

FREEDOM

AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d.

JUNE 27 1964 Vol 25 No 20

There is something servile in the habit of seeking after a law which we may obey. We may study the laws of matter at and for our convenience, but a successful life knows no law.

H. D. THOREAU

The 'Black' Propagandist of World War 2

Politics Corrupts!

WITH the General Elections a little more than three months away the two major political parties, are desperately trying to persuade the public that there are fundamental differences in their respective programmes which it can only ignore to its cost. Since the majority of the public are already decided as to which party will get their vote, the appeals are directed to a minority of voters whose votes however can swing the results one way or the other. These floating voters it seems to us will be much more influenced by gimmicks which happen to suit their interests at the time, rather than statements about foreign policy, disarmament, nationalisation and other long term issues. The floating voters, as we see them, are political cynics as well as innocents; they include the very poor as well as the up-and-coming specialist, executive-types and the

successful soft-money operators who themselves have got onto a good gimmick. Such people are almost as hard to draw to the polling booths as are the anarchists, but for quite different reasons.

So far the party political war has produced no gimmicks; these we suggest will emerge from the leaders' hats, like the magician's rabbit, on the eve of the elections. In the meantime they vie with each other in seeing who can be the more orthodox. The fact is that whatever either the Tory or Labour Parties may propose, the permanent operators of the capitalist system dispose. As the *Observer* pointed

out last Sunday, "the House of Commons must be about the only place left in Britain where people still get excited about nationalisation". And one would add, that it is, with the Beaverbrook type of Press, the only place left where people still get worked up about the defence of "free enterprise" in the context of present day capitalism.

The Socialist pioneers—writes the *Observer*—saw the common ownership of the means of production as the only way of changing the grossly unequal distribution of wealth.

But this aim became impossible once the principle of paying compensation to private owners was accepted. A steel shareholder who is bought out by the State simply exchanges his steel shares for Government bonds.

Similarly "free enterprise" became a farce long ago with the growth of international finance and the development of monopoly capitalism. Every take-over is a nail in the coffin of "free enterprise", just as every attempt to make nationalised industries profitable is a nail in the coffin of "public ownership". At the time of writing the lids of these two coffins have been well and truly nailed down and if only the public could be persuaded to ceremoniously inter them both, it would be able to face the realities and decide how best to deal with them!

★

WHATEVER the "socialist pioneers may have dreamed of, their successors accept, just as the

Tories and Liberals do, the capitalist system in principle if not in all its manifestations. They also share a common faith in Parliament and Government such as it exists today in this country. In theory Parliament could vote capitalism out of business and usher in an anarchist revolution. That this has never happened should arouse the suspicions of any thinking person, especially if one recalls the countries in our time, where the revolutionary leaders, acclaimed by the people as a whole, have taken over the reins of government. In Britain we had no Lenins, Mussolinis or Caballeros but even so the stormy petrels of Socialism who entered Parliament in their cloth caps invariably left it years later top-hatted and weighed down with Honours, Titles and contracts to write their Memoirs.

The injustice of capitalist society is that in an overwhelming majority of cases the producers of the "national product": food, services, necessary and useless commodities, neither enjoy the full product of their labour nor control what they do, because the means of production, the national wealth and power are vested in the hands of a privileged minority. Socially conscious workers, whoever they may be, who seek to destroy the privileges of one class by revolutionary means but then proceed to take-over the machine by which their predecessors protected their power and privilege, will inevitably use it to defend a new privileged caste: themselves! One

does not need to be a genius to realise that an administration that has faithfully served a privileged minority for centuries cannot equally be used to serve the majority. Just as by changing the manager of a butcher's shop you will never have a "health stores" dreamed of by the vegetarians, so by changing the personnel of government or Parliament you cannot abolish capitalism and privilege!

This is not the intuition of this writer but the reality as demonstrated under our very noses throughout the world. Africa abounds with examples.

The decolonisation of Africa is a necessary and worthwhile step at any price, probably. But the people of the new nations of Africa have soon realised that a change of flag, anthem and of Ministers does not necessarily change their status nor, for that matter, their living conditions.

As revolutionaries we do not believe that social upheaval should or can result in an immediate improvement of living standards for the people. Everything points to an improvement of conditions but not necessarily of material standards. In Algeria, for instance, the exodus of the white "colons" resulted in mass unemployment among the Algerians formerly employed and kept alive by their white employers. While appreciating the problems facing the Ben Bella government when the artificial economy geared to the whites suddenly collapsed (hundreds of thousands of servants whose source of income was cut-off overnight, luxury restaurants and other non-productive "services" depending on a privileged community

Continued on page 4

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

Dockers Gain Demands

Liverpool dockers, by taking strike action, have gained increased piecework rates for unloading cargoes of timber which "give a large proportion of lighter timber (in excess of 80 pieces to the ton)."

The dispute arose when 40 dockers discharging timber from the Russian ship "Kotlashes" found that their earnings were below normal. These dockers called for the officials of their union, the Transport & General Workers, to look into their case. The officials did not turn up and the strike committee set up by the original 40 strikers said that "to get the T.G.W.U. officials to fight for the dockers' case is easier said than done" and "this failure to look into the men's complaints is wholly responsible for the present dispute".

The strike committee were members of the T.G.W.U., but a member of the National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers Union did get an official from his union down to discuss their case. This official approached the employers, but the claims for higher rates of pay were turned down. It was after waiting for two days for the T.G.W.U. officials to arrive that the dockers decided to take strike action for themselves. Their action soon gained the sympathy of their fellow workers and over 9,500 men from the Liverpool and Birkenhead docks gave their support.

Now the joint employers and union inspection team has accepted the dockers case, but when the strike started the employers refused any inspection to decide on a new rate of pay and said the stoppage was caused by a "minority element whose intentions are purely disruptive." The strong support given

to the 40 dockers working on the "Kotlashes" makes nonsense of this statement of the employers. This support in fact shows the widespread dissatisfaction amongst the dockers on Merseyside, which is directed against both the employers and the T.G.W.U., the union of which the majority of dockers are members.

The dissatisfaction stems mainly from the de-casualisation scheme which was drawn up and agreed to in principle by the T.G.W.U. and the Liverpool Port Employers' Association. The signatures to this scheme are the T.G.W.U. district secretary, Alderman P. J. O'Hare and Mr. J. F. Wise for the employers. The scheme gives dockers increased fall-back pay of £9.9s. and goes some way in providing permanent employment, but it also gives big concessions to the employers and centres around the question of mobility of labour. "For instance members of a gang might have to switch from hold to quay and vice versa" and "certain working practices must change and certain manning scales must be reduced". The scheme also states that "absenteeism and bad time-keeping must disappear".

Dockers are, on the whole, very suspicious about the scheme as they see it as an attempt to gain control over employees on factory-type lines and an encroachment on their freedom. The fall back rate has been described as "chicken feed". Mr. O'Hare has said "Sometimes it's easy to get the agreement of the dockers. At other times it is difficult to put over sense to the lads, especially when you have soap-box orators at work."

No doubt the "soap-box orators" he mentions are quite often the officials of the N.A.S.D. This unrecognised union nevertheless has a considerable membership in the London docks and in Liverpool and has been quick to attack the shortcomings of the T.G.W.U. in this and in other disputes. (Not a very hard thing to do). Of course the N.A.S.D. have used the recent dispute to criticise the de-casualisation scheme and say that the fall-back rate should be £15 per week. Mr. Johnson, their local official has said that there could be a national strike if no satisfaction is reached over the new pay claims which employers are considering at the moment.

By their recent action the dockers have told both the T.G.W.U. and the employers that they are not going to accept any old thing that they deem fit for them. It is the rank and file who must decide what they want, not union officials behind desks. With the solidarity that exists among dockers on Merseyside, I think they will not be fobbed off with any old settlement. P.T.

MENTAL SICKNESS IN RHODESIA

(From our Correspondent)

THERE are (at least) three mad groupings working off varying lunacies in this horrible country. Firstly there is the Government which may (or may not) declare S. Rhodesia independent just any old time. Next there is the People's Caretaker Council which has aroused such hatred in its supporters for the other African madcap group: the Zimbabwe African National Union—such hatred that young children have boycotted and indeed expelled "ZANU teachers" at Highfield Community School just recently. ZANU supporters have perhaps asked for it, these young supporters of the Reverend Ndabangi Sithole had beaten up twenty school-children in a church hall in Highfield—leaving a cross on the wall askew in memory of their Reverend leader.

One can look for further confirmation of mental sickness at the enunciations of these three groupings. Take "The Battle Cry" produced by ZANU. A victim of delusion writes: "Shootings and imprisonments which, day after day, week after week, month after month and year after year bring agony to thousands of African Freedom Fighters is on the increase."

"Throughout Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) prisons are full with political prisoners. Special detention camps—Wha Wha, etc.—have had to be erected and extended to keep more and more prisoners being arrested at a rate of thousands daily.

"The trigger-happy police shoot at random whenever they please and the poor souls—the HEROES and MARTYRS in the Struggle die in cold blood." For the record: roughly 250 political

prisoners are imprisoned in Southern Rhodesia. Four Africans have been shot this year by Police.

We can turn for confirmation of our views regarding the madness of the PCC to their publication "The Zimbabwe Sun." Here we read the report: "The National President and lion of Zimbabwe, Chibwechitedza, Joshua Nkomo and lady (sic) Johana Nkomo, have just ended their separate and triumphant tours of Zimbabwe towns and African Purchase areas." (March 14). A report concerning the "enemy" (Sithole not the government) reads: "Sithole claims Fort Victoria to be his 100% ZANU support area. But surprisingly enough only seven people attended his court case in Fort Victoria Magistrate's Court. The seven who attended are reported to be mercenaries hired from outside. Sithole is a miserable man, even in Fort Victoria Shame!! Congratulations to Fort Victoria for proving his famous lies." The settler "Rhodesia Herald" reported 200 ZANU supporters at the Court on this same occasion.

The Government is probably a worse case of sickness. There is much paranoia over Communists (Mr. Smith has facts and figures to prove it is Communists not "poor Africans" behind S. Rhodesia's present troubles). There is psychotic racial hatred. In a recent interview with the "Washington Post", Mr. Van der Byl, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice, is reported to have said that Bantustans "are a brilliant notion". The "Washington Post" reporter writes: "Apartheid according to Van der Byl, is the guarantee of White

survival in Rhodesia, and he calls white survival the only aim of Government." Van der Byl is described as an admirer of the John Birch Society and he has recently engaged as special adviser to the Ministry of Information, Mr. Ivor Benson, who had to resign from the "Rand Daily Mail" "after writing a pro-Fascist editorial."

In the same "Washington Post" report the Minister of Local Government Mr. John Gaunt is said to be "frank about the Government's intention to take independence and is not disturbed by the consequences of rebellion." Apparently July 5th is the likely day for Southern Rhodesia's independence, so the Smith government will become independent before Nyasaland becomes independent as Malawi in July 6th. It is not thought that Mr. Smith will bother about parliament or an election before declaring independence. The idea then is to change the constitution so that no moves towards African majority rule are possible.

The three groupings which claim the allegiance of the people here are all contemptible organisations. They cause suffering and unhappiness to thousands. Only a libertarian revolutionary movement can bring happiness to this land, a movement without messiahs and without violence (other than in self-defence). The two political organisations claiming African support are composed of Africans who only seek independence as power, not as freedom. The people are cynically used as a lever of supposed elevation. Meanwhile the Europeans want to cut the blacks off into separate areas as a "solution" to the racial problem.

ANARCHY 41

OUT NEXT WEEK

Is on
Town and
Country

ANARCHY is Published by
Freedom Press at 2s.
on the first Saturday of every month

THE SACRED MONOPOLY

The other complaint came from the B.B.C. Not that the corporation raised any objections to Delmer's activities on ethical grounds. They were merely concerned at the threatened breach of their sacred broadcasting monopoly, in particular Delmer's attempt to commandeer the powerful 600 kw. medium wave transmitter at Crowborough.

Delmer's chief protagonist—for the B.B.C.—was Ivone Kirkpatrick [later Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, G.C.B., Permanent Under Secretary of State at the Foreign Office].

"Black is all right on short wave," Kirkpatrick told him, "But if you get on the medium wave with all your lies and distortions, you will undermine the whole currency value of British propaganda. . . ."

The struggle for possession lasted several months. It was settled in Delmer's favour only after the intervention of General Brooks [later Sir Dallas Brooks, Governor of Victoria, Australia] on behalf of the Admiralty.

Later Kirkpatrick himself came round. "It is awfully good," he said, "but you will never be able to keep up the pace with your small [sic] team. I still have the gravest reservations."

NO REMORSE

Perhaps the best way to summarise this book is to attempt to place it in some perspective.

It was the feared success of his own "black" propaganda, Delmer tells us (certainly not remorse), that caused him to write *Black Boomerang*. Concerned at the still lingering belief in the existence, in World War II, of a German anti-Nazi underground movement he felt compelled to reveal the truth concerning such resistance. ("The propagation of that legend was the work of my unit and my men.")

What Delmer, in fact, is telling us is this: Whilst the authorities who employed him were prosecuting "their citizens for ration card offences he was issuing forged ration cards. (p. 136) whilst they were imprisoning "their" soldiers for the crimes of desertion or malingering he was issuing detailed instructions on desertion and malingering! (p. 130).

Whilst they accused the enemy of waging war on civilians he was driving civilians onto the open roads (this at Churchill's insistence) with false promises of food and shelter (p. 204).

The reaction of the British press to all this is interesting.

The book was virtually ignored by even the so-called serious weeklies.

The London *Observer's* reviewer, for example, Constantine Fitzgibbon [later author of "When the Kissing had to Stop" and "Random Thoughts of a Fascist Hyena"] dismissed the book (18/11/62) in a little over 20 lines.

The piece was headed "Must it All Be Told?" Useful to remember the next time these people—or their successors—start issuing orders. Or preaching morality.

[FRANCIS WELB

1 These instructions make interesting reading in view of the current Cyprus, Malaysian Vietnam crises. The booklet "Sickness Saves You", for example, recommends:

"The malingering must give the physician the impression that here is a patriotic citizen, dedicated to his duty, who has the misfortune to be ill despite himself. The would-be malingeringer must never tell the doctor that he is ill, that he is suffering from some specific disease or volunteer symptoms. One single symptom which the doctor has discovered by his own questions, is worth ten what the patient has volunteered." *Black Boomerang* (p.130).

the nineteenth century aesthete in twentieth century guise. We are now living in a period when there is a real possibility of humanity sinking into an age-long barbarism of terror and anti-life; on the other hand it is a truism that for the first time in human history there exist the material pre-requisites for a society based on freedom and plenty. The forces against us are vast; we must work and fight for the society we want if we are to retain our self-respect. Those who choose the way of non-participation, those who give faint applause from the side-lines, are our worst enemies—they are the authoritarian's best friend.

G. KING.

1 For any purist who thinks that Dialectics is some sort of authoritarian. Marxist wickedness it is perhaps worth pointing out that Bakunin was, if anything, a more consistent Hegelian than either Marx or Engels.

2 This is, of course, a cliché much used by politicians; nevertheless it expresses a fundamental truth. One of the most effective tricks (whether motivated consciously or otherwise) of authoritarians of all types is to take maxims that are fundamentally libertarian and to repeat them so often that they become almost devoid of meaning.

THE 'BLACK' PROPAGANDIST OF WORLD WAR 2

THIS book* tells the inside story of yet another "successful" career of Word War II.

Until 1941 the author was employed as a journalist.

That same year he founded—with Government backing—a secret "black" propaganda organisation. His staff consisted of a secretary and one assistant.

Within 4 years he had come to control: several newspapers (one with a daily circulation of 2 million copies), numerous radio stations including 'the most powerful transmitter in Europe', a staff of several hundred throughout Europe with branches in Italy, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

The secret of this remarkable rise to power and influence is explained by the value placed on his somewhat unique services: as head of a "non-existent" organisation the author was able to indulge in certain "subtleties" denied the Governments official propagandists.

These "subtleties", much valued by Government and State, included: The issuing of "shoot on sight" warning posters with deliberately vague descriptions of the wanted person (invitations to murder), the forwarding of bogus letters and parcels to parents of enemy soldiers killed in action falsely informing them that their loved one was safe and well in a neutral country, the directing of civilian women and children to non-existing "bomb free" zones, etc.

The author has decided, for reasons of his own, in *Black Boomerang* to tell the British people of these and other services he performed on their behalf almost 20 years.

For: The Government that backed him in this diabolical work was the British Tory-Labour Coalition Government, the 'most powerful transmitter in Europe' was obtained from the B.B.C., the newspaper with the 2 million daily circulation was printed in Luton by Home Counties Newspapers. The now informative "black" propagandist Mr. Sefton Delmer chief foreign correspondent of the *Daily Express*.

All of which, of course, has been known to TOP PEOPLE in Britain for a

**Black Boomerang*, by S. Delmer, Publisher: Secker & Warburg.

considerable time now. *Black Boomerang*, in fact, reads at times like a Who's Who (then and now) of the exclusive British establishment.

EAGER ACCEPTANCE

This eager acceptance into British ruling circles is not altogether surprising, however, in view of Mr. Delmer's undisguised class prejudices.

Early in *Black Boomerang* for example he compares the behaviour, when a bomb fell nearby, of people sheltering in the London Underground, and guests at one of his 'small and select' dinner parties:

"It had been a cheerful evening" he writes, "and none of us had thought of descending to the air-raid shelter, not even when we could hear the bombers overhead, and the bomb explosions getting nearer and nearer."

Elsewhere however:

"When my American colleagues praised the courage with which London was 'taking it', I thought with shame of these able-bodied proletarians, male and female, absenting themselves from their workshops while they lay on their mattresses . . . publicly copulating on the platforms and blocking up the stations for those who had to go to work." (p. 22).

[Of course it must be remembered that Delmer's dinner party guests on this occasion included the daughter of the then Belgian Prime Minister, Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands ("Bernhard had been through a tough time in Holland shooting at German parachutists from the roof of his palace") and Ian Fleming—later creator of James Bond].

Yet another guest on this memorable evening—a banker and recent recruit to Psychological Warfare—was instrumental in launching Delmer on his career as a "black" propagandist (secretly financed of course, by H.M. Government).

To him Delmer had expressed his scorn of the type of propaganda programmes that were then being 'beamed' to Germany by the B.B.C. Of these, Delmer calculated: a wasteful 21 per cent were based on 'ideological humanitarian appeal', 32 per cent on 'argument', whilst the rest assumed a friendly audience of anti-Nazi pacifists or looked forward to revolution or active opposition!!!

TRICKERY AND DECEPTION

Delmer, the future expert, had other ideas:

"In my view," he told his friend, "all this attempt to convert the Germans to rebellion against Hitler by argument and appeal [is] a waste of breath . . . to stimulate the Germans into thoughts and actions hostile to Hitler they . . . have to be tricked (p. 40).

Which raised an immediate problem: "Trickery and deception was a task which lay right outside what it was possible or desirable for the B.C.C. to undertake."

Obviously a new technique was needed:

THE Revolution is here and now! So often have we heard this, and so easy it is to refute.

For we cannot contract out of the twisted, sick society in which we live. Those who attempt to do so are living under the cruellest of all illusions. The criminal is as much a slave of the system as is the copper, the unofficial striker as is much a part of the existing set-up as is the Trade Union bureaucrat, and the person who draws National Assistance is as much a part of the state machine as is the official who pays it out; today we see more clearly than ever before the dialectical unity of opposites.¹

There have always been those who have had the illusion that they could escape from what Reich called the TRAP. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the methods adopted by these victims of the last and most pathetic of all human fallacies were usually those of the criminal. The would-be escapees (often anarchist-individualists) failed to see that any action aimed at freedom within the framework of authoritarian society partakes of the nature of that society and is, in the last analysis, and integral part of the social matrix which spawned it. If there were no criminals the State would find it

"Hitler once said to me," explained Delmer, "there is an 'inner pigdog' inside every man. We must appeal to the 'inner pigdog' inside every German in the name of his higher patriotic ideas."

His friend was duly impressed.

"I think you are on the right lines all right," he exclaimed, "get that paper written though and stop gassing."

A few days later Rex Leeper [later Sir Reginald Leeper, G.B.E., Ambassador Greece and the Argentine. Director (1962) De Beer Diamond Corporation] wrote: "A novel and promising idea. Please go ahead with all speed."

Delmer was on his way.

Over the next 4 years his activities were to include forgery, newspaper production and sabotage but it was in "black" propaganda that Delmer obviously found his true calling.

"We spread over them a slime of obloquy as foul as that which they themselves had spread over the Jews," he recalls. "Not even the sexual extravagances of those who came under 'the Chief's' microscope were safe from his detailed and truly evangelistic denunciation." (p. 65).

He was dedicated:

"I had to do a considerable amount of research in the works of that great authority on sexual aberrations Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld."

However: "If he (the Chief) had not facts he could invent them."

Delmer mentions only one occasion on which he found cause to complain of a certain lack of co-operation from his Government employers. [Later they were to co-operate to the extent of sending the King's brother-in-law, David Bowes-Lyon on a special mission to President Roosevelt to explain the value of "black" propaganda (p. 75—F.W.)

This initial "misunderstanding" occurred with the opening of his first British "German" Station on May 23rd, 1941.

A few days earlier Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy had landed in Scotland in somewhat mysterious circumstances.

Delmer relates:

"to the amazed chagrin of Dick Crossman [R. H. S. Crossman, late Labour M.P.] and the rest of us Winston Churchill was giving the B.B.C. no opportunity to exploit . . . It was almost as though Churchill feared that if the facts about Hess's 'Peace Mission' leaked to the British public there would be a rush by Britain's phantom 'Peace Party' to unseat him and avail themselves of Hess's services."

Delmer's station dealt with the situation accordingly: (typically the first transmission began with alleged replies to listeners' queries concerning programmes that had never taken place).

"First let's get this straight," rasped the Chief, the station's announcer. "This fellow [Hess] is by no means the worst of the lot. He was a good comrade of ours in the days of the

Free Corps. But like the rest of this clique of cranks, megalomaniacs, string-pullers and parlour Bolsheviks who call themselves our leaders, he simply has no nerves for a crisis. As soon as he learns a little of the darker side of the developments . . . what happens? He loses his head completely, packs himself a satchel full of hormone pills and a white flag and flies off to throw himself and us on the mercy of that flat-footed bastard of a drunken Jew, Churchill."

THE FILTH

As no doubt befitted a Tory-Labour Coalition Government, the authorities maintained remarkable impartiality in their sponsorship of "black" propaganda.

With the exception of a Minister [Dr. Hugh Dalton, later Lord Dalton] who objected to the indiscriminate use of foul language in the broadcasts (a colleague explained: "as he is a Socialist, he thinks a right-wing station would be the appropriate one to carry the filth") Considerable "progress" was made.

A right-wing station was operated by a former Reichstag deputy. The so-called left-wing was represented by Sender der Europäischen Revolution (Radio of the European Revolution) operated by a group of alleged German Marxists ("It appealed to the workers to shake off the Fascist yoke and all that stuff").

There was a Christ the King station operated by Father Andreas, a Roman Catholic priest. Another claimed to be operated by a group of anti-Nazi electronic engineers ("the voice of a proletarian anti-Hitler figure would come on the air. Like some shop steward reporting to his committee he gave news concerning conditions and grievances in various factories. He transmitted detailed instructions on factory sabotage, go-slow techniques and methods of malingering.")

In all this time Delmer mentions only two voices being raised against him. One incident concerned Sir Stafford Cripps [later Labour Government Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer].

A rival group of propagandists, in a fit of professional pique, as it were, had passed on to him a copy of one of Delmer's scripts.

"Poor Sir Stafford," writes Delmer, "that fine old Socialist Puritan was mortally shocked. Pale with indignation he raced around to the Foreign Office to see Anthony Eden and protest."

"If this is the sort of thing that's needed to win the war," he stammered in his fury, "w-w-why I'd rather lose it." Eden [later Conservative Prime Minister, now Lord Avon] wrote to Bruce Lockhart [Sir Bruce Lockhart, K.C.M.G.] who arranged to see Cripps at his club.

"I don't know how Bruce did it," says Delmer, "but at the end of the lunch he had Sir Stafford mollified and smiling."

THE REVOLUTIONARY BUM

essential to invent them.

Today few of those who desire to escape from the organised death-machine that is the civilised world become criminals in the full meaning of the term; they do, of course, commit crimes—but it is impossible to live in our law-ridden society without being guilty of some offence or other. Considerable numbers of young people, however, arrive at the odd conclusion that by becoming beatniks ('beatnik' is a comparatively recent neologism of American origin; it usually means some one who, while he has not actually read D. T. Suzuki, has at least heard of him), smoking pot, reading Corso, Ginsberg and Kerouac, and even indulging in the occasional joy-pop they are in some way being revolutionary. I myself have known those who are genuinely convinced that there is more real anarchism in smoking charge with a dreary load of slugs in a run-down gaff in Brewer Street than there is in the combined works of Bakunin and Malatesta. These people feel that living on National Assistance is in some way more virtuous and 'anarchistic' than

living on one's earnings as, say, a road-sweeper or a whore.

In fact the beat is a conformist. His so-called 'contracting-out' of the system is as much a surrender to the anti-life forces that rule us as is an act of suicide. On one side of the authoritarian coin is the suburban house-owner, loaded with mortgage and hire-purchase repayments, on the other is the 'emancipated' bum, happy to scratch a bare existence from the N.A.B. and to leave the rest of the human race in the gentle hands of the generals, the politicians and the nose-picking intellectuals who form the hard core of the Stalinist 'Peace' movements, the Congresses for Cultural Freedom, the Buchmanites, and all the other epiphenomena of a death-oriented society.

Victory cannot be achieved by retiring to the safety of an individual funk-hole. Freedom is indivisible.² No-one can gain any freedom that is worth having while others remain enslaved. In spite of Isaac Deutscher's attempts at rationalisation the "watch-tower" of the neo-Trotskyists is only the Ivory Tower of

BOOKS?

we can supply

ANY book in print. Also out-of-print books searched for—and frequently found! This includes paper-backs, children's books and text books. (Please supply publisher's name if possible).

NEW BOOKS

- The Beach of Falesa Dylan Thomas 15/-
- Anarchist Thought in India Adi H. Doctor 18/-
- Continuities in Cultural Evolution Margaret Mead 63/-

REPRINTS AND CHEAP EDITIONS

- The Napoleon of Notting Hill G. K. Chesterton 13/6
- Science and Human Values J. Bronowski 3/6
- Sex in Society Alex Comfort 3/6
- Soldier's Pay William Faulkner 4/6
- The Essential Hemingway Ernest Hemingway 6/-
- Franny and Zooey J. D. Salinger 3/6
- Childhood, Boyhood, Youth Leo N. Tolstoy 6/-
- The Old Men at the Zoo Angus Wilson 5/-
- Bread and Wine Ignazio Silone 21/-
- School for Dictators Ignazio Silone 21/-
- The Morning Watch James Agee 16/-

SECOND-HAND

- Declaration Tynan, Osborne, Lessing, etc. 6/-; Inside Europe (1936) John Gunther 2/6; British Freewomen Charlotte C. Stopes (1894); Commercial Crises of the Nineteenth Century H. M. Hyndman 5/-; Dragon's Teeth Upton Sinclair 5/-; The War in South Africa J. A. Hobson 6/-; Truth and the War E. D. Morel 5/-; The Human Needs of Labour B. Seebohm Rowntree 5/-; The Camel and the Needle's Eye Arthur Ponsonby 5/-; The Making of British India Ramsay Muri 3/-; The Case of Jean Calas F. H. Maugham 3/6; Make Fruitful the Land Sir R. George Stapledon 2/6; The People's Front (1937) G. D. H. Cole 3/6; The Shape of Things Noel Carrington 3/-; Untouchable Mulk Raj Anand 4/-.

Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.—5.30 p.m. daily; 10 a.m.—1 p.m. Thursdays; 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Saturdays).

17a MAXWELL ROAD FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

POLITICS CORRUPTS!

Continued from page 1

collapsing) these are problems which a thoroughgoing revolution must take in its stride. After all the Algerian people had proved their ability to make material sacrifices undreamed of in the West. But Ben Bella's government was more concerned with consolidating its power against its political rivals and seeking a *modus vivendi* with de Gaulle and the Oil interests of the Sahara than of carrying through a revolution which would seek to exploit the land by the people for the people, irrespective of "property rights".

★

THE people in every revolutionary situation are prepared to make prolonged sacrifices so long as they can relate their sacrifices to worthwhile objectives. The tragedy of Africa, as we have pointed out before, is that the people made the sacrifices while their political leaders negotiated with the colonial powers, which resulted in a change of government as the alternative to revolution. The people are now reaping the harvest: a new ruling class as authoritarian and more corrupt than their predecessors, with the result that they learn that the struggle is a social and economic one not racial. The struggle is no longer black against white but black against black!

In Nigeria they have had a 13-day general strike against Governmental "waste, extravagance and ostentation". The Unions not only want more wages for their members but also want to close the gap "between the have-nots they represent and the small band of haves who rule the country." According to the *Sunday Telegraph's* correspondent in Lagos here is how they propose to do this:

by cutting down the pay, allowances and "perks" of Ministers, senior Civil Servants and officials of State corporations and by reducing the number of Ministers.

There are 27 Ministers in the Federal Government, with the Prime Minister earning £5,000 a year, and the others £3,000 each. On top of their salaries, the Ministers are given houses specially built for them at a cost of £32,000 each.

They also pay no electricity, telephone, or water charges; they get a basic car allowance of £80 a month; and when on an official trip, they are also paid 1s. 3d. a mile.

In addition, they get cheap petrol from Public Works Department pumps.

In Northern Rhodesia the new government is led by Kenneth Kaunda, the white hope of the gullible pacifists, more influenced by his Missionary background than his aspirations to power. Kaunda today is not the man he was only three years ago when he was grateful to have a *pied à terre* in John Papworth's flat in London, and was not sure whether on his return to Lusaka he would be put under arrest. Kaunda today is an African "statesman", wined and dined by the business men and the politicians. Like the Wizard of Oz the Americans have been quick to confer an honorary Doctorate to give him status and a feeling of importance in his dealings with the masses and with his political rivals.

Kenneth Kaunda who only a short time ago was explaining in *Peace News* how he was proposing to solve Northern Rhodesia's problems with love and non-violence, is now warning the Unions to behave themselves or face the prospect of landing in gaol; and his Health Minister, Mr. Sikota Wina, gave warning, last week, according to the *Guardian's* Lusaka correspondent, that Kaunda's government was prepared to send "trouble-makers" to prison *without trial* (our italics). It is significant that these threats should have been made at a rally of Dr. Kaunda's party UNIP and were followed by the observation that "This country cannot afford the luxury of private troublemakers."

All this does not surprise us; we refer to it because it seems to us to illustrate the point anarchists make against parliamentary socialists, that it is the nature of the governmental machine which shapes those who seek to use it and not *vice versa*. You cannot abolish the injustices that exist in societies based on privilege without abolishing the instrument through which that privilege is exercised. And that instrument is government!

Don't Listen to Politicians!

KRUSHCHEV, the figurehead of the bureaucratic dictatorship that exploits and oppresses the people of Russia, had the effrontery during the week to pretend to have some connections with socialism.

He has been on a visit to Denmark, and to the credit of the Danish people they are reported to have more or less ignored him, and poured scorn on the massive "security" arrangements that have been made for his visit, and have as a result been chided by the *Observer*, which shows an admirable liberal readiness to forgive and forget other people's sufferings and raise a cheer for any cut throat provided it is good for international diplomacy.

Kruchchev stated in a television discussion with the Danish prime minister, that Denmark was "a classical capitalist country because it had a capitalist class which owns the means of production, and workers who own nothing and earn their living with their own hands." That is certainly substantially correct, although it is quite inadequate to leave the matter there without investigating the changes in capitalism which have taken place parallel with the development of the welfare state and the consolidation of the social democrats as part and parcel of the modern capitalist state. However, what is more important is to draw the attention of any admirers of Krushchev to the fact that the workers in his state do not own or control any of the means of production, in absolute terms they have a drastically lower standard of living than the workers in the capitalist parts of Europe, and they suffer from police repression which makes it difficult to organise union activities through which material gains could be won.

Again, speaking to the dockyard workers "as an ex-worker and not

PROFESSOR FRED HOYLE further amplified his theory that the universe was in continuous creation and that every lump of matter in the universe affects every other. Ten members of the Committee of 100 were arrested outside South Africa House during a Trafalgar Square meeting protesting about the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela. Bertrand Russell said at the meeting that world trade unions could end the tyranny of apartheid by refusing to load any goods anywhere intended for South Africa and to refuse to unload any goods at any South African port. A spokesman for the T.G.W.U. said later that they were not in a position to bring influence to bear on the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. They were not directly affiliated to that body, relations are conducted through the TUC which represents British trade unions in the ICFTU. If the TUC decided to take action, then the TGWU would respond, according to the spokesman. "We feel as strongly as Lord Russell does," he added. . . .

DR. VICTOR ALLEN, a lecturer in the department of economics at Leeds University, was remanded in custody in Lagos, Nigeria, on a charge of "managing an unlawful society for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of Nigeria". Dr. Allen had been in Nigeria for three weeks collecting material for a book about African trade unions. Colleagues wrote to the *Guardian*: "The fact that he has been in contact with trade union leaders at a time when there was serious industrial unrest appears to have provided the excuse for his arrest."

MR. MERVYN MATTHEWS, a research student, was deported from the Soviet Union on charges of circulating hostile propaganda and "speculating in articles of everyday use". Mr. Bertram Bensen, an American lecturer in psychology was ordered by the Home Secretary to be deported. No reason has been given. Mr. Bensen has gone into hiding and has optimistically promised to re-appear in the autumn, "shortly after the return of a Labour government". Meanwhile, the Right Honourable Quintin Hogg, Q.C., M.P., has written one of his constituents saying: "I have no sym-

as Soviet Prime Minister" he urged them to prepare strike action when the order books were full, and not when there was unemployment about. Good advice indeed, and it is to be hoped that the speech will be widely publicised in the Soviet Union where attempts by workers to win pay increases and reductions of hours by such methods would bring down repression and charges of "Trotskyist sabotage".

There can be no classical capitalist states in Marx's sense in the world today, simply because of the century that has passed since Marx made his analysis, but it is equally true that there are no societies in which the ordinary people do decide the fundamental questions of social organisation, except by apathetic acceptance. It is true that the standards of living of most people in the western world have risen during the past half century as a result of technical development, and "socialist" politicians have claimed credit for this, just as advocates of free enterprise in the U.S.A. claim it as a result of their system. Yet everywhere, a minority of the population controls the life of the country and in pursuit of their minority interests threaten and oppress the powerless majority. This is the basic factor in the world of 1964, and possibly the one that Marx would have attacked if he had been writing now instead of during the height of the nineteenth century industrialism.

It is the overthrow of all these systems which should be the aim of workers' organisations and their replacement by a free socialism of the people not the squabbles between politicians of authoritarian varieties of socialism whose differences lie more in the society which threw them up rather than in any greater or less concern for the people. P.H.



pathy whatever with Mr. Bensen and Mr. Brooke has already investigated the matter on the initiative of another Member of Parliament, I propose to take no further action. I agree that the issue is not a Party political one. Membership of the CND is one thing, since it was formed to achieve a political purpose, though normally reputable political organisations in a democracy do not encourage foreign membership. Membership of the Committee of 100 is another thing, as this committee is set up with the express purpose of defying the law and Mr. Bensen's conviction to which you refer, is the result of a set of activities designed to set the law at defiance. He has abused this country's hospitality and I, for one, will be glad to see the back of him. You write about democracy. Respect for the law, whether by foreigners or British subjects, is a condition of its survival [*sic*]. I of course, do not know what actuated Mr. Brooke, but I heartily support his decision." . . .

MR. QUINTIN HOGG asked a Tory women's conference, "How many members of the Labour Party are in fact fellow-travellers and Communist sympathisers?" He added, "We know what Mr. Gaitskell said at Morecambe, about

HOPING TO SEE YOU!

Following a suggestion made at the Bristol Conference, it has been decided to hold a series of meetings for readers, writers and sellers of *FREEDOM* and *ANARCHY*. The first meeting will be in London, when as many as possible of the Freedom Press group will be present, but we hope to hold smaller meetings attended by 2 or 3 members of the group, in various parts of the country, particularly where we have had support for many years, but we have never had the opportunity of personal contact. We shall be writing to comrades about this and hope the idea will be supported.

First Meeting: July 4th, small Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., 2 p.m. to 5 p.m.

CUBA TODAY

In the June issue of Cuban Labour, the information bulletin of the Frente Obrero Revolucionario Democrático Cubano, based in Miami, Florida, is included a quote of Lazaro Pena, Secretary General of the Cuban Labour Confederation, C.T.C., who declared "The functions of a labour leader today must be co-ordinated with the government to make all work successful." Pena, although a veteran communist, was also the head of the C.T.C. in 1939, when he was appointed by Batista.

In the bulletin, the F.O.R.D.C. say that Castro is using the army, together with "voluntary" cane-cutters to cut the sugar harvest in the Pinar del Rio province. These "voluntaries" are members of the lumber, bank, power and transport unions and of course the "voluntary" work is compulsory, is additional to their normal work and is unpaid. The C.T.C. and the Transport Ministry have also mapped a plan for additional new work norms for July 26th, a Communist holiday in Cuba.

On May 16th, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Minister of Industries said, "We must exceed ourselves every day, improve our work norms, no matter how difficult the task may be, and must increase production at all cost." As the bulletin says, Guevara "did not mean at all cost to the government, but to the workers". "Hoy", the principle paper of the Castro government, has also been urging workers to meet these new norms. The F.O.R.D.C. bulletin says that these recent calls for increased effort are because there has been an "absenteeism

a sixth of the delegates." The Commons Committee of Privileges has just completed its report on a complaint by Mr. George Wigg on a speech by Mr. Hogg's in which he referred to "the Labour members' partisanship of subversive activities". This was ruled by the Speaker to be a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege. . . .

IT IS REPORTED by the *Sunday Telegraph* that a unanimous recommendation is to be made that the national chairman of the Young Socialists be expelled from the Labour Party. The *Guardian* states that six of the national committee members are said to be associated with the Trotskyist journal "Keep Left" but feel that local parties will not be keen to deal with extremists since many of them are very dependent on the enthusiasm of their youthful supporters and "however ideologically misdirected, they do a lot of useful party work". . . .

MR. RICHARD MOORE, secretary-general of the Liberal International writing in *New Outlook* says that there can be no escape by any political party from the necessity of some form of conscription if Britain is to play a full part in world affairs. "Even if everything possible is done to make conscription less disagreeable, it will naturally remain unpopular. That is why no party is talking about it before the election. But this silence is a disgrace to democracy". The British Caribbean Association has invited parliamentary candidates to sign a form declaring "It is generally recognised that the recent large-scale immigration from the Commonwealth into Britain, which has brought many benefits to this country, has also created difficulties in some areas. I do not here express any views on how these difficulties can be overcome. Nor do I now express an opinion about the Commonwealth Immigrants Act". . . .

A SITE AT Iver, Bucks, was opened by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government for the use of 'travelling people'. The Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry, Mr. F. V. Corfield said he hoped all gipsies in the country would eventually change from caravan dwellers to conventional householders in a settled community. . . .

ASTRONOMERS HAVE discovered a new group of "quasars" or quasi-stars beyond all galaxies hitherto discovered. They are estimated to be between six and seven billion light-years from the earth.

JON QUIXOTE.

The Hungry Millions

Bloemfontein, June 8.

Fifty per cent. of African children are tubercular at the age of 10, said Dr. C. J. H. Brink, director of Hospital services in the Orange Free State, at a meeting of the South African National Tuberculosis Association here today. The reason was malnutrition, he said.

(*Guardian*).

campaign" by some sections of Cuban workers.

Another method used by the Castro government to help get in the sugar harvest, using cheap labour, is compulsory military service. Raul Castro has said that this new military service law has been a success. "Thousands of recruits are working to save the People's Sugar Harvest to which we will be devoted for two more months."

According to F.O.R.D.C. bulletin, two young workers were executed for refusing to comply with the military service law. Another, Alfredo Cardenas Gonzalez, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for failing to register at the stated time.

Castro is keeping a tight hold over the C.T.C. The unions' principle task, according to Raul Castro, is to increase production, mobilize voluntary workers, raise the level of labour discipline, increase the yield and improve the quality of production. "The right of workers to take strike action has been abolished". Fidel Castro has said "A strike is a counter-revolutionary act in the Socialist Republic of Cuba."

The "Castro Revolution" has only replaced one tyranny by another. Bright hopes were held in the beginning but as the Castro Regime has consolidated its powers, so the freedom enjoyed in the early days of the revolution has disappeared. The old familiar pattern has repeated itself. "It is true that revolutions have no more implacable enemies than the men they raise to power."

P.T.

Something Wrong?

DEAR COMRADES,
May I say how much I agree with G's article "The Anarchist Dilemma"? The dilemma itself comes of two conditions. The first is where revolution is suggested as the way of removing a repressive régime in order that the people may, in some sense or other, be 'free'—and this does not pertain when that degree of freedom already exists.

The second is more important. Those of us who have a vision of a better society than this are not conditioned by the degree of freedom at present existing. Even if, in our view, bourgeois capitalism ensured here and now full employment, high pay, good housing for all, etc., etc., we would still reject it because it supposes a master-man relationship. If capitalism were the kindly and beneficent master of contented and willing slaves, we would still reject it—not because the slaves were not contented, but because the contented men were slaves.

TO COMMEMORATE
THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Social Evening

PINDAR OF WAKEFIELD
GRAY'S INN ROAD WC1
7-11 pm Sat 18th JULY
Desmond McDonald will introduce the artists:
George Melly
Eric Lister's Jazz Band,
Sidney Carter, Bob Davenport,
David Thomas, Pete Brown,
Karl Dallas, a Group of Ballet Dancers, etc., etc.

Admission 4/-.
Proceeds to the Anarchist Federation of Britain.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'
Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street
Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching
Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6
The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/6 post free.

- HERBERT READ**
Poetry & Anarchism paper 2/6
- ALEX COMFORT**
Delinquency 6d.
- BAKUNIN**
Marxism, Freedom and the State 5/-
- PAUL ELTZBACHER**
Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21/-
- PETER KROPOTKIN**
Revolutionary Government 3d.
- RUDOLF ROCKER**
Nationalism and Culture cloth 21/-
- CHARLES MARTIN**
Towards a Free Society 2/6
- JOHN HEWETSON**
Sexual Freedom for the Young 6d.
Ill-Health, Poverty and the State cloth 2/6 paper 1/-
- VOLINE**
Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6
The Unknown Revolution (Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21) cloth 12/6
- TONY GIBSON**
Youth for Freedom 2/-
Who will do the Dirty Work? 2d.
Food Production & Population 6d.
- E. A. GUTKIND**
The Expanding Environment (illustrated) boards 8/6
- GEORGE BARRETT**
The First Person (Selections) 2/6

Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications:
Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A tribute cloth 5/-
Journey Through Utopia cloth 16/- paper 7/6
Neither East Nor West paper 7/6

Letters to the Editors

It seems to me that those revolutionaries who welcome an oppressive régime do so because they do not believe that the anarchist or communist vision is convincing by itself, and oppression is needed to make people aware of the validity of the vision. I do not believe this is so: therefore (while of course regretting oppression and being spared by it) I do not indulge in an attitude that says we must be repressed before we can be free. Surely there is enough oppression in the minds of men (e.g. the oppression of religious ideas) without us looking for more?

And if it is true that our vision is unconvincing save in an oppressive context, then there must be something wrong with the vision.

Yours fraternally,
DAVID CHARLES ROSE.
London, June 20.

Investigation into Poverty

THE Nuffield Foundation made a grant to enable Richard Hogsden to investigate the question of poverty in modern life.
His findings can be summarized as follows:—
Considering all objective factors it is statistically more conducive to well-being to be in possession of money than to be subject to deprivation. It is not sociologically ascertainable that those with considerable increments find it difficult to attain celestial status but it can be asserted from all findings that fiscal shortcomings lead to lack of goal-fulfilment, hence lack of temporal status.

Consideration was given to theories advanced that those of lucrative status were biologically, physically or intellectually superior to those in the deprivation-group. It was found by tests that save for biological, physical and intellectual inheritances due to actual deprivation, basically the deprived and lucrative groups all belonged to the same species. The inbreeding occasioned by environment had tended to detrimental results in both groupings.
The author of the report found that lack of financial resources led to dietetic deficiencies, strained social relationships, difficulties in accommodation, sartorial degeneration and cultural isolation.
The grant made by the Foundation to Mr. Hogsden was £5 a week.
JACK SPRAT.

FINGS

- Religion in Schools?**
Public Meeting, National Secular Society, Sunday, July 5th, at 3 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.
- Committee of 100 Welfare Group**
Brenda Jordan Moule thanks 'Pancho' of Chicago for donation to funds received c/o Freedom Committee of 100
Meeting in Birmingham, July 4/5, Typographical Hall, Bath Street, Birmingham 4. Saturday, 2-9 p.m., Sunday, 10.30-6 p.m.
- Anti-Election**
Anti-election campaign advancing to Baron's Court border. Please help overthrow futile system. Meet for leafletting, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6., 8 p.m. Mondays, June 29th and 6th July.
- Demonstration**
Peace in Cyprus, Hyde Park (Speakers Corner), June 28th, 3 p.m. March to Cyprus High Commission, Greek, and Turkish Embassies. Greek and Turkish Cypriots invited. Peace in Cyprus Committee.
- Farm Work Wanted**
Comrade and his girl want work on the land in remote country place to get away from the London 'rat-race'. Any offers to P.C. c/o Freedom Press.
- "Freedom" Sellers Wanted**
for Street-corners, Hydes Park and public meetings. Get in touch with Peter Turner, c/o Freedom Press.

If you think that your 'fings' are worth inclusion in this column let us know. . . .

Thank God for Evolution!

DEAR FRIENDS,
In his interesting article *Look—No Blueprints!* (FREEDOM, 20/6/64), Jack Robinson refers to the difficulties in the way of achieving any kind of satisfactory portrayal of the free society of the future.

Many such difficulties arise, I suspect, from the fact that, while the free society is essentially an organic concept, the majority of people, conditioned by capitalism to think selfishly and mechanically, are largely impervious to any idea of "freedom" which is not expressed in terms of gimmicks, pigswill and free hand-outs; and the concept of a society in which conversation might have replaced telly or bingo, or in which walking might have replaced motor-bikes, is not one to commend itself to today's crop of processed and transistorised zombies.

It is thus necessary to recognise that most people do not want a free society for the simple reason that they are not ready for it.

Their childhood prolonged by sops, carrots and synthetic fantasies, they would not know what to do with a free society if you gave them one—for they lack the maturity to need it, the insight to understand it, and the capacity to operate it. Trying to interest the general public in the idea of a libertarian commonwealth is rather like lecturing seven-year-olds on the subject of sexual love: at best, futile—and at worst, damnably dangerous.

However, evolution, thank God, is still with us—and as more and more individuals become disenchanted with the morality of capitalism, they will achieve, step by step, their own maturity and

Election Anthology-3

WE are interfered with and accosted to control and dictation from the cradle to the grave in thought, speech and act, in work and play, in morals and manners, in habits and costumes if in anything we seem free, it is only because our despot is indifferent and has not yet chosen to dictate. Always there was that much freedom to the servile peoples. The soul of freedom, the understanding of what is the true sphere of government, the aroused defiance against all tyranny, the resentful, angry resistance of free men to every invasion of their god-given rights is dead. We are thoroughly prepared to be submissive slaves is a great imperialism, and so long as we ourselves are not smitten we care not that another's freedom is being slain. We do not fight that others may have freedom in the opinions we hate. We reverence the policeman's club because it is "Law"—when in fact it is generally only the policeman's will, conscious of the brutal power of the state back of him; and every instinct should teach us that most law is oligarchic despotism, and no law is entitled to blind obedience.

CHARLES ERSKINE SCOTT WOOD,
Too Much Government (1931)

Doing Well!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT JUNE 20th 1964

Week 25	EXPENSES: 25 weeks at £70	£1,750
	INCOME:	
	Sales & Sub. Renewals: £	
	Weeks 1-24	1,292
	Week 25	88
		1,380
	New Subscriptions:	
	Weeks 1-24 (120)	126
	Week 25 (5)	6
		132
		1,512
	DEFICIT	£238

DEFICIT FUND
Margate: T.L. 10/-; Sydney: Anarchist Group £6; Dunblane: T.H. 4/-; Hayes: Anarchist Group* 2/6; Southport: C.B. 5/-; Llandysul: H.D. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Milan: V.G. 5/-;
TOTAL 8 11 6
Previously acknowledged 417 4 5

1964 TOTAL TO DATE £425 15 11

GIFT OF BOOKS: London: A.M.
*Denotes Regular contributors.

understanding, leaving behind them as they advance a trail of discarded leaders and broken dogmas. It will be a slow, unspectacular advance involving, I'm sorry to say, hardly any euphoria—but it is the only intelligent way in which human beings can grow towards social freedom.

And when the free society does emerge from the womb of history—what will it be like?

Perhaps Jack Robinson gives a pointer to the essential quality of the free society when he observes: "To one reared in the heady atmosphere of political parties . . . the calm, a-political air of anarchism comes somewhat as an anticlimax."

The tempo of life, I suggest, will be unhurried. After all, where people live without the fearful killer-tensions of the capitalist rat-race, they are not voluntarily going to race and tear about like demented dynamos; and as people regain, on a higher level, the ancient arts of poetry and conversation, together with the ancient skills of craft and husbandry, the machine will decline into redundancy as a discredited relic of human greed and folly.

Yours sincerely,
Essex, June 21. TIM WOOD.

JOIN SOLIDARITY ACTION with Bert Bensen
Trafalgar Square,
Friday July 3, 7.30

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

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

Birmingham (University)
Dave Chaney,
7, Birches Close, Moseley, Birmingham, 13.

Birmingham College of Commerce Anarchist Society
Discussion meetings weekly. Details from John Philby, c/o College.

Bristol Federation
Irregular meetings—enquiries to c/o Martin Howells, 7 Richmond Dale, Clifton, Bristol 8.
Meets Sundays (weather and circumstances permitting), 3.30 p.m. on the Downs (Blackboy Hill).

PROPOSED GROUPS

COUNTY OF STAFFORD TRAINING COLLEGE
John Wheeler, C.S.T.C., Nr. Stafford, Staffs.

HEREFORD
Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close, Hereford

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

SHEFFIELD
Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

First Tuesday in each month at 8 p.m. First Tuesday in July only at Jack & Mary Stevenson's, 6, Stainton Road, Enfield.

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.

Freedom weekly

FREEDOM is published 40 times a year, on every Saturday except the first in each month.

Anarchy monthly

ANARCHY (2/3 or 30 cents post free), a 32-page journal of anarchist ideas, is published 12 times a year on the first Saturday of the month.

Postal Subscription Rates to FREEDOM only

1 year (40 issues) 20/- (U.S. \$3)
6 months (20 issues) 10/- (\$1.50)
3 months (10 issues) 5/- (\$0.75)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies FREEDOM
1 year (40 issues) 30/- (U.S. \$4.50)
6 months (20 issues) 15/- (\$2.25)

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

Secretary: Arthur Uloth, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.
JUNE 28 Jack Robinson on: The Police: and How they got that way.
ALL WELCOME

Notting Hill Anarchist Group

Secretary N.H.A.G., 5 Colville Houses, London, W.11.

Jazz Group

"Lamb & Flag", Saturday, 20th June, at 7.30 p.m. prompt.
John Jack and Jack Stevenson present ANOTHER REVOLUTION BETRAYED or THE STORY OF THE NEW ORLEANS REVIVAL

Cambridge Group

Meets Tuesdays (in term), Q5 Queens. Details and information, town and gown, Adrian Cunningham, 3 North Cottages, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.

Dundee Group

Contact Rod Cameron, 6 Westfield Place, Dundee.

Edinburgh Group

Enquiries to: Douglas Trueman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3. Meetings at the above every Monday.

Glasgow Federation

Enquiries to Ronnie Alexander, c/o Kennedy, 112 Glenkirk Drive, Glasgow, W.5.

Oxford Group

Contact N. Gould, Corpus Christi.

Hayes and District

Contact Mike Wakeman, 12 Hoppner Road, Hayes, Middlesex.

Tunbridge Wells Group

Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at J. D. Gilbert-Rolfe, 4 Mount Zion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex.

Plymouth

8 p.m.
Fred Spiers, 35 Ridge Park Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.

Tyneside Federation

Enquiries: Dave Wallace, 64 Belford Avenue, Horsley Hill, South Shields, Co. Durham.

Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

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

Wimbledon S.W.19, Third Saturday of each month. 8 p.m. Phone WIM 2849.

Air Mail Subscription Rates to FREEDOM only

1 year (40 issues) 45/- (\$7.00)

Combined Subscription to FREEDOM and ANARCHY

12 months 40/- (U.S. & Canada \$6.00)
6 months 20/- (\$3)
3 months 10/6 (\$1.50)

AIR MAIL Subscription Rates (FREEDOM by Air Mail, ANARCHY by Surface Mail)

12 months 65/- (U.S. & Canada \$9.50)

Cheques, P.O.s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers:

Freedom Press
17a MAXWELL ROAD
LONDON, S.W.6. ENGLAND
Tel: RENOWN 3736.