

'Insanity in individuals is something rare—but in groups, parties, nations, and epochs it is the rule.'

NIETZCHE
'Beyond Good and Evil',
1914 edn. (Citing Nietzsche as
'The Preacher of War')

An Election Anthology

ROUND THE GALLERIES

Pollster's Opinions

THE outstanding feature in last week's bye-elections is that the amount of nonsense with which the public has been bombarded over the air and through the Press following the announcement of the results, is so crude that we doubt whether any but a few backwoods Tories could be taken in by it. The BBC's "live programme" on the night when the first three results came through was a pitiful display of would-be expertise by the experts, while the interviews with successful and un-

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

THE mid-April issue of *Recht voor Allen* contains a call to resist the proposal that the polder made by draining the Lauwersee in northern Holland should be used as a military terrain. The reclamation of the Lauwersee will be completed in the near future, and the military claim which is being put forward is being opposed by local interests which want to use the land for building, recreation, sport, etc. However, the libertarian journal has put the issue in the context of a principled opposition to all militarism, and has got out a strikingly laid-out propaganda number on the question.

Brand, the Swedish anarchist periodical is to be edited by the Göteborg group in future. They have celebrated their first issue with an attractive revision of the layout, and another variation on the red and black cover.

The April issue of *Jeunes Libertaires*, of Paris, records the formation of a new group of Libertarian Youth in Paris, and a suggestion for co-operation among anarchists in making propaganda in the university world. There is also an article on the experiences of four comrades who had joined with the English pacifists in their "habitual anti-nuclear protest march".

Espoir and *Le Combat Syndicaliste* report enthusiastic meetings held by the Committee for Free Spain (of which Louis Leçoin is the initiator) in Toulouse on April 12th, and of the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Paris on April 19th, which was preceded by a festival. The Toulouse police seized all the posters which had been printed for the anti-Franco meeting at the offices of the poster agency and the homes of comrades.

The underground movement in Spain is making its voice heard by means of illegal leaflets. The strikes of the Asturian miners and student demonstrations have been widely reported in the press. The anarchist journals from France reproduce copies of leaflets of the F.I.J.L. (Libertarian Youth), calling on students to form independent groups outside the state-controlled union, and fight for the end of the dictatorship; and of the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation), commenting on the so-called "amnesty" offered by Franco.

ANARCHY 39 IS ON HOMER LANE

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successful candidates only confirmed anarchists' low opinion of the intelligence of politicians! But let us first of all present the data which the "experts", with their slide-rules and "form-book", have been subjecting to what they would like us to believe, is scientific analysis.

Apart from Winchester, where the turn-out was just under 70 per cent. electors voted in large numbers, and at Rutherglen where the Labour Party won the seat previously held by the Tories the turn-out was 82 per cent. All four seats were occupied by Tories, and as a result of the bye-elections they have retained three, Devizes, Winchester and Bury St. Edmunds, with considerably reduced majorities. In all four bye-elections the actual votes cast for the Tories were fewer than at the General Elections in 1959 whereas those cast for the Labour candidates were higher in three constituencies,

and in Winchester only 162 fewer (compared with a drop of 6,900 votes for the Tory candidate). The Liberal Party which contested three seats, collected just over 3,000 votes at Bury St. Edmunds, 4,281 at Devizes and 4,567 at Winchester. Apart from an "Independent Liberal" who polled 2,707 votes in Devizes at the 1959 General Elections, the Liberal Party was starting from scratch in these constituencies.

From these results what conclusions can one reasonably draw? On a lower poll in four bye-elections the Labour Party collected more votes in 3 out of 4 constituencies; the Tories, on the other hand, have lost votes in all four. The "swing", which keeps the experts busy with their slide-rules, varied from 2.8 per cent. in Devizes to 8.6 per cent. in Rutherglen in favour of the Labour Party. But

the very fact that the "swing" in each of the four constituencies was different would surely make any honest commentator chary of either singling out any one result, or of lumping together the four and drawing conclusions from the average.

It seems obvious to us that the pollsters and other experts in statistics can predict results in General Elections with some degree of accuracy not because the electorate is predictable nationally, but because of (a) the conservatism of the electorate as a whole and (b) that very often you can arrive at the right answer as a result of all your mistakes cancelling each other out!

The elation of the Tories at holding the seats at Devizes and Bury St. Edmunds can only be explained we suggest because the experts-with-the-slide rules must have per-

suaded them that they would actually lose. And for the same reason the Labour candidate in Devizes according to the *Guardian*, was predicting that he would get in with a 2,000 majority. And even more disconcerting for those who "think" with the "experts", the leading bookmaker of Devizes was offering 5-4 on Labour, evens Tory; and in Bury St. Edmunds, according to the *Herald*, "the odds on a Labour victory were even shorter".

So the experts were wrong on the two "key" bye-elections. But it did not deter them from working out the average "swing" and, claiming as did the *Evening Standard* that it lies "between the swings shown by the *Express* Poll and the National Opinion Poll of the *Daily Mail*" with the *Daily Telegraph's* Gallup Poll "a poor third".

AS readers will have by now realised — assuming some of them might have been expecting us to take sides in the political circus — that we have no party political axe to grind! Those radicals who look to the hustings to realise the

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WANTED: FOR BUSMEN—HIGHER WAGES FOR PASSENGERS—A GOOD SERVICE

"The persistent difficulties experienced by the Board in finding enough staff to fill its establishment we regard as evidence of the relative inadequacy of pay. The "establishment" against which the shortage of staff is measured represents the Board's view from time to time of the numbers needed to operate an adequate service. The measured shortage of staff is necessarily, therefore, an arbitrary figure. Moreover, the size of the establishment itself has been reduced over recent years, especially in 1954-1960."

The above is from the Phelps Brown report on the recent inquiry into busmen's pay and conditions. This report on the whole endorses the busmen's claims that more pay and better conditions are needed if London Transport is to attract enough staff to provide an adequate bus service in London. However, what the busmen and the Board consider as adequate are two different things. The London Transport Board is only out for profits and are interested in providing a service in so far as this is compatible with increasing profits.

The L.T.B. is saddled with various annual tributes. For instance although it made a surplus of £5.1m. in 1962, it had to pay £5.5m. (this is a fixed annual amount) to the shareholders of the pre-nationalisation period. On top of this the Government requires an annual payment of £4m., and fuel and oil tax claims £4.5m. and licences £1m. "Put to a better use, this sum of money would allow London Transport to

- (a) Put back the 4d. fare to 3d.
- (b) Put another 1,000 buses into service.

AFRICAN POLITICIANS NO DIFFERENT

WHEN the army rebelled in the East African States, the mutineers were promised no leniency by the political leaders; and they have kept their word. In Kenya's Kenya 11 of the 16 alleged ringleaders have now been sentenced to 14 years in prison, three to 11 years and 2 to 5 years. A few days late in Dar-es-Salaam, Mr. Nyerere's court-martial was doing the same thing. One mutineer got 15 years, ten received 10 years, three got 5 years.

There's no doubt about it, the new rulers of Africa have little to learn from their former masters when it comes to exercising their power over their fellow countrymen.

(c) Meet the wages cost of 5,000 extra staff.

(d) Pay a £4 wage increase to all drivers and conductors.

So when we are asked: "Where is the money to come from?"—here's a place to start."

The exemption from the fuel tax was one of the main recommendations of the inquiry, but so far the Government has done nothing.

Since the inquiry was published last month, negotiations between the Transport & General Workers Union and the L.T.B. have started on the findings. After a number of meetings and numerous hours of talk, nothing has been gained by the busmen. The Board offered an increase of 33/- which was summed up by the "Platform" as follows:—"A miserable ten bob on rostered earnings. Three bob squeezed from certain penalty payments. The whole dependent upon us taking the pitiful rag-bag—the 'Package deal'."

This "package deal" is the L.T.B.'s efficiency plans for the 90 passenger "standee" buses and the introduction of 650 one-man buses. For co-operation with these plans, busmen are offered £1. If all was accepted this would give them 33/- per week extra. This falls short of the report which recommended bring-

ing wages up to those of the manufacturing industry. According to the *Financial Times*, "Although the committee does not mention figures, this would involve giving the drivers an extra £2 to £3 a week and corresponding amounts to conductors." So much for the L.T.B. offer. What the Phelps Brown report really brings out, and what the busmen have been saying all along, is the need for much higher wages if the L.T.B. is going to attract and keep the staff it employs.

The unions at first claimed a basic increase of 46/- with no strings attached, but now they are after a miserable 27/6d. and they want this before they start talks on efficiency. But here there is a strong possibility that they will accept the Board's plans. To sweeten the pill, the Board has now offered 18/- on basic earnings, but the overall 33/- remains, including the "package deal". Who do they think they are fooling?

The board has also proposed that the buses should carry standing passengers at all hours of the day and the union negotiators have rejected this as well as the plans for a five-day, 40-hour week. At the moment the busmen work an 84 hour fortnight, which works out at 7 hrs. 40 mins. per day over 11 days. In reply to the Board's plan for a 5-day, 40-hour

CLASSLESS BRITAIN

THE myth now being fostered in this affluent society of ours is that class distinctions have largely disappeared and the class struggle is a thing of the past which only old-fashioned socialists and anarchists still talk about.

In the *Sunday Times* (18 May) we are invited to an "At Home with the Morrisons after Devizes" which opens with the following comment:

The Tories say that Charles Morrison's victory at the Devizes by-election shows that their progressive, forward-looking party can halt the trend to Labour. The Socialists are trying to dismiss it as a triumph for a reactionary Tory squirearchy in a county where that sort of thing still matters.

In fact, the Morrison victory was just another Morrison victory. For decades the family has been practically running Wiltshire, its tentacles of wealth, power, position and prestige spreading out like a very grand chain store throughout the county.

Both Major Morrison and his son Charles are "members of the Royal

Company of Archers", and the Major has been MP for Salisbury for the past 22 years and before him his father kept the seat warm. The Major is "one of the richest men in the House and, as chairman of the 1922 Committee, one of the most influential. He is a JP and MFH and Hon. Colonel of the Royal Wiltshire Yeomanry". We are told that "His family become councillors as other families join tennis clubs". The 16-stone Major farms several thousand acres. Actually he doesn't know how many thousand "Just several thousands, I don't know how many". And he has a largish house, with about 60 rooms, but there again, no-one is sure exactly how many rooms. "Going from one end to another —says his charming and beautiful wife —is quite enough exercise for anyone". How we sympathise with the dear lady having to keep the place clear and tidy.

Son Charles, as becomes a Morrison, also lives in style—in a 13th century "stately manor near Bath". Actually the

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

week, the union wants 7 hr. 16 min. day over 11 days.

Bus schedules are planned to finish the 7 hr. 40 mins. at the depot, but this is often not the case for the time schedules for routes multiplied by the number of journeys does not always come to the number of hours to be worked in the day. In some cases the working day ends before the busmen reach the depot and this means they work compulsory overtime as obviously they have to take the bus to the end of its route. However, some crews get to the depot before the working day ends and they are sent out on another trip. With the Board's idea of an 8-hour day, this would mean an even longer day than worked now. The union claim, although it would entail working less hours, would still mean that these were spread over an 11-day fortnight. Another suggestion has come from some of the busmen and they would like the hours per day to be the same as now but want a five day week.

What chance do the busmen stand of getting the wage that is recommended in the report and tied up with this, what sort of service are the passengers going to get? If the L.T.B. has its way with the new type of buses, and at the moment the union is not objecting, this will not improve the service although they will carry more passengers. To do this, more buses are needed on all

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house belongs to his little wife who is the daughter of the second Lord Long (never heard of him? nor have we, but there's obviously money there too!).

Let Mrs. Morrison sum up the situation for us in a nut-shell:

"I'm a perfectly ordinary woman," she said, standing in the drawing room beneath one of the earliest Jacobean ceilings in the country, "living in a perfectly ordinary world, with perfectly ordinary children, in a perfectly ordinary home."

So there it is. We are all one big happy, classless family in Britain nowadays; just all perfectly ordinary people tending our cows and our constituents and doing the best by both. Some of us with so many acres we have lost count of them; others dreaming of having a little back garden; some of us with so many rooms in our house that we have lost count, while for others their bed-sitter is their castle (landlord permitting).

"Class struggle?" Nonsense my dear boy; classes were abolished when the Labour Party took office in 1945 and taxed the rich out of existence!

I am really sorry to see my Country-men trouble themselves about Politics. If Men were Wise, the Most arbitrary Princes could not hurt them. If they are not wise, the Freest Government is compell'd to be a Tyranny. Princes appear to me to be Fools. Houses of Commons and Houses of Lords appear to me to be fools; they seem to me to be something else besides Human Life.

William Blake—(Public Address).

From the moment a people gives itself representatives it is no longer free.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Nothing is more odious than the majority, for it consists of a few powerful leaders, a certain number of accommodating scoundrels and submissive weaklings, and a mass of men who trudge after them without thinking, or knowing their own minds.

J. W. Goethe—Letters.

An M.P. will have to vote taxes on dogs and the reform of university education, without ever having set foot in a university or ever knowing a country dog. He will have to give his opinion on the advantage of the Gras rifle and on the site for the State stables. He will have to vote on the phylloxera, on grain, tobacco, primary education and urban sanitation; on Cochín-China and Guiana, on chimneys and the Paris observatory. He has never seen soldiers except on manoeuvres, but he will dispose army corps; never having met an Arab he will make and re-make the Mussulman legal code in Algeria. He will vote for the shako or the kepi according to the tastes of his wife. He will protect sugar and sacrifice grain. Will destroy the vine under the impression that he is protecting it. Will vote for afforestation against pasturage, and protect pasturage against the forest. He will have to show his ability in banking. He will sacrifice a canal; or a railway without knowing in what part of France they are situated. He will add new articles to the legal code without consulting it. A veritable Proteus, omniscient and omnipotent, today a soldier and tomorrow a pig-man, successively a banker, an academician, a street-sweeper, doctor, astronomer, drug-manufacturer,

tanner, or contractor, according to the orders of the day in Parliament, he never knows a moment's hesitation. Accustomed in his capacity as lawyer, journalist or public orator, to speak of things he knows nothing of, he votes for all these and other questions as well with only this difference while in the newspapers he merely amused with his

AN ELECTION ANTHOLOGY

gossip and in the court room his voice only awoke sleeping judges, in Parliament he will make laws for thirty or forty million inhabitants.

Peter Kropotkin—
(Paroles d'un revolté).

Leave the people its elections in appearance, but tamper with the results.

Macchiavelli.

My cousin Roger Pepys tells me that it is matter of the greatest grief to him in the world that he should be put upon this trust of being a Parliament man; because he says nothing is done, that he can see, out of any truth and sincerity, but mere envy and design.

Samuel Pepys.

Now, what is the ballot? It is neither more nor less than a paper representative of the bayonet, the billy, and the bullet. It is a labour-saving device for ascertaining on which side force lies and bowing to the inevitable. The voice of the majority saves bloodshed, but it is no less the arbitrament of force than is the decree of the most absolute of despots backed by the most powerful of armies.

Of course it may be claimed that the struggle to attain to the majority involves an incidental use of intellectual and moral processes; but these influences

would exert themselves still more powerfully in other channels if there were no such thing as the ballot, and when used as subsidiary to the ballot, they represent only a striving for the time when physical force can be substituted for them. Reason devoted to politics fights for its own dethronement. The moment the minority becomes the majority, it ceases to reason and persuade, and begins to command and enforce and punish. If this be true—it follows that to use the ballot for the modification of government is to use force for the modification of government.

Benjamin Tucker.

The never-ending audacity of elected persons.

Walt Whitman.

The main evil [of party politics] is, that it destroys initiative, quenches the individual rebellious spirit, teaches people to rely on someone else to do for them what they should do for themselves, what they alone can do for themselves; finally renders organic the anomalous idea that by massing supineness together until a majority is acquired then, through the peculiar magic of that majority, this supineness is to be transformed into energy. That is, people who have lost the habit of striking for

themselves as individuals, who have submitted to every injustice while waiting for the majority to grow, are going to become meta-morphosed into human high-explosives by a mere process of packing!

Voltaireine de Cleyre.

Of all kinds of credulity, the most obstinate and wonderful is that of the political zealots, of men, who being numbered, they know not how, or why, in any of the parties that divide the State, resign the use of their own eyes and ears, and resolve to believe nothing that does not favour those whom they profess to follow.

Dr. Samuel Johnson.

Nine times out of ten, it seems to me, the man who proposes a change in the government he lives under, no matter how defective it may be, is romantic to the verge of sentimentality. There is seldom, if ever, any evidence that the kind of government he is unlawfully inclined to would be any better than the government he proposes to supplant.

H. L. Mencken.

A politician—one who would circumvent God.

Shakespeare.

What is called politics is comparatively something so superficial and in-

suman, that, practically, I have never fairly recognised that it concerns me at all. The newspapers, I perceive, devote some of their columns specially to politics or government without charge; and this, one would say, is all that saves it; but as I love literature, and, to some extent, the truth also, I never read those columns at any rate. I do not wish to blunt my sense of right so much. I have not got to answer for having read a single President's message. A strange age of the world this, when empires, kingdoms and republics come a-begging to a private man's door, and utter complaints at his elbow! I cannot take up a newspaper but I find that some wretched government or other, hard pushed, and on its last legs, is interceding with me, the reader, to vote for it—more importunate than an Italian beggar; and if I have a mind to look at its certificate, made, perchance, by some benevolent merchant's clerk, or the skipper that brought it over, for it cannot speak a word of English itself, I shall probably read of the eruption of some Vesuvius, or the overflowing of some Po, true or forged, which brought it into this condition. I do not hesitate in such a case, to suggest work, or the alms-house; or why not keep its castle in silence, as I do commonly? The poor President, what with preserving his popularity and doing his duty, is completely bewildered. The newspapers are the ruling power. Any other government is reduced to a few marines at Fort Independence. If a man neglects to read the "Daily Times", government will go down on its knees to him, for this is the only treason in these days.

H. D. Thoreau.

WAR, overpopulation and plenty are three great problems which most people either will not or cannot face. Ostrich-like they turn away refusing to see that the longer the solutions to the problems are postponed the more drastic they will be when they are eventually undertaken.

Now that the affluent society has arrived (for some); now that the welfare state provides womb to tomb aid for the not yet affluent; now that the tranquillizers, pop-music, television, hack journalists and smooth politicians can so easily spread bovine contentment, a fool's paradise has arisen where the problems of war, overpopulation and plenty are largely ignored.

These three world threats are the theme of a recent book* and its author, Professor Gabor, a physicist and engineer suggests possible solutions. He is a man who obviously tries to face hard facts yet even so he apparently is almost totally unaware of the relationship of capitalist economics to his subject. He dodges many issues, tends to be woolly and is prone to veer towards an easy optimism. Even so his book is well worth reading and gives much food for thought.

The first threat to the world is nuclear suicide—the gift of politicians. Although writing in 1963 Professor Gabor still feels able to describe the West as that propagandist's fiction 'The Free World' as though it differs in some fundamental way from Communist regimes. In fact the main difference between East and West is that while the former pays lip-service to Marxism-Leninism the latter pays it to democracy and Christianity. The West has long since lost its aggressiveness while Russia, its revolutionary origins fading into history will be content with development and consolidation within its borders. War, as the Professor correctly states, can serve no useful economic purpose to either East or West. But he sidesteps the question of other states where economics are not the sole consideration and where the prevailing ideologies are firmly rooted in the Dark Ages. Egypt, Israel, Ghana, South Africa, China; these states are or soon will be capable of making nuclear weapons. Perhaps they already have. Who can doubt that they would use them if they thought it necessary?

The second problem is caused in every sense by people. The world population has jumped from 1,810 million to just over 3,000 million in the last 40 years. It will almost certainly add another 3,000 million by the year 2,000. Apart from the obvious problems of the population explosion—scarcity of food, fuel, land, raw materials, etc., there are other effects as serious in their way as material shortages. What happens to freedom, privacy, dignity, and the room to move? Population increases are not confined to underdeveloped lands as is often thought. The rise in Europe and North America is not so spectacular as that in Asia and South America but it happens nonetheless. It was once believed that population levels in industrialised coun-

FOOL'S PARADISE

tries would become steady after a certain level of prosperity was reached and when reliable contraceptive techniques became widely available. But many people who can now afford it are reverting to the simple pleasures of their ancestors and having large families.

The longer the application of a check to population increases is delayed the more difficult it will be if undertaken voluntarily by people and the harsher if done forcibly by governments. Professor Gabor believes reluctantly in the latter solution. He thinks that governments should use financial pressure to make parents limit their families to two unless the parents can prove that factors of health, beauty and talent make their offspring likely to prove exceptional. He has no solutions for Asia and South America.

The alternatives to a halt in the population explosion are war, mass starvation or an Earth covered in packed, skyscraper tenements the population of which live on plankton and vitamin pills and have a roster for exercise. And even if society did become so awful there would still be a birth control problem to solve. Professor Gabor's solution—state pressure will be repugnant to anarchists yet something must be done and quickly. Any suggestions?

If the above two problems are overcome then the problem of adjusting to a society of leisure and abundance will arise. Prior to 1930 no one believed that an age of plenty would bring problems. In those days it was thought that scientific progress automatically made people happy, rational and intelligent and that if only a few wicked reactionaries could be removed Utopia was assured. "News from Nowhere", "Looking Backward", many of the stories of H. G. Wells all showed the same starry-eyed view of science and the future. Huxley's "Brave New World" (1931) marked a turning point. Since then the future has seemed less rosy to clear-headed people—Prince Philip and the *Daily Express* notwithstanding. Science fiction writers are almost always pessimistic. Whether the quiet horror of David Karp's "One" or the hideous nightmare of Orwell's "1984", many foresee trouble ahead.

The cause of the age of plenty will be what is called the Second Industrial Revolution, the rapid progress in automation and electronics which is making man's nervous system obsolete just as earlier mechanical developments made redundant many of his physical abilities. Clearly there is possible in the future a society of material abundance

**Inventing the Future*, by Dennis Gabor. Pelican Books, 4s.

and with employment (as administrators and technicians) guaranteed for only the top I.Q. levels. Can people adjust to such a society? How would it be organised? Abundance should hold no terrors for anarchists but what of the millions of others who are so susceptible to the mass pressures of advertisers, press, T.V. and salesmen towards social conformity and material consumption as their *raison d'être*. Will for them abundance just mean frantic consuming punctuated by nervous breakdowns?

Small earthly paradises where a smiling Nature has enabled people to live with little or no work have existed before. Bali, Dalmacia and parts of Burma are examples. There is to this day a tiny Himalayan country, Hunza, reputedly founded by deserters from Alexander the Great's army where there is no money, violence or crime and smiling people live on vegetable diets to an average age of 90. But these simple societies took a long time to develop, had no roaring science and when they did become subjected to strong outside influence quickly lost their idyllic characteristics.

If present trends continue almost the whole world will become increasingly more noisy, ugly, unhealthy and nerve shattering. The physical environment will become a vast South Essex, a drab expanse of motor-ways, broiler-houses, airports, power lines, reservoirs, mental hospitals and vacuous housing estates. It is a pity that the few remaining voices still raised in Britain against the monstrous threats of science and technology nearly all come from the old-fashioned right. Thinking people are sold on it, while the masses seem completely apathetic and make no opinions at all. Not that the past was different. Professor Gabor writes of a 19th century German industrialist who wanted to sink mines in a remote Russian valley inhabited by simple contented peasants. The peasants refused to enter the mine so the industrialist opened a shop where fine goods were on sale at prices that a mine worker could afford but not a peasant. The women soon nagged their menfolk down the mine.

Professor Gabor's solution to the problem of plenty and how to avoid becoming bored to death with the resulting leisure are exploration of space, mind control techniques like Zen and Yoga, education (in what it doesn't say), and the formation of organisations like President Kennedy's Peace Corps to clean up remaining pockets of poverty in the world. What happens afterwards we are not told.

The fundamental dilemma of the age of technology, plenty and leisure has been summed up by Lewis Mumford. In the "Transformation of Man" he writes.—"When continued frustration and despair finally produce existential nausea, only desperate courses seem to be open. The mildest of these courses is that of escapism: withdrawal from society by physical adventure or by spiritual seclusion. Lacking this avenue, the old anaesthetics of strong drink and sexual promiscuity offer

quick alleviation, only to deepen the original disgust which prompted their use. Still another way, even more desperate and self-defeating, is to concentrate further on the technical agents that have made life so meaningless, making of the machine a fetish that serves as an object of love otherwise thwarted." (My italics).

Doubtless many anarchists will be thinking that the problems of leisure are caused not by its intrinsic nature but by faults inherent in capitalistic, authoritarian society. What are needed are practical ideas as to how current and future unfree society can be moved in the direction of freedom.

R.J.

SPAIN: Industrialisation at the Expense of the Land

HUGH THOMAS reviewing in last week's "New Statesman" what he describes as a systematic study of the Spanish Economy, published in Madrid in 1960 and since reissued in an up-to-date edition states that the chief point made in this "sober exposition of the nature of the economy" is that "the present Spanish 'economic miracle' is confined to industrial development and has been achieved at the cost of real neglect of agriculture, despite the well-publicised schemes for the irrigation and afforestation". According to the figures given the consumption of fertiliser per acre is considerably below that even of Greece and Portugal, and the number of tractors per acre is three times lower than in Italy.

Mr. Thomas enumerates social and financial problems which hold back a "viable development in agriculture". What it seems to us is the insurmountable problem is not so much finance—as the "Financial Times" was pointing out last month (April 28) there is "queuing to invest in growth centres" in Spain, with considerable foreign capital (18 per cent) but also large internal capital. The problem is however that industrial investment is more profitable and gives quicker returns than investment in the land. And last but not least, the land is in the hands of a few multi-millionaires who are both unwilling to give up their land or carry out the necessary development.

The problem of the land in Spain has always been neglected by successive governments, and apart from his few showpieces, Franco is no exception to the rule, and the experience of 1936 shows that only a revolution can bring about the social and economic changes needed. Meantime, one can expect a drain of Labour from the land to the new industrial centres where the promise will be better wages with which to buy among other things, possibly imported food-stuffs!

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POLLSTER'S OPINIONS

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reforms they desire, must be prepared to play—or watch the political game being played—according to very elastic, but one-sided, rules. Elastic because though every point of view has a legal right to be expressed, money largely determines how effectively a particular point of view will be put over to the public; and *one-sided* because all the channels of mass-communications are either in the hands of die-hard reactionaries or controlled by civil-servants who would rather die than be daring and unorthodox.

"Market Research", "Opinion Polls" *et alia*, apart from proving to be a profitable gimmick for a growing number of university graduates and people with "the gift of the gab" (who, but for the money incentive, would be more socially usefully employed instructing and equipping the young to live their lives and to resist seduction by the ad-men and other would-be brain-washers) can be seen as attempts to *condition* Man by understanding the workings of his mind and of his reflexes.

The Opinion polls only give us *their* findings; we are offered no opportunity of examining the data on which they base their findings, or how they collect it (unlike serious investigations such as the Kinsey Report which devoted as many of its pages to these problems as to the evidence and its conclusions).

"Market Research" exists because industrialists finance it in their own interest (no one suggests that it is in the public interest?). Who finances the Opinion Polls? The three we have mentioned are each openly subsidised and controlled by organs of the National Press. There is no reason to doubt that just as these three reactionary organs of the Press slant their news they will have no difficulty in slanting their "Opinion Polls" which, in our view, exist not to reflect public opinion but to manipulate it.

Obviously no opinion poll can be so wide of the mark as to be the laughing-stock of Fleet Street. To suggest that the Tories headed the "popularity" polls could only be put forward in the teeth of all bye-election and local election results over the past three years. So all the Opinion Polls concur in giving Labour the lead, but assuming that the *Express*, *Mail* and *Telegraph* polls are equally conducted by experts worthy of their academic qualifications and their inflated salaries, how is it that their percentages, and consequently, their conclusions are so different?

We think it significant that whereas the *Express* and *Mail* polls more or less coincide, the *Telegraph* which is possibly more die-hard conservative than either the *Express* or the *Mail* should continue to subsidise as well as publicise the Gallup poll which gives the Labour Party an 11 per cent advantage over its Tory rivals. But not surprising if one concludes, as we did months ago in these columns at the height of the Macmillan crisis, that for strategic reasons some Tories hope that the Labour Party will win the next General Elections. And certainly the *Telegraph's* editorial last Sunday on "Tory Euphoria" was intended as a cold douche for the optimistic line fathered by the Beaverbrook Press, and clashed violently with the wishful thinking of the *Sunday Times'* "Closer than it Looks" line.

Because even Conservatives talk commonsense when they are in opposition, the *Sunday Telegraph's* editorial deserves to be reprinted in full:

Tory propaganda only makes itself look out of touch with the world of reality by claiming the by-election results as a great victory. Such exaggerated cheerfulness does little to impress the public. Indeed, it may even do the opposite, since a great party looks pathetic if it gets enormously worked up about small mercies.

The sober truth is that the average swing of six per cent. in the four campaigns would still give Labour a majority of 70 in the House of Commons. More ominous, the swing to Labour is now showing a solidity it has hitherto lacked. In 1962 and for most of 1963 Labour was leading by default; they had slipped back, but less far than the Conservatives.

Thursday's results show a new pattern. In three of the contests, Labour polled about a thousand votes more per constituency than in 1959; in all of them their share of the poll went up. It is hard to understand the commentator who described the Winchester result as immensely stimulating for the Conservatives; a few more stimuli of this kind, and the patient will be a nervous wreck.

The public are not fools. They can understand that the Tories, having avoided a catastrophic rout, are greatly relieved. But to claim more than this merely suggests a degree of unrealistic wishful thinking that is more irritating than impressive. Comment would, we think, be superfluous!

★

But commonsense alone no more wins elections, than it furthers anarchist propaganda. The role played by money cannot be discounted, even by anarchist propagandists. According to the *Guardian's* Labour Staff

The Labour Party has now run through all the £480,000 collected by appeal for the coming general election, and it has started eating into £300,000 left over from the 1959 general election. But in the last fortnight about £30,000 more has been raised through appeals to trade unions.

The battle between the Labour and Tory Parties is not over policies, or principles but between Personalities, and the vast sums of money which both parties have poured into the coffers of the publicity men, the Image builders (as well as destroyers) in connection with the coming Elections must be counted in millions of pounds. We have no doubt that the Labour Party will find the necessary cash to continue the battle to the bitter end even if they are unable to match the Tories' resources which, of course, includes free support from most of the National Press.

The party that captures the "floating votes" will win the next elections. Both sides can count on their loyal supporters whatever happens, or whatever the party leaders do or say. The millions of pounds are being used by both sides to capture the votes of the political "don't cares", "don't knows".

Is it not a sobering thought, for those who extol the virtues of parliamentary democracy, that the next government will be determined not by the overwhelming majority of the electorate but by a mere million political indifferents on whom millions of pounds have been expended to persuade them to give their cross to one of the main parties? And when its all over they will sink back into indifference, aided and abetted this time by the government!

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME said of the Yemen bombings: "The order that was given to our commanded-in-chief was this: that he should use the minimum air power necessary so that there should be the minimum number of casualties among our ground troops. And this is right. I am not going to put our ground troops into battle in terribly difficult mountainous country without giving them the air cover they need". . . .

ON THE other hand, Mr. Harold Wilson, leader of Her Majesty's Opposition said: "During the very difficult past two weeks, when British troops have been engaged in dangerous and highly vulnerable operations in the area of the South Arabian Federation, the opposition have felt it inappropriate to raise the border foreign policy issues which are involved. When troops are put in, as in this case, on territory where we are accepted under treaty, it is the duty of the Government to give them all necessary backing and the Opposition supports them in this. In this connection we would press for more helicopters to be made available. Equally, we think it right to state, on all the information available to us, that Aden must be held as an important base, both for communications and as a centre for peace-keeping operations. Whatever measures are necessary to this end must be taken."

The *Daily Herald* amplifies this view of Harold Wilson by supplementing it with what he has just written in the "Encyclopedia Britannica Book of the Year" (a U.S. publication): "There are many tenuously held areas where bush (sic) fires might quickly flare into scorching crises. Should trouble occur it is easier for Britain to build up a small, even a token force, which is there, than for the United States to enter an area previously evacuated by the West."

Mr. George Brown denied that he had said, as alleged by the Liberals, "There is no difference between the Labour Party and the Tories". . . .

DR. GALLUP said: "People change not so much as to how they are going to vote, but whether they will vote or not". It was impossible to identify anyone as a floating voter. In the recent local elections only eight million people voted out of about forty million. The *Daily Telegraph* reported from Devizes that the women of Devizes couldn't care less about the election. "They promise



a lot but it doesn't come off," said one, "It's all a lot of lies—they'd promise you the moon in order to get you to vote for them." "They talk about the cost of living, but which of them has ever done any shopping?" "I never talk about politics it's best left alone." Nevertheless, the *Telegraph* describes the Tory candidate's wife thus: "Sara Morrison could trip over a stone, find herself sitting on a pig food bucket, rise with a laugh and scoop up yet more Conservative votes and hearts all in the one same breathless movement. It's an astonishing performance." Whether because or in spite of this performance the Conservatives were re-elected with a reduced majority, on a 75% poll. . . .

MINDFUL OF the forthcoming election, opposition spokesmen asked for an official history or enquiry into the Suez invasion. The Prime Minister declined. Mr. Krushchev reaped a propaganda harvest in Egypt when inaugurating the preliminaries of the Aswan Dam. He stated that during the Suez crisis he warned the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, "If you want to fight then I declare in the name of the Soviet Government that we shall not stand by with our arms folded." Mr. Krushchev added: "Mr. Eden is alive, and he could refer back to the records of his Ministry to see if what I am saying is the truth or not." It is quite true that the Soviet Government was not standing by with its arms folded. It was putting down the Hungarian rising. . . .

ALSO WITH an election in mind, Republican members of Congress claim that five tenants of Mrs. Lady Bird Johnson's Alabama estate are living in a state of squalour as bad as anything seen by

President Johnson on his recent tour of poverty-stricken Appalachia. They claim that on Mrs. Johnson's estate, roofs are leaky, flooring was cracked and walls unpainted. They claimed that secretly tape-recorded interviews failed to come out. However, according to the *Telegraph* correspondent, "independent reporters who investigated" found that the tenants appear satisfied with their present homes "as good as most and better than a lot". . . .

A PROTEST has been made to the Soviet leadership by a number of Leningrad and Moscow writers (according to the *Guardian*), against the police persecution of a young and politically unorthodox writer. The writer, Josif Brodsky has been tried on trumped-up charges and sentenced as a "parasite" to five years exile and forced labour in the far North. He now works as a carrier of manure on an Archangel province state-farm. In 1962 two men named Shakhmatov and Umansky were arrested on charges that they had exerted a 'harmful influence' on young people to whom they preached "yoga philosophy and anarcho-individualism". Amongst their followers was Brodsky, who had, however, broken with them a year before of his own free will. Brodsky was arrested on the street this year as "a parasite who had evaded court proceedings", although he had received no summons. The verdict of the court contained this passage: "Brodsky's earnings were casual, which shows he did not fulfil the most important constitutional duty to work honestly for the good of the motherland" In New York Julian Beck and Judith Malina of the Living Theatre are standing trial for non-payment of taxes. The Internal Revenue agents padlocked the theatre for back-taxes. The Becks staged their play "The Brig" and the audience climbed over roofs and dodged police to get in. The Becks have dismissed their lawyers and are fighting their own case. "The Brig", which is a play about life in an American military prison will probably be staged in London in the autumn. . . .

MR. COLIN JORDAN announced the expulsion of Mr. John Tyndall from the National Socialist Party. The following day Mr. John Tyndall announced the expulsion of Mr. Colin Jordan from the National Socialist Party.

JON QUIXOTE.

Round the Galleries

THE illusion that there is an intellectual gulf between the parson's wife and toe-ing through the halls of the Royal Academy, and the brewer's daughter high stepping it through the junk yard of the Tate Gallery is but an illusion. The parson's wife by an accident of geography is a generation adrift in her acceptance of a change of style in the visual aspects of her class culture and her judgement, and patronage will be directed towards that work that her background has familiarised her with.

Through her reading she will accept the validity of newer and unorthodox art forms, but lacking the opportunity to differentiate between the wide choice offered her on the rare occasions when she meets it in the mass, she will understandably turn to those exhibitions where she feels that she can stand in judgment on the work shown. The brewer's daughter, living a metropolitan life, will add her little high pitched neigh to the sophisticated chorus of those who affect to despise the yearly pilgrims to the Royal Academy and secure in the knowledge that she can tell a Paolozzi casting from a Turnbull length of polished rosewood, a Rauschenberg, do-it-yourself defaced hoarding from a Hockney canvas of infantile graffiti, will march her cute little self to the "54 '64 Painting & Sculpture of a Decade" mouthing the trinity of Pollock, Bacon and Dubuffet.

But there is one thing that the parson's wife and the brewer's daughter have in common and that is an uncritical acceptance of third rate, shoddy and incompetent work. We condemn, to use the imperial we, the parson's wife for accepting without protest so much of the ghastly rubbish that hangs at this moment on the walls of Burlington House but for her defence she could claim that she is a creature without any strong commitments and she accepts this work as being worthy of her support on the authority of Sir Charles Wheeler, K.C.V.O., C.B.E. the leader of that band known to the press office as our Royal Academicians. But for the brewer's daughter there is only the constant reiteration of with-it names onto

that tiny mind and this sad little creature who should be cuddling up to her Beate record and her weekly pulp sex comics is the arbiter of our national culture. In all fluid societies there is that minority who find that they have money to waste. Waste it in the true sense, for without roots in the past or hope in the future they are the prey of any parasite who will, for a price, pander to their emotion of the moment. Like the children of the poor with their throbbing juke boxes and their endless stream of recorded trivia the brewer's daughter and her social strata have, by virtue of her free money, turned the London galleries into artistic brothels with the dealers acting out the role of high pressure ponces.

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation have staged a major exhibition within the Tate Gallery and lacking the courage to commit themselves have called it "Painting & Sculpture of a Decade." The decade is the last ten years and taking the exhibition merely as an entertainment it is one of the most rewarding sideshows that the Tate has staged for many a long year. If one were seventeen or eighteen years of age then every week can offer a new discovery in the field of painting, music, literature or philosophy; if one were of that age when all the answers to all the problems were revealed with each new book; if one were of the age when every new paint smear was a revolution and every crushed car radiator a new dimension in sculpture, then this exhibition could be accepted as a manifesto of the young in heart but these are the paintings of acceptance, the sculpture of the Establishment. Here is the official art for the contemporary municipal buildings and the murals for the progressive banking houses. Here is the sophisticated Royal Academy even with the picture of the year in Renato Guttuso "La spiaggia", all ruddy limbs and rude health accepted by the Italian Communist Party, blessed by the Tate and approved of by the brewer's daughter. It is all there even to the single Leger, Picasso and Braque to please the elders.

Competent work, trivia, rubbish all enhanced by the mystique of belonging to a hundred private collections, of passing through the right galleries, of belonging to the right people. Yet in passing one records that Michael Ayrton, Lowry, Tindle, Jack Smith, Bratby Souza are all absent from these closed ranks for the brewer's daughter's passing out parade, and when the cloying sweetness of this rubbish has had its brief day the parson's wife and the brewer's daughter must of necessity turn to such men as these or abandon their artistic pretensions.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Sold for a Song

"Fred Godfrey wrote some tremendously successful songs like 'Take Me Back to Dear Old Blighty', 'Who Were you with Last Night' and 'All the Nice Girls Love a Sailor'. A lot of money was made from those songs, but not much of it went to Fred. He died in 1953 aged 69 and left exactly £202.

Charles Ancliff, who died in the same year, wrote more than 400 songs including 'Old Soldiers Never Die', and the immortal 'Nights of Gladness', the tune half the world has waltzed to. He left precisely £7.

Like many other gifted composers, they sold out their songs for a few pounds, leaving others to get rich on their royalties."

From "Tin Pan Alley" by Eddie Rogers. Publisher: Robert Hale, London, England.

A.A.G.

SIT DOWN OR PAY UP FUND

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Colchester: G.C. 10/-; London: D.R. £25; L.W. £1/10/0; M.C. 5/-; Anon: £1; P. & G.T. £2; New York: R.S.C. £3/10/0; Slough: E.C. 15/-; Preston: R.M. 5/-.

The following payments have recently been made:—

London: J.B. £4/10/0; A.U. £25; Lincoln: J. & R.R. £8/4/0; Dundee: I.S. £5; S.W. £5; Edinburgh: T.J. £6/5/0.

