

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Crime is the violence of the individual, law is the violence of government."

—EDDIE SHAW

The Street Offences Act 1959 Takes its Bow

PROSTITUTION & HYPOCRISY

PROSTITUTION is usually referred to as the 'second oldest profession'. What is thought as the oldest, we are not quite sure, but presumably it is that of the priest, for clearly there can be no sale until there is a demand and no demand for the satisfactions of the bought woman until those freely given had been withdrawn.

Prostitution, therefore, must have been preceded by sexually repressive religions or at least social patterns of some kind. The prostitute must have been preceded by functionaries whose aim was the subjection of their fellows and who recognised instinctively what we know more scientifically today: that sexual suppression is a vital aspect of the subjection of the whole person. Pre-occupy a person with problems of a sexual nature and he is too concerned to pay attention to less personal affairs—social or economic affairs, for example.

Nor could prostitution exist in a society other than one in which people were commodities, to be bought and sold like any other market produce. The amusing thing is that it is quite openly accepted that 'every man has his price'; it is not regarded as necessary that a worker should like his job nor is there any scruple in business about tempting a useful employee away from a firm by offers of more money—or cutting down or sacking one who is 'not worth his money'.

People are assessed in cash terms. What you have to offer the buyer of your body or your brain is worked out to the last farthing per hour. Vast, powerful and respectable organisations have been built up for no other purpose than to bargain in such terms. The dignity of a man in selling his skill and his strength at the bench or desk does not enter into the negotiations. Ethics would only confuse the issue.

In the case of the woman selling her skill and her strength on the bed, morality confuses the issue. This sale is regarded as immoral, for the whole field of sexual behaviour is regarded by the religious and the moralists as their particular field of operation, and such is the importance of sexuality that they have found it easy to surround it with irrationalities, fears and taboos which reap such a grand harvest in misery, frustration and bitterness.

The Rare Ideal

This is not to say that we equate sexual activity precisely with any other. The sex act in its ideal context is an act of love. It is a climax of loving which is unique among all our activities—which is why it is so important and becomes surrounded by such clouds of mysticism.

Unfortunately the ideal situation is as rare in this as in all others—perhaps rarer—but still needs must be satisfied, even if on a less exalted level. Because of the mysticism with which the moralists have in-

vested sexuality, however, the satisfaction of those needs as a strictly commercial transaction, untrammelled with emotional pretences, is regarded as completely against the moral law.

If the emotional pretences do exist in the form of marriage, however, then the transaction can be as commercial as you please. This is just one more of the hypocrisies of this business. Although the moralists protest that it is the inner light with which they are concerned, it is really the outer superficial appearances that matter.

And the Government's action on the Wolfenden proposals, codified in the new Street Offences Act, 1959, which came into effect last Saturday night, is a perfect example of the humbug surrounding sex in our

commercially materialistic, pseudo-Christian society.

Head in the Sand

Prostitution itself (like homosexuality) is not an offence. *Soliciting* is the offence. The object of the new law, therefore, is simply to stop prostitutes openly soliciting in the streets for as long as the moralists can't see what's going on, they can bury their heads in the sands of their ethical desert and pretend it doesn't exist.

Perhaps it is to the Government's credit that it is realistic enough to know that it is impossible to suppress prostitution. While our marriage laws are based on monogamy, while divorce is restricted, while it is materially difficult for the young to marry and often socially difficult

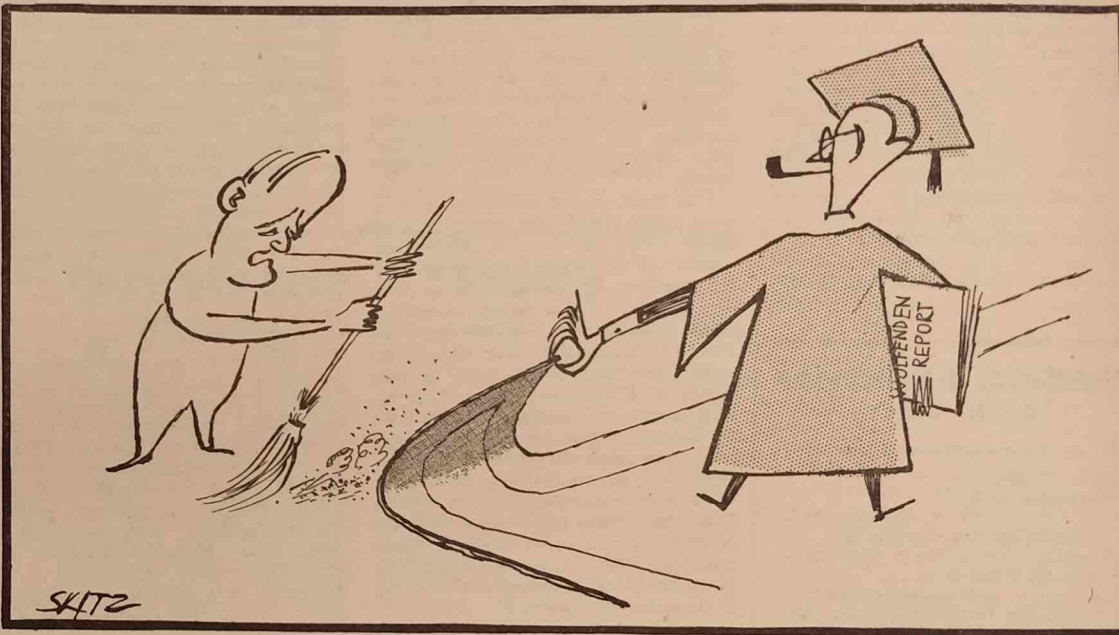
for them to live together, while the economy demands mobility of labour, while sexual appetites are titillated by advertising but repressed by guilty morality, the sale of satisfaction—vicarious and dubious and depressing as it may be—will continue to operate under the sacred laws of supply and demand.

If penalties against prostitutes raise the occupational hazards of their job—they will raise their prices, as any workers will demand danger money. If they are driven from the streets, they will organise other means of making themselves known.

That is, they or their 'protectors' will do so. For like any other lucrative business, prostitution has attracted its organisers, its beginners, its delineators of territory, its 10 per centers (or more!)—in brief, its employers and exploiters.

The procurers and the pimps are held in contempt by respectable society because respectable society

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The Motor Industry Dispute

ANOTHER strike has taken place in the motor car industry, with the usual compromise settlement. The workers in ten of the unions involved at the Cowley Motor Works came out in defence of a shop steward who had been sacked because of his militancy. After a fortnight the steward was offered an equivalent job in another factory.

The Amalgamated Engineering Union did not support the strike, and its members carried on working despite pickets. After the resumption, bad feelings were reported between workers who had been on strike and the A.E.U. men.

This divergence pin-points more sharply than in any recent dispute the criminality of division on the factory floor. All the workers at a particular point of production need an organisation which is their own, to decide on and carry out the fight against the bosses effectively. In this case they were fighting for an important principle: that of defending one of their fellow workers. It is greatly to the credit of the majority of the men that they were ready to come out, after a long period in which the employers have been on the offensive, taking advantage of the effects of the recent trade recession on the production of motor cars. It is equally to the shame of the A.E.U. men who black-legged.

At the same time, the conduct of the dispute was an object lesson in how the lack of militant ideas leads to failure. The emphasis of the national press was on the silliness, rather than the viciousness of industrial action. It was implied that the principle being fought over was just a clash brought about by stubbornness on both sides, and not worth either the loss in production or the loss of wages incurred. When the result was announced, and the compromise seems much more favourable to the employers and Trade Union leaders than it does to the shop stewards or workers, the Union officials and stewards' committees

decided on a return to work, and the men obeyed immediately. Certainly, the lack of really clear principles makes strike action look weak, but a strike serves a good purpose in itself if it is only to remind the world—workers, employers and general public—that it is the workers who create the wealth of a country, and not a coalition based on compromise. However, if the workers are ever going to make headway some widespread changes of attitude will be necessary.

At the moment, defence of a shop steward is a cause which most unionists will support, and so it should be. Are the workers equally concerned about the operation of the shop stewards' movement as they are about its defence? An editorial comment in the *Manchester Guardian* suggests that stewards are often of assistance to the management in running a shop efficiently, and hints that they could be adjusted into the system even more smoothly. Mr. Horsman, the worker in question, pointed out after the settlement that he had played a great part in improving relations between workers and management. What it really boils down to is that shop stewards are occupying a position pretty close to that taken by the ordinary branch officials during the early fighting days of trade unionism. They can take decisions on the spot, negotiate with the local manager on small matters, and if necessary call out a factory to press home a point or two. There is, however, no general desire to get rid of the bosses and take over the factories; and what is more important in the context of day-to-day activities, the idea that the workers should discuss problems together on the job and decide collectively what to do, is hardly apparent. The stewards, however sincere and militant many of them are, are no substitute for widespread consciousness on the part of workers of the role they play in society and the role they could play if they were to exercise their power. The

The Nyasaland Emergency The Workings of a Police State

THE Emergency Regulations which the Governor of Nyasaland made last March are, as the Devlin Commission put it, "an elaborate code giving him extensive control over persons and property in the Protectorate. Even without the Emergency Regulations the Governor, as we attempted to show last week (FREEDOM 15/8/59, "A Police State?") already had extensive powers, for, as the Devlin Report points out,

The Governor in Council has power under the ordinary law (Penal Code, sections 70 and 72) to declare a society to be dangerous to the good government of the Protectorate and thereupon it becomes unlawful. He did so in the case of Congress on the morning of 3rd March and thereafter any person who was a member of it was liable to imprisonment for up to seven years.

fact that they can defend a brother worker shows that the power exists, but the union control of the strike indicates that it will not readily be used in a liberative way. Any worker threatened with the sack should be defended vigorously just because he is a human being in need of livelihood. At the same time it must be realised that at the moment the shop stewards' movement is not functioning in such a way as to threaten the capitalists or to free the workers; not because there is anything wrong with its structure, but because libertarian ideas are not yet sufficiently widespread among industrial workers. P.H.

The additional powers conferred on the governor permit him in effect to by-pass the normal processes of the law, and legalize his illegal actions. He no longer needs proof to secure conviction; suspicion, a name on the "Governor's list" are the grounds, under the Emergency, for the arrest and indefinite detention without trial of any person in Nyasaland. Since the Governor is under no obligation to charge detainees with any crime in order to keep them in prison, there can be no machinery for the detainee to appeal against wrongful detention. The only hope he has, and what a slender hope in the circumstances, is that

at the end of every six months the Governor is obliged to consider "having regard to all the circumstances of the case" whether it [the detention] should remain in force and if so to what extent.

Thus the Governor besides being the only person empowered to order the indefinite detention of a citizen (an "authorised officer" may make a 28-day order "provided that he has reason to believe that there are grounds for a governor's order" and any police officer or soldier "or anyone else authorised for the purpose" may detain a person for anything from 24 hours to seven days, depending on "the status of the person arresting") is at the same time alone empowered to review his own decisions every six months! Surely not even the most atrophied mind

could consider such a state of affairs as anything but a dictatorship maintained and bolstered by naked force.

The Governor's list contained 208 names of "hard-core detainees" and Operation "Sunrise" was planned as a security measure irrespective of the political activities of those concerned at the time of their arrest. The Governor was anxious to be one move ahead of the citizens, and the Emergency Regulations conferred on him the arbitrary power of arrest, even though no crime had been committed, required to achieve that end. The Devlin Commission concludes from the evidence before it that "it is quite evident that unnecessary and therefore illegal force was used in making a number of these arrests" adding:

"Illegal measures of restraint were also employed. Apart from those instances which may not be defensible judged by any standards, you may think that the incidents show generally a freer use of the baton than would be tolerated in this country."

Having rounded up the "hard-core" the Governor was then faced with the problem of dealing with popular reaction to these arbitrary arrests. At a meeting of the Operations Committee the same day it was decided that there should next be a "vigorous policy of harrassing and breaking up Congress organisers, supports and hoodlums at a

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The Labourer is Worthy of Half the Parson's Hire

THE public are being taken for a great big ride in connection with the salaries paid to members of certain professions (or "callings" as some are euphemistically termed). Whereas the news headlines are ready and waiting for news of a £30 per week labourer the columns are full of the plight of our "poor" clergy or, to a lesser extent, our "poor" teachers. Other professions manage to get a share of this charity treatment from time to time.

Most of these sob stories are cleverly presented by means of the half-truth system (this can be done with unconscious sincerity), and appear plausible enough, so that it is not easy for the unsuspecting, uncritical reader to see through it all. However, a casual, but scientific, analysis will swiftly reveal some of the deficiencies. It's just like the House of Commons "Conservative, Labour or Mineral" panel game—put the Hansard columns side by side to get half of the truth and find the other half out some other place (none of the Parties may use an anti-British truth in order to score off its rivals).

It sometimes happens that the truth about one profession is supplied by one of its opponents in destitution: sometimes a little more than the truth. Destitutes can fall out like thieves because they have a common object. Which brings us to money—the facts.

Notwithstanding our popular £30 per week rocket-site workers, the Ministry of Labour tells us, in its latest half-yearly report, that the average weekly wages of male manual workers over the age of 21 was £13 2s. 11d. for 48 hours including bonus and overtime and before deducting Insurance and Tax. Railway workers and agricultural workers, let us note, were not included in the inquiry. Nor, we may suppose, were the unemployed taken into account. It is most important, for purposes of comparison, to mention these points because (a) Railwaymen and Farm Labourers are poorly paid and numerous and (b) unemployed labourers, though not numerous at present are hardly paid at all.

Since it is a favourite trick, on the part of the "professionals" and gentlemen who "take up a living", to quote

the salary or stipend of their lowest paid associates, it must also be noted that labourers, unlike professionals do not enjoy x £25 per annum increments, i.e. satisfactory work or good Bridge playing does not bring automatic wage increases. Opportunity doesn't knock even once: it exists in silent uncertainty or in the pools coupon.

It is the writer's opinion, based on not a little knowledge of manual labourers' conditions, that £13 per 48 hour week inclusive of bonus and overtime is roughly equivalent to about £11 flat rate with bonus. The bonus, surely, can be included in the labourer's "normal" pay—and, in any case, there is no need to reduce the wage further in order to show how dishonest are the professionals at the game of comparison. When we take £11, i.e. £550 p.a. the labourers wage, we shall soon nail the lie.

Consider first the clergy. They should be dealt with first because they emit most of the envious complaints about the supposed comparative luxury of their fellow men. The lowliest of the low in this huge gathering—these "black-robed beggars", to quote Krushchev in a moment of sincerity—are the Curates (R.C. priests must needs be ignored since no details of their pocket-money are available: this subject is very confused anyway—some R.C. bishops die officially penniless whilst the wills of others have run into many thousands of pounds. The Rt. Rev. Mgr. Ronald Knox, who went to heaven quite recently, you may remember, left £22,401 of materialistic assets mostly to his siblings). Curates, or assistant clergy, should perhaps get a mention because it is almost impossible for a curate to remain a curate for most of his ministering life. He gets roughly the same as our average labourer but may often get a free house as well. (In 1957 the minimum curate's pay was £430 excluding the very considerable allowances and fees which will be considered below).

The truest comparison possible in a short analysis must deal with beneficed clergy. According to Dr. Fisher the stipends of the clergy now average £717 per year plus a house free of rent, rates and repairs. Now a modest assessment of the value of such a house would be £100 p.a., bringing the total stipend up to £817 per year. Extras, which include children's allowances, Easter Offering, various expenses, various fees, gifts from the flock, a hospital chaplaincy perhaps, a diocesan supplementary allowance possibly, etc. . . . (?), can bring the total up to the £1,000 p.a. mark but since, to be fair, much of this may compare with the labourer's overtime, we should, perhaps, settle for £900 p.a. as the average pay of a clergyman. No sir, not including Bishops or even Canons!

Which is about 60 per cent. more than the labourers' pay.

Ministers of the Church of Scotland are on a par with their "Sassenach" brothers. Methodist ministers fare badly in comparison but still have a good "edge" on the labourer. Unitarians and Congregationalists are apparently keeping well up in the race.

Some ministers are conscious of the several advantages they enjoy over and above their fellow-labouring-men, such as the security from unemployment (out-of-work London parsons cost the Church of England tens of thousands of pounds a year), security from call-up into the armed services, pleasant, healthy working conditions, excellent pensions, holidays with full pay, no reduction in pay when sick, etc. But theirs is a quiet voice practically inaudible above the continuous clamour of clerical cadging. A few weeks ago the *News Chronicle* gave prominence to Rev. Beckerlegge, a Methodist, who voted against a pay rise. Another Methodist minister joined him in admitting that they were sufficiently rewarded in one way or another. May we hope that some C. of E. parsons will lower their sights and acknowledge their good fortune? Maybe it is a forlorn hope. Some clergymen, according to the Rev. Kenneth Harper, a former diocesan secretary of the Additional Curates Society, "fiddle" the population figures of their parishes in order to qualify for grants towards curates.

Canon R. B. Jolly of Worcester should surely get the prize for spreading "whoppers" concerning salary: "My wages are about those of a cowman" quoth he. We may be sure he did not have Gene Autry in mind at the time. There are some "poor" people around, we know, even parsons. Yours truly knows a teacher who hasn't "two half-pennies to rub together"—he is buying his house. Lots of labourers haven't "two half-pennies to rub together"—they are buying bikes to save bus fares. Some parsons wouldn't be "poor" if they could lay off the whisky: Some labourers would be "rich" if they didn't have to eat. But there are not a few wealthy parsons, some of whom are only too anxious, like the Bishop of Woolwich, to criticise the working mother.

A year or so ago a local vicar was reported to have received £100 from a member of his church, and a motor car and "shares" from another vicar's widow who had "passed over" leaving £52,609. Another local witchdoctor got a present of £500 plus a tape-recorder, and gifts for his wife, from parishioners on leaving his parish for missionary work 15 miles away. Money acquired in this way may perhaps be regarded as the equivalent of a labourer's overtime pay

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PACHECO & S. AMERICAN THEATRE

THE Buenos Aires comrades of "La Obra" are preparing to commemorate the anniversaries of the death of RODOLFO GONZALEZ PACHECO. Artists and men of letters are taking part, and it seems appropriate that this should take place in a Buenos Aires theatre since Pacheco devoted himself to dramatic art passionately, wittily and honestly.

Pacheco's theatre is socially inspired, yet not doctrinaire or dogmatic. Each of his works deals with a particular problem and is a lively synthesis of fact and analysis which goes beyond a mere observation of character or manner. With clearly defined personality his characters move in a succession of striking epic pictures. His language has the dreamy symbolist poetry of the "gaucho", spell-bound and lulled by his native legends. Pacheco tries to fuse man and art, giving the latter a humanist justification and a feeling of rebellion against the conformism inherent in anything social.

Three robust figures dominate the art and drama of South America; FLORENCIO SANCHEZ, ALBERTO GIRALDO and PACHECO. The Three develop in close sympathy with the social convulsions in the continent and with the spirited advances of their time. They live the most bitter, most epic and most heroic struggles in their dreams and bones. Their pens and personalities, their actions and their thoughts make an indissoluble whole, entirely dedicated to the highest aspirations of their time.

FLORENCIO SANCHEZ, whose works are the base and substance of the classical South American theatre, was an active militant and a good speaker in the anarchist milieu and wrote for their most characteristic publications. ALBERTO, an impassioned and vigorous poet, was the bard of anarchy as Pietro Gori had been in Italy, and like him was a splendid speaker and a remarkable man of the theatre. The famous magazine *Ideas y Figuras* contains many examples of the high quality and elegance of both his prose and verse.

RODOLFO GONZALEZ PACHECO possessed the qualities of a journalist, orator and dramatist. As an orator he did not express himself in verse, but the distinction of his style showed he was an artist and a man of ideas. Many of his works are now out of print, but his "Carteles", published several times in thick volumes, testify to his depth of thought and grace of expression, to his critical abilities and high mind. "They are rich and concise, the work of a master not easy to surpass in either style or substance" said FELIPE ALAIZ, another remarkable man of Spanish-American letters, with whom I often read and enjoyed Pacheco's "Carteles".

His substantial theatre works, contained in two solid volumes, exhibit artistic qualities enhanced by his activities among people of the theatre and the names of other authors with whom he collaborated. Some of the known theatre companies in Argentina paid him a very high tribute, and his works have been widely produced.

PACHECO was one of the most enthusiastic militants and exponents of anarchism. He went as a propagandist to Mexico, Cuba, Paraguay, Chile and Uruguay. He went to Spain first in 1919 and then again in 1936 attracted by what is known as the "Spanish Revolution".

He founded, edited and wrote for various publications such as: *Libre Pataca*, *La Batalla* (a daily), *Tribuna Proletaria* (a daily), *La Protesta* (a daily), *La Antorcha*, *El Manifiesto*, *Campaña Nueva*, and *La Mente*. *La Obra* was the last publication to which he brought all the affection and enthusiasm of his maturity.

PACHECO's life must be linked to that of the Argentine Anarchist Movement and to what represented it in *La Protesta* and *La F.O.R.A.* (in spite of heated polemics and disagreement) and to a whole epic requiring the attention of a historian and scholar.

I cannot in such a short space give an account of the many facets of a life full of action in a vast social movement, worker's movement, university and of his part in the Centenario (1910) deed; in the agitation over Radorvich Wilkens, Tom Monney, Sacco and V. Zetti.

It is not possible to explain with details requiring space his clear and prophetic position in the days when the Russian Revolution went like a sure wine to many heads. We cannot speak fully of his life as a prisoner and of his achievement as a producer in Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Barcelona at the time of the most intense revolutionary action, or of his contribution to the cinema for which he had started a transcription of J. Hernandez's poem *Martin Fierro*, and for which he was commissioned. Nor can we finally expatiate on his plans for Spain which he loved and to which he devoted a good part of his dreams and his efforts. This would require volumes.

We join with our friends in Buenos Aires in their worthwhile and commemorative function.

ILDEFONSO.

The above article was written for the C.I.A. Bulletin (Internal Bulletin of the Anarchist International published in London). We wish to thank the author and the C.I.A. Group for their permission to publish. Translated from the Spanish by Giovanni Baldelli.

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'Momma, What is an An-arch-ist?'

An Anarchist Vade Mecum for S.F. and others

It seems obvious that what the anarchist world needs is a simple primer of anarchism, to judge by S.F.'s heart-cry "What is an Anarchist" in FREEDOM, Aug. 1st. The questions "How to tell a baby from the bathwater" and how to know you're getting the genuine article when you get an anarchist . . . in short what is the trademark? Inspired by my reading in my tender youth (c. 1850) of "A Child's Guide to Knowledge", I, with a switch of locale have written this vade mecum.

★
 Momma, what is an an-arch-ist?
 Sammy, you're ten years old now, it's some way to your barmitzvah I know, but you should ask such questions. With such good comrades as Leah and Emma and Sasha, not to mention goys like Rudolf writing books you waste my life asking the questions.
 S.—But Momma I don't read the books and besides, all the *genossen* I play with say they're not Jews, not Christians, not Communists, not Socialists, not Tories, not Liberals. . . .
 M.—It's a process of el-im-in-ation. You just should live so long. You askit the stupid kwestions what you get is the stupid answers.
 S.—Momma, what is elim-in-ation?
 M.—You that ate eleven sticks of laxative chewing-gum should ask? We el-imin-ate the negative stuff so that the positive may nourish us.
 S.—Momma what is positive?
 M.—We've been living so long on *dreck* that we don't recognise the positive when we see it. And the amount of *dreck* in

the world! Positive is what remains when we eliminate the negative. With some of us it is not much, but it is what makes a man after rabbis, politicians and policemen have done.
 S.—Am I an anarchist if I go around blowing up things?
 M.—No, you're probably employed at Aldermaston.
 S.—Shouldn't everything be destroyed?
 M.—No, by a coincidence, some things in the world are good. You kick against your Momma and Poppa . . . that's good . . . that's life . . . and how you kicked when I first knew you . . . that's how you were born. But you can't go on kicking all the time—that's not life that's football.
 S.—But if the rabbis, the poliicians and the policemen are bad perhaps everything they made is bad?
 M.—No. There are some things we made by kicking against them. We called it society and they called it government and the State.
 S.—How do you know which is which?
 M.—Use your loaf. Upon my life, I don't think you'd know a baby from the bathwater. The baby is alive and kicking, the bathwater is cold and it stinks!
 S.—But isn't this kicking just a protest attitude?
 M.—Life is a protest against death. Attitude—schattitude.
 S.—But the boys at the anarchist Sunday school are such an odd lot. Some are growing beards like rabbis, some eat vegetarian food like rabbis, and some eat vegetarian food like rabbits, and some are just rabid.

M.—If they weren't odd, do you think they'd worry about Syndicalism and Stirner and Reich? The world outside is so *merschugge* that their madness seems sanity compared to some of the sense we see around. If they were normal they'd be making a good business, manufacturing articles which nobody wants to sell to people who can't afford them. They'd be preparing to defend themselves by planting a land-mine under the bed to scare off burglars.
 S.—But the others seem so ordinary and decent.
 M.—So did Baldwin, and Stalin, and Himmler, and probably Jack the Ripper.
 S.—But Momma, how do the Anarchists differ from the other political parties? They all seem to want the same things.
 M.—They're different because they are not a political party. You're getting confused between the baby and the bathwater. Once upon a time they used to sell the Aga Khan's bathwater. People believed it had miraculous properties, they used to believe it was a cure for everything. The people round this priest-king made a business of it. Now we are offered the liquid in which Charlie Marx bathed his boils, or Lloyd George shampooed, or Emanuel Shinwell shat in the hope that it will produce a miracle. But they call this bathwater a political party.
 S.—Why aren't anarchists better than anybody else?
 M.—Because they're human and not politicians or rabbis or policemen.
 S.—Why are some anarchists worse than anybody else?

M.—Because some are more human than others.
 S.—How do we get freedom?
 M.—It depends on what kind of chains you have.
 S.—But ain't there no way of all of us getting free at once?
 M.—We aren't all in the same gaol.
 S.—Perhaps if we became gaolers we could be just as free . . . ?
 M.—No, you'd be chained to your prisoners.
 S.—It seems very difficult.
 M.—Nothing worth having is easy.
 S.—Do you label yourself an anarchist?
 M.—Labels are for luggage. If I go to a museum I see lots of labels. A moth with a pin stuck through it is labelled and fixed once and for all, but me, I like to flit around like a live butterfly or buzz around like a bee, stinging here and pollinating there.
 S.—Don't bees and ants have government?
 M.—Yes, but who said we were bees or ants?
 S.—But isn't government necessary?
 M.—What do you mean by government?
 S.—I mean organization and authority over a group.
 M.—You're using big words again. I believe in organization otherwise how could you get your meals. I believe in authority because I know about cooking and dietetics. But in spite of organization and authority I can't force you to eat what you don't like. If I were government I not only could but I would force you to think you liked it and chose it. I might even be able to persuade you that fasting was good for you. But come, my son, the *lochshen* and *gefultte-fish* are going cold.

The Workings of a Police State

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lower level". The objectives of the new operation were

to arrest leaders still at large, to make propaganda, to give firm but friendly displays of force in quiescent areas and to take tough, punitive action in areas where lawlessness and acts of violence were being perpetrated or planned.

HOW the authorities went about this task is set out by the Commission under separate heads which do not give a clear picture of the wide powers and ruthless measures reported to in defence of "law and order": "Special Areas", "Cordoning and searching operations", "Burning of Houses", "Collective fines", "Confiscation of Implements".

But if one goes into the detail of these operations one finds that the only reason for them is the *intimidation of the population*. In spite of the fact that the Nyasas almost to a man were opposed to the Government's policy of Federation, there is no real evidence that they intended to express their opposition through the use of violence. It is clear that it was not Operation Sunrise that happened in the bud a campaign of violence, as the Governor and the very Government would have us believe. Indeed what violence occurred in Nyasaland took place after the arrests of the leaders, and even then, as the Commission shows, though there were many opportunities for killing Europeans in isolated parts of the country not a single white man or woman has died at the hands of the demonstrators. The Government on the other hand did not hesitate to shoot down demonstrators in cold blood in pursuit of their policy of intimidation.

AS the Devlin Commission put it:

Cordoning and search operations had another object besides the search for wanted men and evidence against them. Indeed, we are inclined to think that the search for wanted men was hardly more than incidental to the main purpose of the operation, which was to impose a form of collective punishment on troublesome villages. . . . The military were only available for a short period and the Government were obviously determined to use them while they were there so as to cow the population in troublesome areas. It is quite clear that these were not expeditions in which the military was simply acting in aid of the police to assist the apprehension of wanted men. They were punitive expeditions to make it plain that siding with Congress led to very unpleasant consequences. (Our italics).

On the burning of houses "it is admitted that 38 were burnt by the order of the D.C. (District Commissioner) and it is not suggested that the order was legal". Ostensibly the majority of these were houses in which looted property had been found. But, say the Commission in their Report:

The complaints we received said that houses were burnt simply because they belonged to persons who were thought to be Congress sympathisers. We believe this to be the case. We do not doubt that looting on a very considerable scale was going on, but we do not believe that the burning of houses was or was intended to be a punishment for looting only. [In] Memoranda in justification of the burnings . . . by the D.C. . . . more than two-thirds of each memorandum is taken up with a description of the degree of disaffection in the area in which the burnings were authorised, the strength of Congress there and the presence of alleged agitators; none of this has anything to do with looting. Looting is of course a crime; no prosecution for looting was brought against any-

one in the district. . . . It is significant that immediately after the D.C.'s order was given [on March 9], the Northern province asked for permission to destroy the houses of known agitators; it was refused. (Our italics).

On the imposition of collective fines, the D.C. of the Mlanje district wrote that in his view the "levy on all the people whether guilty or not will have the effect of making Nyasaland African Congress really unpopular".

It was not suggested that this was other than illegal and we are satisfied that these illegalities were expressly or impliedly authorised from the top. We have referred to the conception of these operations and to the use of the words tough and punitive. . . . The Army regarded it as a military operation the object of which was to subdue troublesome areas. It was a job which fell to the troops; and it was felt better that they should do it rather than the police because the police had to live with the people. An aggressive and bullying attitude was part of the treatment and lack of submission to it meant hitting and beating. All this was generally known and we sought opinions about it at every level of the administration. They varied from those who thought it proper and desirable to those who thought it regrettable but inevitable.

"REGRETTABLE but inevitable" is the verdict of what would presumably be described as the more liberal section of the administration. We too think the treatment meted out was "inevitable" but whereas we protest against the system which makes such methods "inevitable" we suspect that the "liberals" in the administration blame the Nyasas for having, by their protests and their demonstrations, forced the hand of the government! After all, even the Labour Party, through its spokesman, Mr. Callaghan, thought that the Government was justified in declaring an Emergency in Nyasaland last March. For these politicians, however right the people may be in their demands, the principle of government overrules all other considerations. The actions of governments may be "regrettable" but in the maintenance of "law and order" such actions are "inevitable" by which they mean, in fact, *necessary*.

The Devlin Report states that in Nyasaland last February the situation was such that the Government had either to "act or abdicate". The politicians of every shade of opinion would be unanimous in declaring that the government *should* act—hence the reactions to their action which vary from those who thought it "proper and desirable" to those who described it as "regrettable but inevitable". We anarchists do not accept that governments think in terms of acting or abdicating. So long as they have the power, the backing of force, to act, they will never even entertain the idea of abdicating. Hence our description of their action in Nyasaland as inevitable. But when the people in revolt are more than the government can deal with, then it has ceased to have the power to act and "abdication" becomes a mere legal formality, a recognition of a *fait accompli* which has no real bearing on events anyway!

The shooting down of individual demonstrators in Nyasaland in cold blood

. . . but although the crowd withdrew it did not disperse. The A.D.C. saw it being harangued by a man in a green shirt and in order to prevent further attack he asked the K.A.R. to shoot him. A soldier fired and missed the man in the green shirt but it was thought he hit another man. . . . there was a great deal of firing and there were found at the end to be the twelve casualties we have recovered, besides being "regrettable" and nauseating was, let no one forget it, *an act of government!*

(Copies of FREEDOM containing the first two articles on the Devlin Report may be obtained from FREEDOM BOOKSHOP, 8d. post free).

Communist Economics & Workers' Control

THE late Professor G. D. H. Cole, writing of his early espousal of the idea of Workers' Control, remarked:

"It surprises me now how little thought we gave in those days to the higher ranges of control, and especially to the control over investment, of which we were hardly conscious as a problem. We were, I think, quite right in insisting that could mean nothing to most workers unless it began at the bottom—in the actual workshops, and that the mere admittance of a few trade union leaders to high positions in industry would avail nothing. But in insisting on this we simply ignored most of the problems of higher control and planning—problems which the Russians were forced to face as a consequence of their very success in winning power. We thus had hold of one end of the stick only, while our antagonists had hold only of the other end—and between us we came to grief and the whole workers' control movement almost perished."

We have seen that the principal obstacle that prevents any movement for workers' councils in Eastern Europe from really developing into a system of workers' control of industry is the dictatorship of the Communist Party. An equal obstacle however is the idea which is held as much in the West and in the East, that the workers are incapable of managing those "higher ranges of control, and especially control over investment" of which Cole wrote. Krushchev has declared, echoing his predecessors, that "planned management of the economy is one of the essential advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist system". (Although Mr. Naum Jasny has remarked that "Krushchev and five or seven year plans are just incompatible"). We may doubt whether the system of setting a series of unrelated and unrealisable targets really merits the name of a plan, but Krushchev's declaration would be agreed with by many Western socialists.

And it is precisely because of the belief in a centrally-planned economy, and in particular, a centrally-planned investment policy that the economists of the Eastern World, whether they are through-going party men or not, cannot countenance real workers' control, which they, like the party bosses, are convinced would result in "anarchy". Before considering this "anarchy" it is necessary to look at the actual functioning of the Marxist economic system.

According to Lenin, drawing upon Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, there are two phases of communist society, the lower, in which articles of consumption are distributed proportionately to the quantity of labour contributed by each to society, and the higher in which each contributes according to his ability and receives according to his needs. In *State and Revolution*, in 1917, he describes the functioning of the Communist economic system:

"The means of production belong to the whole of society. Every member of society, performing a certain part of socially necessary labour, receives a certificate from society to the effect that he has done such and such an amount of work. And with this certificate, he draws from the social stock of means of consumption, a corresponding quantity of products. . . .

"The whole of society will become a single office and a single factory with equality of labour and equality of pay."

"For when all have learned to administer, and actually do administer social production independently, independently keep accounts and exercise control over the idlers, the gentlefolk, the swindlers, and similar 'guardians of capitalist traditions,' the escape from this national accounting and control will inevitably become so incredibly difficult, such a rare exception, and will probably be accompanied by such swift and severe punishment. . . . that very soon the necessity of observing the simple, fundamental rules of human intercourse will become a habit."

The Labourer is Worthy . . .

Continued from p. 2
or the milk and bakers-roundsman's Xmas tips. Similarly the "honoraria" received by parsons for visiting the sick in hospitals and hostels (described by Rev. D. H. Thomas, asst. general secretary of the Free Church Federal Council, as undignified and "near to being insulting") may be compared with bonuses. But these things should be taken into account. Few people realise that a hospital chaplaincy may be worth £1 per week to a vicar: prayers for the sick are often at a premium (the writer, perhaps the most prayed-for man in this town, judging from certain letters that have appeared in the local papers, is most grateful to get the service free).

So far as schoolteachers are concerned we could leave it to the Rector of Clewer, Windsor, to put their grumbles in perspective. Asking for alms for an assistant priest, he said: "If (the assistant priest) were a teacher with a two-year training course, his basic pay would be £725 plus allowance for special responsibility of £80 per annum at least. . . ." and "The amount of responsibility which (he and the priest-in-charge) carry is much greater than that of an assistant teacher and I am sure that any honest teacher would agree with this." But that was a particularly dishonest, or ignorant, comparison—quarter truth at most—so the teachers should be allowed to speak for themselves, because, as every Telly fan knows, teachers have to do milk rounds in their holidays to make ends meet. Here is a typical story told through Dinah Brook's column in the *Observer*. She found, on visiting a "good grammar school" that the first four graduate teachers she met were doing part-time jobs "so that they could afford to stay in a job they liked." And she commented that "the teacher may be in charge of children from homes where the total family pay-package is two or three times the size of his own." Perhaps if Dinah Brook, instead of specialising in the schoolteachers' world covered the world of the labourer as well she might modify her comments. Do not labourers do part-time jobs—but, in contrast, so that they can afford to stay in a job they don't like? Does not her observation that some pupils are three times better off than their teachers call for a criticism of the wages system?

In the eyes of the teacher is there Any-one Finer than Dinah? If there is I'll show him to you. Meet Robert Milne-

Tyte, educational correspondent on the *News Chronicle* staff who, on the 4th of May presented the melodrama of the 18-year-old building labourer treating a schoolteacher barman to a drink from his £11 3s. 8d. (after tax) wage packet—"about what he (the barman) was getting as a teacher at the secondary modern school. Here we have the loaded story. Milne-Tyte could have admitted that in twelve years' time the 18-year-old labourer would still get £11 3s. 8d., if he was still physically fit, whereas the barman would be getting at least £18 per week (he had been teaching for only five years and was, probably, about 23 years old).

Quite often, much is made, by teachers and their mouthpieces, of the training they have had to endure. Goodness knows why, because it must be almost a holiday for a considerable number of them and the labourers have to help pay for it. It costs about £10 per week to train them.

Much that applies to priests as far as advantages over the labourer are concerned applies also to the teachers:

"And then the door will be wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase, and with it to the complete withering away of the state."

THE effort to run society as "a single office and a single factory" collapsed in 1920. (Trotsky, who had been one of its most rigorous advocates, declared ten years later that only a Universal Mind as conceived by Laplace could successfully conduct a centrally-directed economy). Then, after the NEP period, which Russians later looked back to as a kind of golden age compared with what was to follow, came the Five Year Plans. But, writes Michael Polanyi,

"under cover of the noise made by the Five Year Plans the Government went on quietly fitting into place one piece of commercial (i.e. 'capitalist') economic machinery after another. Bit by bit every economic operation was fully commercialised. Adam Smith would have marvelled at this strange return of the 'invisible hand', doubly invisible as the carefully camouflaged secret of 'socialist' successes. Nothing could indeed be funnier than the way this kind of economics is taught in the Soviet Union. The official textbook is in two parts, nicknamed by Soviet students the Old and New Testaments. The 'Old Testament' tells you all about the evils of commercialism, or production for profit, of the fetishism of commodities, of social relations being degraded to relations between goods, of the alienation of man within an acquisitive economy producing for the market. In the 'New Testament' each of these commercial features is re-introduced, with each time renewed apologies, explaining that under socialism they are really and essentially different from what they were before, and that besides they are only temporary, etc., etc."

The "Gosplan", the central economic plan laid down under the Five Year Plan resulted in a jungle of self-sufficient and

Continued on p. 4

security is incomparable, holidays are incomparable and fully paid for, conditions of work are generally very favourable to the teachers. But there doesn't seem to be a Beckerlegge in their ranks to point this out.

It badly needs to be pointed out that an ordinary average school-kid can enjoy (if he is very ordinary and average) two years at Training College and receive as much as a labourer gets all his working life by the time he gets the key of the door. Subsequently he has only to be a good boy, or girl in 1961, to get £900 p.a. when he reaches the age of 35. Does £900 compare with the labourers' £550 or does it not?

Finally, we hear a lot about priests' and teachers' work carrying on after working hours into the small hours of the morning and into the holidays. That may be so. It may not be so. The point is that they don't have to do it and sometimes don't do it. Whatever they do their security is undisturbed.

And, once again, lest we forget:—
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ERNIE CROSSWELL.

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Avoiding Antagonism between Workers

THE notion that a breakdown in working conditions will inevitably lead to a revolutionary change consciously executed by the working class is not one which is held by many anarchists to-day, although socialists of all varieties hide-bound by theory still believe in an almost automatic change (merely accelerated by consciousness).

With this theory goes a kind of faith in the revolutionary nature of the working class—just waiting for the historic moment to show itself—in spite of evidence that a breakdown in an existing social order may lead to dictatorship or merely a change in rule. If the latter is what is meant by "revolution" then there is some evidence of "inevitability", but we mean by revolution a complete change, with the intention of establishing an equalitarian society.

The desire for a more just form of society may be expressed by individuals who have widely differing backgrounds, but in analysing the role of the various groups in society, anarchists conclude that the "working class" is in the weakest position economically (subject as it is to the effects of adverse economic change) but strongest by virtue of numbers and occupation. This strength, however, can only be exercised if organised workers understand their position in society and have a desire to alter its structure basically. Nowhere can such a movement of workers be found in any effective numbers.

Generally workers organised into trade unions are only concerned with defending their immediate sectional interests, and although we come across isolated expressions of genuine solidarity, the motives for "sympathetic strikes" for instance are usually unconnected with principles of brotherhood. It is often a question of time and circumstances, a combination which in itself cannot form a sound basis from which the ideas of equality and justice can grow.

The relationship between workers in different industries in this country is generally a good one, although when one section of them strikes there is not much sympathetic action among fellow trade unionists. This may be due to the policy of their leaders but it also indicates a lack of solidarity at this level among workers.

Where we find a greater gulf between workers is in the relationship between black and white; not very noticeable in this country where the "black" worker constitutes a tiny

minority, but in territories where the coloured labour potential is very high compared to white labour, antagonism is at its lowest level.

At the moment in Southern Rhodesia where the Federal Government cannot be said to be pro-black it has made a proposal for the "advancement of Africans into traditionally European jobs on the state-owned railways". Make no mistake about the reasons why the Government is willing to "advance" Africans; these are economic, and the *Manchester Guardian* Central African Correspondent writes that jobs are being offered at such a low rate of pay that "they will attract only African recruits to these jobs, which have until now been reserved for Europeans."

The African Railway Workers' Union is apparently prepared to consider the offer only as a basis for negotiation, but the European Railway Workers' Union has threatened to strike if the Government goes ahead with its proposal.

When the Rhodesian Railways were nationalised in 1947, the Prime Minister of the time in a letter to the European Union assured them the conditions for the employment of Europeans would continue under nationalisation. This presumably meant that no black workers would be employed in "traditionally European" jobs on the railways. This assurance was underlined in 1953 when the letter appeared as an appendix to the White Paper on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland "as part of the price the Prime Minister (Sir Godfrey Huggins) paid for the vote of white railwaymen in the referendum on Federation in March, 1953". Now that the more

pressing issue appears to be reduction of costs on the railways through lower wage rates the Government will no doubt interpret the 1947 assurance in a way which will allow it to proceed with the proposals for the employment of African labour. This, however, is an issue which can be left to two groups of white men who were prepared to deprive the Africans of jobs while safeguarding their own particular interests

What we care about is the antagonism which exists between the two sets of unions—one white, one black—for the issue is a moral one involving the concept of superiority on the part of white workers. We know it will be argued that the European Railway Workers' Union is really only interested in defending the economic well-being of its members threatened by cheap African

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Communist Economics & Workers' Control Continued from p. 3

competing Ministries, duplicating each other, transporting commodities thousands of unnecessary miles, producing obsolete and unwanted products. There is now no need to labour this point, since Krushchev dwelt on it at length in his 'Decentralisation Decree' (N. S. Krushchev: *Improvement of Industrial Management in the U.S.S.R.*, Soviet News Booklet No. 10, 1957). Statistics were falsified and made meaningless (see Naum Jasny: *Interpreting Soviet Statistics* (Soviet Survey No. 26, Oct. 1958), and to make the system work at all, there ran from Ministry to Ministry in Moscow, what Edward Crankshaws calls

"the shadowy figure of the Fixer, the *Tolkach*, a sort of glorified contact man and plan evader, who drew salary and commission from the various trusts and Ministries and individual plants, justifying his existence by short-circuiting Moscow at all desired points, making sure through quite wonderfully complicated unofficial deals that, no matter what happened to the economy as a whole, his own 'clients' would be supplied with all they needed for the fulfilment of their own plans."

When in 1957 a long list of Ministries were closed down and a series of National Economic Councils set up, it seemed likely that "regional empires would be substituted for centralised ones, horizontal empires for vertical ones, and the Fixers would transfer their attention to new fields". This, according to the students of Soviet affairs is what has happened.

Professor Polanyi has concluded that the Soviet economic system is in practice "a camouflaged market economy and not the centrally directed fully planned economic system which it pretends to be and which Western literature rashly accepts it to be" while Professor Edward Shils goes so far as to say that "It is a tribute to the great genius of the Russian people, their perseverance and their exceptional gifts of improvisation that they can accomplish so much despite the rigid and doctrinaire outlook of their rulers in matters of economic organisation." (*The Soviet Economy: A Discussion*). One may doubt whether the "anarchy" which would result from workers' control of individual enterprises

would be worse than the chaos of central planning.

BUT the assumption behind these criticisms of Communist planning is that the object of planning is the satisfaction of consumer needs. In fact, as the Russians know to their cost, it is not. The priorities of investment policy enforced upon the rival ministries is certainly planned, and needless to say, war potential has come first and consumer goods last. The Soviet people have been continually told that they must tighten their belts now for the sake of a wonderful time in an ever-receding future, and all the talk about the rate of economic growth that matters is the growth in the average consumption of say sugar, butter, meat, clothing and shelter. Over a century ago Herzen asked: "Do you really wish to condemn human beings alive today to the mere sad role of carayattids supporting a floor for others to dance upon? Of wretched galley slaves who, up to their knees in mud, drag a barge with the humble words 'Future Progress' on its flag? A goal which is infinitely remote is not a goal at all, it is a deception."

There is little doubt that in the 'anarchy' of workers' control there would be an emphasis in investment policy on the satisfaction of immediate consumer needs. It is surely a very curious view of human life which sees something reprehensible or improvident in this. The attraction of the Yugoslav "socialist market economy" is precisely because, more than any other Communist economy, it gives some degree of attention to consumer preferences, Tito having made the highly popular pronouncement that those who won socialism should enjoy at least some of its fruits.

Mr. Peter Wiles emphasises that "It is astonishing that people with an intimate and accurate knowledge of how the Soviet system works should consider the possibility of operating on the assumption that planners' preferences are in fact rational in a Communist economy", and Mr. Naum Jasny (*Soviet Survey*, Jan.-March, 1959) in a study of the (now abandoned) sixth Five Year Plan, gives some examples of the irrationality of Soviet 'planning'.

"The sixth FYP was based on the con-

labour, but surely if this is only an economic question all the Unions have to do is to insist that all employees—black and white—are paid the same rate for whatever job they undertake. An agreement to this effect could be made with the African Union and if it refused and its members agreed to work for lower wages than paid to white workers, there would be genuine cause for grievance within the European Unions.

The final decision, assuming the Government intends to carry out its decision without regard to the

European Union, rests with the African Railway Workers' Union which should wisely negotiate a scale of wages for its members to white workers. This will not bring about a revolution but it will remove the reasons for economic antagonism between white and black; it will show the Federal Government that it cannot employ cheap labour just when it decides on an "advancement" policy for Africans and it might even help to weaken the bad feeling which exists between the two racial groups of workers.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

On C.O. Tribunals

DEAR FRIENDS,

I was the objector referred to a fortnight ago by J.R. in his survey of C.O. tribunals, as the one who 'tends towards anarchism' (misquoted as 'anarchy' in the ex-Kemsley press). Going through the process of objection has certainly filled out my education. The first lesson is that I shouldn't have attempted to justify my objection before five people, who assume the mantle of wisdom and discernment, but who are humanly biased.

That's the second thing to be realised. The panel was biased politically, and it was audacity on their part to claim an impartial approach. The chairman had been a Tory candidate on at least one occasion. When the word anarchy was first mentioned, one of the members, a J.P., visibly started, and stated indignantly that I wanted to do just as I pleased. Little though I knew of anarchist theory, it was obvious that she knew less, as I found out in trying to explain in simpler language what I had already been through one at length.

That is the third lesson—the members of tribunals can be either incredibly stupid, or cunning in their efforts to lead one into making a slip. After I had explained fully my opposition to State authority and my hopes of helping

to establish co-operative settlement, the chairman asked 'like the State farms in Russia?'

Perhaps it was then that I rather gave up, and realised the final lesson. Co-operation for these people comes exclusively out of a bible—a 'social' conscience is not within the body of rules of their game. They are there not to test your sincerity, but to separate those harmless eccentrics, who are political innocents from those 'fanatics' who do not poke their tongues at the Establishment.

For the record, both this tribunal and the Appellate Tribunal rejected my objection as not being conscientious. Subsequently, I was surprisingly rather lightly by a Cardiff magistrate refusing to submit to a medical. Because the sentence was light, the Ministry of National Servitude are doing the same thing again, and I am soon to appear once more before a magistrate.

Yours,
Rhondla, Aug. 16. H.D.

MAJORITY CONTROL

DEAR EDITORS,
I will not venture to tread on Parker's ground, but it is obvious that P.G.F. does not sufficiently take account changes which must arise out of a new economy.

His drunks, mental defectives and criminals (how can crime remain within a criminal code?) are largely, if not wholly, products of a Society based on private property. To the extent that such perversions persist, a free Society will assuredly be able to protect itself, either by individual action or by general agreement. In the absence of authority though, who can control? In any event, with freedom in economic and sexual matters, it is difficult to see what remains which cannot be settled by consent.

Yours sincerely,
F.B.

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Date and place to be announced.

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