat."

"So what" I say still puzzled. "What's wrong about that. I was doing my job."

"It's not respectful to keep your hat on in church."

"Well I'm not a christian."

"It's common courtesy to take off your hat in church."

"Is it. Well I never go in one so I wouldn't know, would I?"

I'm very bewildered by all this. I can't really believe it's happening and he actually is taking it seriously.

He goes on to tell me that the governor thinks it's serious. "This is ridiculous" I burst out. "I don't even know you're supposed to take your hat off in church. I don't think of taking my hat off to go in anywhere."

"Don't you take your hat off in the street when you meet a lady?"

"No, of course I don't." I'm almost shouting now. "I'm not putting up with this mate. This is what the union's for."

Suddenly I realise that the executive of the E.T.U. is dominated by catholics and I'm even more angry.

"Non-one takes their hat off in respect for someone who's not there. It's barmy."

"Even if you don't believe, you should take it off out of common courtesy."

"Why don't they have the courtesy to let me keep it on." I'm feeling very anti-christian now. My hackles are well and truly up.

"This is christianity", I shout. "Three hundred years ago they'd burn you at the stake. Now they report you and try to make you lose your job. I've never heard anything like it. It's fantastic. Is this the middle ages or something. O.K. let's see the governor now."

"No I'll take it up with him later. He's gone now.", seeing me moving rapidly towards his office.

I go back upstairs and tell them about it. They laugh at first but then a discussion begins.

The office people think I should have taken off my hat. The lads think it's barmy.

JACK STEVENSON.

LFA Notes

ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Another batch of posters is available. The new one is:— **IT'S THE GREATEST CIRCUS OF THE YEAR. HOME, WILSON, GRIMOND, GOLLAN, TRICKSTERS, ACROBATS, HIGH-WIRE WALKERS, PERFORMING MONKEYS, PLUS HANGERS-ON. SOON AT YOUR LOCAL POLLING STATION!**

A new leaflet explaining Anarchist ideas (*The Anarchist Alternative*), is also available. Orders taken now from Groups and individuals, with cash if possible please. The posters cost 3d. each and the leaflets work out at about 2/6d. per hundred.

Any suggestions and ideas will be welcomed and offers of help are needed for distribution of leaflets and fly-posting in the West London area. Let's make this General Election year an effective one for anarchist propaganda.

Orders, ideas, and offers to Bill Sticker, 17A, Maxwell Road, Fulham, S.W.6.

The editor of the next issue of *The Anarchist* will be Jack Robinson, 21, Rumbold Road, S.W.6. Please send any manuscripts or offers of help (financial or physical) to him at that address.

ANARCHIST PLEASE NOTE

JANUARY 31st at 7 p.m.
A meeting will be held to attempt to put the London Federation of Anarchists on a more organized footing. All self-proclaimed anarchists are invited. Meeting at the 'White Swan' public house, Farringdon Road, E.C.1.—lav-by (near Clerkenwell Road and the D**ly W*rk*r).

Countering Political Nonsense with Anti-Political Nonsense

J.W. in his letter FREEDOM, Jan. 3rd, raises a few points from my article which I feel need some comment. First I suggest that J.W. reads my article again where he'll discover that at no time do I suggest that assassination is on the same par as breaking police cordons.

One way of achieving this is to make Anarchism a living reality through small communities or co-operative ventures of all sorts created by Anarchists, whether it be small agricultural farms or a town co-operatives for home buying, for schools run by Anarchist teachers or clinics run by Anarchist doctors.

As it is, most Anarchists are not prepared to contract out of the Society, they constantly criticise and deride. To want the cake having just eaten, is childish. There is little real thinking about this point in Anarchist Circles, we counter political nonsense like elections with anti-political nonsense, genuine social progress is minimised because these trends are sometimes initiated by politicians at just plain "individuals".

It is because I do see the difference

Letters

between breaking police cordons and assassinations (matters of degree) that I can sometimes see myself voting not because I believe in the party but because some social change may result from a Labour victory (like getting rid of Mr. Brooke, or repealing the rent act or some change in the penal reform which hasn't a hope under the Conservatives) without being bamboozled or believing that Socialists will bring the millennium or a Socialist paradise in five years' time.

As for purity. Purity is for the pure and the holy which of course leaves me out of it. Contracting out of a stupid situation is not so much looking for purity as avoiding the "impure". Those prepared to rake around in the political muck of our times with anti-political muck are neither psychopaths or mad, but in my opinion just wasting good energy for little reward.

Forward, Comrade Sheep!

Dear Comrades, To David Rose the coming general election is of importance as a means of "packing off the scoundrels who have governed us for the past twelve years, in a manner which, failing the Revolution, is the only one feasible".

So forward to the ballot box, comrade sheep, and vote Labour. But I would point out the equal im-

The Pope's Circus

Nor is it surprising that with religion and irrational beliefs being attacked from various quarters in Britain (although we are under no delusions about the imminent success of these attacks) the press and authorities have made a big show out of the pope's trip. In newspaper articles and radio broadcasts designed for grown-up men and women, the Christian myths about the "resurrection" and the "ascension" have been referred to as if they were real events that took place in history.

It is not the purpose of this article to suggest that it is important to attack religion as such, since the writer thinks it is more of a symptom than a cause of personal inadequacy and social corruption. However, the scheming of the church is often an interesting index of political movements, and in the framework of the present power set-up, the current propaganda drive of the Roman Church seems to coincide with the political movements towards European integration, and away from clearly expressed concepts like "nationalisation" and "free enterprise" into the kind of twilight land where the state really controls everything but the rich people still pile up their private fortunes, and where alliances between states have been completely stripped of any justification in terms of "freedom" versus "tyranny".

All systems of faith or belief, just like all systems of authority and governments, are the perpetual enemies of free people.

portance of the coming election as a means of preventing the other set of 'scoundrels' who want to govern us from doing so, in a manner which, failing this glorious Revolution, is the only one feasible.

So forward to the ballot box, comrade sheep, and vote Tory!

Apart from the more serious and realistic question of whether the 'scoundrels' elected to parliament do in fact govern us in the particular power-structure of this country, I think that the issue, as presented by David Rose, is rather simple-minded. It is because the election bally-hoo is silly and misleading, and has little to do with the real sources of power in this country, that anarchists ridicule it. It is not out of a regard for a personal political purity. I once offered to vote for a candidate when I was near the polling booth if his supporter (an acquaintance of mine with sentimental Communist sympathies) would buy my vote with a pint of beer. She was too much of a prig to accept the deal.

I am sure that the anarchist policy of constructive mockery of the parliamentary election is the best introduction to the necessary disillusion with party politics. I would be quite happy to see anarchists registering their vote for Screaming Lord Sutch, Henry Book, The Leninist Proletarian League, Commonwealth Party, or a stuffed hippopotamus, provided it were done in such a way as to draw attention to the irrelevance of the whole affair to the nature of the State's domination of society. Unthinking people (including writers to FREEDOM) imagine that anarchism has something to do with the 'left in party politics, and that it is somehow more 'natural' for an anarchist to vote Labour than Tory. Only when this immature illusion is dispelled will people begin to realize what anarchism is about.

London, Jan. 4. TONY GIBSON.

Experts as tools

DEAR SIR, Apropos of nothing in particular, may I comment on two statements whose only common denominator is that John Pilgrim is the author of them both. In number 39 of FREEDOM he queries the value of assassination and most of what he says is true, but he overlooks its one

Finance 1963

Table with 3 columns: Description, Amount, Total. Includes Financial Statement at December 31st 1963, Expenses, Income, New Subscriptions, and Deficit Fund.

DEAR SIR, Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Hounslow: L.* 2/6; Liverpool: H.H.J. 6/17/-; Northwood: E.H. 15/-; Frieth: W.I. 5/-; Woodbridge: M.H.R. 8/-; Preston: A.L.M. 1/-; Bristol: F.E. 5/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Southend: P.O.* 10/-; London: A.T. 1/-; Executors Edie Ballard 5/5; Edinburgh: W.J. 2/6; Wassash: R.S.B. 13/-; Manchester: J.G.R. 3/-; London: M.D. 8/-; London: M.K. 5/-; Hounslow: L.* 2/6; Nuneaton: D.H. 2/8; London: J.R. 12/-; Chicago: J.K. 17/2/3; London: D.S. 5/-; London: S.C. 2/-; Bangor: J.T. 5/-; Chiddingfold: C.S. 5/-; Hammersmith: Anon. 4/-; London: W.K. 5/-; N. Zealand: S.E. 10/-; Stockport: F.G. 1/6; Montreal: W.F. 11/4/-; E. Rutherford: A.S.* 7/-; Edinburgh: W.J.* 2/6; London: A.M. 4/11/6; London: H.N. 6/6; Rickmansworth: P.J.M. 10/-; Hounslow: L.* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 6/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 4/-; London: D.S. 5/-; St. Albans: K.L. 3/-; Glasgow: J.S. 6/-; London: R.J.S. 10/-; Lingfield: R.C.P. 10/-; Birmingham: F.D. 5/-; Hereford: J.H.M. 1/-; Vermont: T.J. 5/-; Surrey: F.B.* 10/-.

TOTAL 141 4 11 Previously acknowledged 956 15 2 1963 TOTAL £1,108 0 1

*Denotes regular contributors. CORRECTION: In the Deficit Fund list published in FREEDOM, December 13, we acknowledged a donation of £26/5/- as coming from Los Gatos Group (per O.M.), whereas it should have been entered as follows: San Francisco: p. proceeds Social Nov. 23 (per O.M.). Our apologies to the comrades concerned for the mistake.

important contribution in that in the scale of industrial injuries it places those in authority on the same level as the worker in the dangerous trades. Who knows, judges may one day find it necessary to strike for danger money, and generals head the list of civilian casualties. Secondly, in ANARCHY 34, John Pilgrim takes Kingsley Amis to task for claiming that in science fiction the scientists are never wrong and Pilgrim firmly denies this. But by their very titles the experts are never wrong, for from the data at their command, they state what is and they are contradictory. When the scientist states that light travels at 186,000 miles a second no-one among the non-scientists can contradict this.

Yours sincerely, Arthur Moyses. London, W.14.

'A * a * c * i * t'

DEAR COMRADES, I would like to make a suggestion regarding your splendid paper. I myself do not object to occasional four-letter word expletives but there are quite a number of people that do. One of the best—in fact the best contacts you could make would be through the Public Libraries. The people in charge of these places would not exactly welcome FREEDOM with open arms in any case but you give them a first rate excuse for rejecting it by using these words so frequently. Also I think the name "Anarchist" (there's a lot in a name remember how Hitler used the word "Socialist"—cunning rat!). What to put in the place of Anarchist would be quite a problem but this is quite humanly solvable. If you print this I do not mind in the least if these two suggestions are greeted with a 21 "gun" salute of four-letter words. Personally I think it would be highly amusing but as I said before a lot of people do not like it. Why alienate a lot of people unnecessarily?

A. GILBERT.

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"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m. JAN 5 Ted Kavanagh: The Anti-Election Campaign. JAN 12 Max Patrick: Subject to be announced. JAN 19 Nicolas Walter: Beyond Non-Violence. JAN 26 Jack Robinson: On Violent Non-Resistance. FEB 2 Maurice Goldman: The Devil and Capitalism. ALL WELCOME

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OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP

Secretary: Brian Scott, Balliol. Meetings each Wednesday. MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION Details from Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13. (STO 2632). Every Saturday 2.30. Outside Lewis's paper-selling. CAMBRIDGE GROUP Meets Tuesdays (in term), Q5 Queens. Details and information, town and gown, Adrian Cunningham, 3 North Cottages, Trumpington Road, Cambridge. TYNESIDE FEDERATION Meetings alternate Thursdays 8 p.m. Adelaide Pub (upstairs), Newgate Street, Newcastle.

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

Notting Hill Anarchist Group. Enquiries (Top Flat), 38, Oxford Gardens, London W.10.

NEW MEETING—Stamford Bridge. 3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21, Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

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