

They say one day there will be a Negro President of the United States. Well, I say who would want to be President of the United States? Like who wants to be a mass murderer?

LE ROI JONES

Christie and the Truth

Another Phoney War?

A WEEK after the Labour Party issued its Manifesto "The New Britain (FREEDOM, Sept. 19), the Conservatives came out with theirs: "Prosperity with a Purpose". And sandwiched between the two Big Brothers, in time as well as policies, was the Liberals' manifesto "Think for yourself".

Far from making the task of the voter easier, the publication of these Manifestoes present him with a dilemma, an *embarras de choix* as the French would say as they feast their eyes on a display of mouth-watering tit-bits, galantines, hors-d'oeuvres, chickens in aspic, goose liver and the rest, in the delicatessen shop. For let us face it, each of the three Parties is presenting us with a bill of fare the like of which not even the most optimistic socialist, a mere half century ago, could have promised as the rewards of a socialist Britain without being accused of

idealism or just wishful thinking. So, short of the three parties scrapping their manifestoes and issuing a joint one with the promise that the next government will be represented by the leading lights from all three, we suggest that all the voter can do now is to decide which party he will vote for by using a pin.

After all, the points of disagreement between the parties are over details which are neither here nor there. Both the Labour and Liberal Parties are in favour of Britain dispensing with her independent nuclear weapons whereas the Tories are in favour of keeping them. This is made into a vital issue by the

Conservatives on the grounds that only in this way can we "deter an aggressor". But if this theory were true then the Tory government instead of seeking to limit membership of the International Nuclear Club to Russia, the United States and Britain, should be advocating that every country be in possession of its independent nuclear deterrent, and hey presto! peace and goodwill among men would be universal. The fact is that war will only be abolished from the face of the earth when the *causes* as well as the *weapons* of war are removed, and none of the manifestoes seeks to analyse the *causes* of war, while both the Labour and Liberal parties propose to increase this country's conventional armament. "The Liberals will shift the emphasis to building up our conventional forces, so that Britain can fulfil its world-wide obligations until an effective UN force takes over." "A Labour Government's first concern will be to put our defences on a sound basis and to ensure that the nation gets value for money on its overseas expenditure... Our stress will be on the strengthening of our regular conventional forces so that we can contribute our share to NATO defence and also fulfil our peace-keeping commitments to the Commonwealth and United Nations". The Tories declare that "over 90 per cent. of our defence effort is devoted to conventional arms... but in this nuclear age no money spent on increasing the size or improving the

conventional equipment of our forces could by itself secure the defence of these islands."

If the Tories 90 per cent. is accurate then it can be assumed that the conventional "defence" proposals of both the Liberal and Labour Party would cost even more than the Tories' 13-year spending spree which, according to the Labour Party, cost £20,000 million and "has left our defence... weaker than at any time in our history".

★

BUT whatever any of the three Party manifestoes say about "defence" is a lot of unadulterated poppycock for they all not only avoid discussing the *causes* of war, but equally remain silent on the role the cold war plays in their economic programmes—for full employment, affluence and all the prosperity they promise the nation. We submit that the cold war is a regulating valve without which the capitalist system could not have functioned without major crises during these twenty post-war years. It is all very well for some economists to say that there would be no financial crisis or mass unemployment if there were world disarmament on the grounds that the cold war economy represents a small percentage of the national product of each country. It is obvious that when we talk of mass unemployment, of economic depressions we are referring to a situation which still only directly

affects a small minority of the working population but which has its repercussions in many sectors of the economy, as well as on the political climate.

In this writer's opinion the lesson of the inter-war years was not lost on the ruling class after World War II, and in this connection it is perhaps worth pointing out that whereas the twenty years that elapsed between the end of World War I and the beginning of World War II were marked by mass unemployment, Wall Street Crises, record numbers of bankruptcies, and "disarmament", the twenty years since the end of World War II, in spite of at least two Powers possessing the means to obliterate mankind, and massive expenditure on "defence" by most countries which, according to every self-respecting socialist and anarchist in the inter-war years, should have inevitably led to war... we are, in this writer's opinion, not in sight of World War III. It is true that there have been all kinds of "minor" wars, but let us not forget that most of them are linked to a far-reaching process of *decolonisation* which also seemed impossible in the inter-war years. Because we believe that the ruling class learned the lessons of the inter-war years, we refuse to take seriously the differences which divide the Labour and Liberal parties from the Tory Party on the question of "defence". And since we are also

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ANOTHER SOUTH AFRICA?

THE meetings between Mr. Ian Smith, the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister and the "mask of death", the British Prime Minister, have satisfied both these characters. Just before a General Election in this country there was no particular desire among the right-wing supporters of the two Governments concerned to make the chances of a Conservative victory at the polls even smaller. So, to further the noble cause of Conservatism a few million Africans have been duly sacrificed.

All Mr. Smith now has to do is to satisfy the British Government that he has the general support of Rhodesians—both black and white—for Independence with the present constitution. Mr. Smith's means to this end are fairly clear. All his real opponents he imprisons on the pretext that they are thugs, the only newspaper representing his real opponents is banned, the Chiefs and Headmen whom Mr. Smith's Government pays are then asked whether they wish to continue to receive their wages from the Government or whether they are against Independence with the present Constitution.

A few Chiefs opt for a termination of wages, influence and power and inform the Smith Government that their people are against Independence with the present Constitution. Most Chiefs are more pliant in their approach and inform the Smith Government that they simply cannot wait for Independence.

After all the free discussion, the generous democracy and the testing of public opinion Mr. Smith is able to convince all but the most cynical that the Rhodesian people—white and black—are behind his demand for independence.

Britain cannot fail to be convinced by the evidence and the African Common-

wealth countries are realistic à la Banda and see that the next mutiny could, in certain circumstances, not bring British troops to suppress it. African brothers to the South, who after all have had all the words to save them ten times over, must fight their own battles. African unity being what it is the greatest protest amounts to a burp from Ghana.

Mr. Smith, with Independence and the present Constitution, then begins to whittle away all the ugly manifestations of multi-racialism. We have in fact the way open to another South Africa and no one cares very much except a few liberals whom the black nationalists despise anyway.

What is a bit more suffering in the world anyway? And if the perpetuation of white rule in Southern Africa is assured so is the capitalist system. Winds change course after all.

The position of Dr. Banda in the newly independent Malawi seems to be somewhat insecure. Six of his Ministers could stand neither the man nor his policies any longer. One of the ex-Ministers described Banda as "worse than Welensky" and called his methods "fascist and dictatorial".

Dr. Banda exemplified the first of these accusations by asserting that there was a plot to murder him and that the ex-Ministers were plotting with the Red Chinese. He also said that a second scramble for Africa was in progress, this time the scramble was for the soul of Africa.

Delighted at the rebuff given to the supposedly Red Chinese plot the *Sunday Times* correspondent, Tom Stacey, has commented that Banda as an elder of the Church of Scotland was influenced by Livingstone, a man who also "went for the soul". However, if my memory serves me right, David Livingstone was a man concerned with slavery in Africa and as such he would hardly have supported a Portuguese régime which practices forced labour, a system as near to slavery as you can get.

If Dr. Banda is worried about the soul of Africa he might listen to the ex-Minister who said that independence had not brought kwacha (dawn) to Nyasaland. He might also consider the real interests of the African people when he talks of the realism of his deals with the fascists from Portugal. If Dr. Banda cared more about the soul of Africa and less about his own vain ego he might act like a man with Livingstone's hatred for slavery and seek to overthrow the Portuguese military rule in Mozambique, thus freeing his fellow Africans from their miserable plight.

J.W.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

Postmen Threaten Overtime Ban

Despite the G.P.O.'s large-scale advertising of the pay increase for postmen, they are not getting enough men to maintain postal services in London. Another 1,500 men are needed to bring it up to its required number of 20,000. For instance, at the City sorting office they are 200 men short of the required strength of 1,800. Although London is a bad area for "recruitment", the City district is proving worse.

This shortage of postmen has been causing delays of up to four days in some places and in the City and Camden Town areas the afternoon delivery has been suspended. As during the July dispute, these delays are also affecting business in the City. Banks are having difficulty in clearing cheques in the normal interval of two days. Firms are losing orders, mail order firms and large departmental stores are losing customers. The businesses who are losing money have written to the Postmaster-General about their troubles.

With the G.P.O.'s failure to get full-time labour, they are now asking the Union of Post Office Workers to agree to part-time workers in London. There is such an agreement between the Union and the G.P.O. for employment of part-time workers, but this can only be used after consultations and if there is no other possible alternative. The G.P.O. employs 4,058 men and 5,795 women on this basis except in the London District where there are no part-timers, so far union officials of the London district of the U.P.W. have turned down the G.P.O. scheme. They say the introduction of part-time labour would put the postmen on a casual basis and point out that the years of low pay have led to

many postmen leaving for other jobs. "The Post Office must recognise that they cannot maintain the service any longer by overtime. What we need is the 25/- balance of our wage claim and a pledge that postmen will never again lag behind other workers. Then we might get the men to do the job."

Mr. Lawlor, London district secretary of the U.P.W. said: "The heart of the men has been knocked out by the long wait for a decent basic rate." London's union leaders are threatening a ban on overtime if the G.P.O. starts using part-time workers, but so far this matter has not been discussed with the General Secretary, Mr. Smith. What his reaction will be is not known but he will be meeting the Postmaster-General this week.

The postmen's immediate answer to the present staff shortage is to suspend all deliveries of unaddressed circulars and to restrict the second-class mail delivery. They say that the fully-rated mail should be given priority. There has always been a certain amount of opposition to unaddressed circulars from postmen. This type of mail is on the increase and is responsible for a lot of the overtime that has to be worked to maintain the service. One union official has said that "The men are out on their feet, so we have put a maximum of 18 hours overtime a week on every worker."

While this dispute goes on in the London area, there is still the outstanding pay rise to be considered, but this has to wait until the Research Group on Postmen's Pay, which is comparing the wages with the pay of workers in comparable industries, makes its findings

known. This is expected to be a long job and though the result was expected to be published at the end of the year, it will probably be delayed for another three months. Mr. Smith, the postmen's leader, has written to union branches asking them to be patient and explaining that he is mostly to blame for the delay, for he wants a thorough "fair comparisons" enquiry.

Surely by now the postmen are fed-up with delay. After all, the July increase was only an interim rise and now Mr. Smith wants them to have a little more patience. What is Mr. Smith's attitude to casual labour for the London area? Postmen see part-time labour as just a way out for the G.P.O. while they can carry on at the present wages. What lies at the root of the trouble over the labour shortage are the low wages and the strict regulations under which postmen work. The present hold-up in deliveries can reinforce their claims and should be used to press home their demands.

One solution which was put forward during the July dispute, was for higher wages to be paid in the areas where there was a shortage of men in order to attract labour to those areas. This would further widen the pay differentials, as London postmen already earn more than their counterparts in the country areas. Any attempt to widen this gap must be resisted, as this would only weaken the unity and solidarity which the postmen showed in July. However the banning of deliveries of unaddressed circulars would be an effective way of highlighting their grievances over the long delays in pay increases.

P.T.

ANARCHY 44

ON SALE NEXT WEEK
DISCUSSES

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CORRESPONDENCE ON

Christie and the Truth

TO THE EDITORS OF FREEDOM.

Jack Robinson's reply to my letter about the Christie case consists of four points:

1. That it has never been stated in FREEDOM that Christie was a pacifist who believed in non-violence. True: FREEDOM has said nothing about Christie's known opinions and activities; it has preferred to evade the issue.

2. That it has been left open in FREEDOM whether Christie was innocent or guilty. Not true: on 29th August it was clearly suggested that he was innocent. On 12th September the issue was evaded. Anyway, how is it "in some sense irrelevant"?

3. That it is impossible to find out the whole truth about the case. True: but FREEDOM, which could have got nearer to the whole truth than any other paper, preferred a version which relied on traditional prejudice and ignored the available evidence. In the Challenor case, the available evidence supported the traditional prejudice; in the Christie case, it does not.

4. That it is wrong to hurt a friend for the sake of the truth. True: but if the editors of FREEDOM really believed that my letter would hurt Christie, they would (rightly) have refused to print it; in fact, of course, they know that what I say will neither hurt nor help him. Anyway, lying to keep a friend out of trouble, particularly when you agree with what he has done, is a very different matter from lying about why he has got himself into trouble, particularly when you disagree with what he has done. Lying about Christie hasn't helped him a bit, but it has hurt the anarchist movement a lot.

London, N.W.3. NICOLAS WALTER.

EDITOR'S REPLY:

[Having read and re-read Nicolas Walter's first letter (FREEDOM Sept. 19) as well as the one we publish above, we still have difficulty in understanding what he is driving at, for it is quite clear that when he wrote: "I object to being lied to, even (or especially) by my

friends, and that I don't think lying will actually help Stuart Christie—which is after all the point" he was surely saying that if by lying we helped Christie he would not object. He now returns to the theme by asserting that "lying about Christie hasn't helped him a bit". Is he now suggesting that had he been in the know and editor of this paper he would have assisted the Spanish authorities by publishing all the facts including the names of his accomplices? If so then this writer for one is obliged to Nicolas Walter for the warning!

The first editorial (August 29) whatever comrade Walter may think, was based on the Agency reports which consisted of official statements by the Spanish Authorities as well as the message Christie sent to his mother through the British Vice-Consul which included the phrase "Please believe in by innocence". The line we took was that he was innocent but made it clear that even if he were not, "all men of goodwill [should redouble their efforts on his behalf] irrespective of whether they approve or disapprove of his methods". In that same number of FREEDOM we printed some pointed selections from Malatesta's writings on the subject of Attentats. Our second editorial (Sept. 12) was written after the trial and the alleged confessions, and following a number of enquiries we made, about Carballo in particular. We also heard all kinds of third-hand talk about Christie and his movements. We included in our article the confessions as reported in the Press, and the statement made by Mr. Neill McDermott, Q.C., that Christie had told him that he had made his confession freely. We still had not first-hand or reliable "inside"

information, so once again our conclusions were based on what was published by the Press. We may in due course be proved wrong and will acknowledge our mistake, without however thereby either becoming supporters of Spanish "justice" or ceasing to defend Christie. From the outset we made it clear that we would defend him whether we thought him innocent or guilty, and whether we approved or disapproved of whatever he in fact did.—EDITOR.

Easy to Moralise!

DEAR COMRADES,

We must all thank Nicolas Walter for his advice on how the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee should have presented its case. It is a great pity that the Committee did not have the advantage of his knowledge, assistance and advice on how to deal with such a sticky assignment when it was needed—which was immediately the news broke of Christie's arrest.

His letter is another example of that pontification from the sidelines that I have always found so sickening. How easy it is to moralise when you don't commit yourself to comradeship! Nicolas calls himself a member of the unilateralist and anarchist movements, but to the best of my knowledge he is not a member of any anarchist group, although I know of two groups which invited him to join, which he sniffed around and which he decided not to join. Of his relationship with the unilateralist movement I know little, but I suspect it is no closer that it is with ours, in view of a highly critical lecture which he delivered to the London Anarchist Group last winter denouncing parts of that

movement for a dogmatic moralism very similar to that which he expressed in his letter last week!

As I see it, Nicolas' attitude is the other side of the penny that has put paid to Christie's liberty, and might have put paid to him for good, although his (Nicolas's) intellectual amateurism is not as dangerous as the emotional amateurism of those who influenced Christie into the frame of mind where he could pursue foolish adventures.

The hysterical martyrology, the thoughtless acceptance of half-baked policies doomed to failure, the romanticism of some sections of what is laughingly called the Libertarian Movement—these are some of the issues highlighted by the Christie case which might occupy the analytical abilities of those of us concerned enough with the anarchist movement to belong to it, and concerned enough for our comrades to attempt to practice solidarity when it is most needed.

The Christie-Carballo Committee suffered under dreadful disadvantages, some of which can be discussed in public, and some of which must be the subject of an internal inquest, but by and large it did a very good job, and may well have had some effect upon Christie's sentence and its eventual length. In particular, and in view of some harsh things I said about him last Spring, I should like to praise the work of John Pilgrim, the Committee's Press Officer. I am sure that it is mainly due to his efforts that there was a reasonable Press attitude throughout the affair and in particular very helpful articles on the Anarchist movement appeared in the *Observer* and other papers. John had to work very hard presenting a difficult case to the capitalist press and could hardly have done a better job, especially in view of the fact that we just didn't know the truth when the campaign started—even if we know some of it now.

If Nicolas is so concerned with the truth, perhaps he would like to set himself up as an Inquisitor and present a monograph on the subject of The Christie Case? What I would like the movement to know is who influenced

Christie, who persuaded him to undertake a mission to Spain, who gave him the material found in his rucksack, who tipped off the police. These are the sort of questions that should now be asked in the movement—before some other youngster is encouraged into useless martyrdom. If our movement is honest enough to answer these questions, some value might come out of all this; London, N.W.1. PHILIP SANSON.

Anarchist or Terrorist?

DEAR EDITORS,

This Christie case, with all you wrap round it, rises like a ghost of the ordeals through which we used to go in early days whenever Anarchism and terrorism could be entangled. It is a pity it should rise just now to confuse the public mind in a rare period when alerted to political notions; it would be a thousand pities if FREEDOM continued to lend itself to promoting such confusion.

The confusion roused or revived in many of your readers' minds cannot be allayed by a single article, though recently your leaders have shown such a very high gift of argument even when wasted on the elections. What I venture to suggest now is that while the vulgar uninitiated play the muddy party game, your columns should be devoted, ignoring it, to presenting a serious and sustained effort to restore and promote clarity and equilibrium in the mainstream of political ideas. Otherwise we go back to pre-Amsterdam days when this horrid ghost of pacifist-terrorist ambiguity was no ghost but a constant baffling problem for the propagandist, and a recurrent crisis for us all with every assassination.

Your recent reprint of "Malatesta on Attentats" shows the turning-point of the movement. Since 1907 the anarchist's cloak has been on the hook and the dagger in the sheath—which does not mean that when they are used it is not essentially in the cause of Anarchism. The Spanish Anarchists, so often quoted as if exceptional, were not fighting for Anarchism but were anarchists fighting in a good cause.

Since 1907 Anarchism has been Pacifist. Some of our London speakers after Amsterdam that year increasingly embarrassed Tom Keell—he and I had pretty well hammered the whole thing out on the return trip, sitting in the dark on deck, chewing stolen prawns, but its application was less idyllic. There were noisy hours in Ossulston Street. Our most embarrassing speaker went to Glasgow. Christie came from Glasgow. A ghost, to me.

KARL WALTER.

Force and Order in S. Rhodesia

THE suppression of the *Daily News* in Southern Rhodesia, together with the banning of the two African nationalist parties and the State of Emergency in Highfield Township, Salisbury, must all be condemned by any libertarian. However, although this writer has recently written for the ill-fated *Daily News* it would be less than honest to suggest that the actions of the Southern Rhodesian Government are wholly without worth.

It is rather similar to the reaction one might feel in this country if the *Daily Mirror* and the Labour Party were banned. It would hardly be permissible for a libertarian to applaud such action—the only luxury allowed would be to suggest that the end was good but the means were not. In the same way if the African people in Southern Rhodesia had simply ceased to buy the *Daily News* and had turned their backs in disgust on the rival African nationalist parties the end of these nasty manifestations of greed and power would have been so much more satisfying.

Lord Thomson who owns the *Daily News* is somewhat dismayed at its demise, as a capitalist his orders to the paper were to back Joshua Nkomo to the hilt in Southern Rhodesia. The editor of the *Daily News* has informed your correspondent that it is simply good business to support the African political party with majority support. When I suggested that this might be against the interests of the African people he did not seem to be interested or think the matter of concern.

The point is that the *Daily News* in its support for Joshua Nkomo and the People's Caretaker Council indirectly and even directly supported and incited violence of Africans against Africans. The policy of PCC was to crush the African rival party led by Rev. Ndabangani Sithole, the Zimbabwe African National Union. Although in editorials the *Daily News* lamented and criticised the violence of the political feud in the African nationalist ranks, by its policy of supporting Nkomo it encouraged the victimisation of Africans who supported Sithole.

John Gaunt, the wild man in the Rhodesian Front Government of wild men, is accurate in his description of the *Daily News* as a "sensationalist rag". An instance of the harm done by the paper involved the African run Community School at which I worked re-

cently in Highfield Township. One day some pupils at the school overturned a Land Rover belonging to the ZANU, in retaliation the ZANU supporters beat up the kids responsible. The following day the *Daily News* screamed across the front page: "ZANU THUGS ATTACK CHILDREN"; this headline caused the children at the school and those who controlled the children to insist on the dismissal of the ZANU teachers employed at the school. ZANU teachers were boycotted and later replaced by other teachers, chaos was created at this school—the finest achievement of African nationalism to date—by the *Daily News* mis-reporting an incident in sensational terms, knowing full well the likely result.

It must also be said that the Rhodesian Front Government found the *Daily News* and irritating critic of its actions. The political comment in the paper was often damning to the Government. If the Government had simply been concerned about sensationalist newspapers it should ban a despicable paper in Southern Rhodesia called *The Citizen* which supports the Rhodesian Front and is openly racist.

Nor will the banning of the rival African parties or the arrest of thousands of "hooligans" and the emergency in Highfield solve the violence and grimness of the situation in Southern Rhodesia. If anything people's allegiances are increased towards a party that has been banned, the feuding between PCC and ZANU may well be stopped for a short time but it will return when the "hooligans" are re-

leased. It needs to be added that thugs removed have been replaced by other thugs in uniform—the police and army have moved into Highfield and one rule of terror has been replaced by another. The people, who have suffered incalculably at the hands of both black and white nationalists, continue to suffer unemployment, lack of food, lack of education, lack of homes and intimidation.

Whilst no reporters were allowed into Highfield African township I have this report of the scene on the first day of the emergency. "The township was chaotic. The streets were full of bewildered-looking people standing in groups at the corners and moving slowly up and down.

"Through all this the Police patrols were scurrying to and fro. The place is bristling with Police and Reservists. I believe the present ratio of police and soldiers to inhabitants is about 1:1. It looks it anyway."

On the way into the township: "The sides of the road were patrolled by troops with helmets and guns with fixed bayonets."

With Mr. Ian Smith in this country seeing a man with vast financial interests in Southern Rhodesia, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, we might reflect on the likelihood of the fate that awaits the troubled country of Southern Rhodesia. Whatever the politicians produce, one prominent ingredient will be suffering caused to a great extent by fear. The white man intimidates the African with fixed bayonets and the African nationalist intimidates the African with petrol bombs and stones. It would seem particularly applicable at this juncture to quote my own words as they appeared in the *Daily News* on July 29th this year: "All I can do is ask you for your own sakes, to build a sense of toleration of other people's views.

"I cannot force you to accept these views, for to force them on you would be to defeat my own purpose.

"I can only ask you to hesitate and consider whether it is wise and just to try to force people to think as you would have them think."

It is an appeal that might be directed to people in countries other than Rhodesia, that might be made to libertarians as well as to African nationalists and white racists. It is an appeal that will probably be ignored by all everywhere. J.W.

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FRIENDS AND COMRADES,

May I suggest that all readers of FREEDOM & ANARCHY make a very special effort during the next few weeks to have copies of both outside political meetings, and on Polling-Day near to Polling Stations—preferably with bookstall.

Sincerely,

London, N.W.1. DENNIS GOULD.

Sane and Lucid 'ABC'

DEAR FRIENDS,

I have just received a copy of FREEDOM's recently advertised book, *The ABC of Anarchism* (by Alexander Berkman, 2s. 6d.), and my only regret after reading its sane and lucid explanations, is that copies cannot be seen by well known and not so well known industrialists, trade union leaders, M.P.s etc. BEFORE the General Election.

FREEDOM readers could make a really tangible stand here by sending at least 2s. 6d. or multiples of that sum, to Freedom Press, and the money could be used to send complimentary copies to as many people as possible.

The ABC of Anarchism deserves every scrap of publicity it can get. For those who know nothing about Anarchy, this readable book will do more than anything, at the moment, to dispel the hackneyed idea that it is all bomb and cloak and dagger stuff.

Yours faithfully,

(Mrs.) JOYCE OUGHTON.

Swansea, Aug. 24.

ANOTHER PHONEY WAR?

Continued from page 1
 convinced that both the former and the latter base their policies on expert advice it confirms our view that there are very few subjects on which the so-called layman is not as able as the expert to offer opinions assuming he is given equal access to all the available facts. Take for instance the example of Britain's possession of an independent nuclear "deterrent". The Conservative manifesto declares

The only effective defence is the certainty in the mind of any enemy that there is no prize he could ever win by our defeat which could compensate him for the destruction he would suffer in the process. Conservatives do not accept the view that we could never be threatened on our own, or that an enemy will always assume we shall have allies rushing to our side. Britain must in the ultimate resort have independently controlled nuclear power to deter an aggressor. We possess the power to deter an aggressor. Only under a Conservative Government will we possess it in the future.

The Liberals, on the other hand, maintain that

The attempt to maintain an independent British range of nuclear weapons has encouraged the proliferation of nuclear weapons, weakened our economy, and deprived our conventional forces of forces they desperately need.

Liberals will shift the emphasis to building up our conventional forces.

The same view is expressed in the Labour Manifesto which also argues that it is not true

that all this costly defence expenditure [on Polaris know-how and Polaris missiles from the USA] will produce an 'independent British deterrent'. It will not be independent and it will not be British and it will not deter. Its possession will impress neither friend nor potential foe.

The Government bases its policy on the assumption that Britain must be prepared to go it alone without her allies in an all-out thermo-nuclear war with the Soviet Union, involving the

obliteration of our people. By constantly reiterating this appalling assumption the Government is undermining the alliance on which our security now depends.

Such diametrically opposed policies can only indicate that either the while business of defence is just a wild speculation, and that one theory is as good as any other, or that they have nothing to do with defence but a lot to do with economic theories and interests, and with influential pressure groups. If the politicians were really concerned with defence the first step they should take is to arm the people, whereas this is always the last thing governments will consider doing. The second step would be to limit arms production to a nation's needs, whereas in fact countries such as Britain actually export war material!

Perhaps it is no longer true to say that "Death [the war industry] Pays Dividends", in the sense that it did in the old days, to a handful of industrialists and financial tycoons. Today the cold war provides employment for millions of workers and professional men for whom peace and disarmament would mean unemployment and the loss of well-remunerated jobs. In other words, there are millions of petty vested interests in the war industry to buttress the capitalist system's need for a cold-war economy. For those who have a vested interest as well as for those who really feel strongly on the issue of nuclear weapons versus conventional ones, their votes can matter. But for those of us who are concerned with living and not with choosing between possible death by radiation or roasting, by suffocation of by being blown to smithereens, there is nothing to choose between the parties. Refusal to vote for these "merchants of death" is a first, necessary, small step in the direction of peace.

TROTTERING TO POWER

TO the right wing of the Labour Party, and to the C.N.D. bureaucracy, the most terrible abuse available is to call a person a Trotskyist, thus suggesting someone who is prepared to wreck every moderate, compromised suggestion in the interests of fanatical bolshevist revolutionism. In view of this it is interesting to look at the activities of the only Trotskyist party in the world with a following large enough to be of electoral significance, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon.

Eleven years ago, when the writer first had the privilege of reading a Trotskyist journal in the shape of *Workers Review*, theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Group, the Lanka Sama Samaja were being violently denounced for the commission of serious theoretical errors. Unfortunately the matter was dropped, since long before the year's subscription to the *Review* was up, the S.W.G. had decided that its existence as an independent organisation was actually standing between the working class and their achievement of revolutionary consciousness, and it and its theoretical organ were wound up, although in the final circular exhorting subscribers not to ask for their money back it was stated that the group had not adopted the erroneous tactic of entryism either.

The current (2nd) issue of *Fourth International* theoretical journal of the International Committee of the Fourth International, whose British

section is the Socialist Labour League, contains a considerable amount of vilification of the L.S.S.P. which has just joined the capitalist coalition government of Ceylon headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike. It could at least be expected if a Trotskyist party were sufficiently strong that it was worth inviting it to join the government, if the state and the position in it of the bourgeois parties was so weak that they needed to call for the help of the allegedly 'revolutionary' parties of the left, that it would be able to realise some of its 'socialist' principles. It might for instance force real concessions from the state, forcing it to hand over control of some parts of industry to workers' councils, or at least to maintain the tension in political affairs and urge the workers to find socialist solutions. Faced with these possibilities, the first time that Trotskyism has come near to exercising political influence, it meekly capitulated, betrayed the slogans it had been built on since 1938 when Trotsky launched his international, turned its back officially on the workers and accepted the more tangible rewards of participation in government.

Needless to say *Fourth International* denounces them for this 'betrayal'. The 504 delegates of the Ceylonese party who supported the majority resolution accepting coalition were ceremoniously expelled from their section of the movement. (The L.S.S.P. is affiliated to the 'International Secretariat' as distinct

THE IMPORTANT election concluded with the ruling party gaining two more seats than 1959, their opponents gained one seat, the Communists lost two seats, and the Socialists lost two seats. The Movement for Statutory Liberties won one seat and the people of Andorra relaxed. Not so, however, the people of Britain and America. Election propaganda flowed.

THE REVEREND FRANCIS SAYRE, grandson of President Woodrow Wilson spoke of the people of America having a choice between "a man of dangerous ignorance and devastating uncertainty, and the other a man whose private lack of ethic must inevitably introduce termites at the very foundation. The electorate knows not where to turn... Yet in the end this is no fault of our readers. For they but only reflect the pre-occupation of every one of us."

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS HOME addressing voters in Kent said: "The Labour Party say you are a soft, flabby, rotten lot. I reject that slur." The Liberal candidate in Barons Court (London) states that one of the election issues is the ending of partition in Ireland. Two men in Los Angeles ordered at gunpoint a plain-clothes policeman to take down a 'Vote for Goldwater' sticker. The policeman drew his gun and they fled until they were caught by the policeman and charged with assault with a deadly weapon. A man who was stated to have given a Fascist salute, was fined £10 for flinging two smoke bomb canisters from the upper-deck window of a bus near the BBC at a Communist Party rally marching to demand broadcasting and television time. Mr. John Gollan, secretary of the Communist Party offered to take the place of Sir Alec Douglas Home who declined to discuss on television with Mr. Harold Wilson. A seven-year-old programme in the series 'Hake It From Here' was withdrawn from BBC radio when it was discovered that Jimmy Edwards, the comedian has become James Edwards, Esquire, Conservative candidate for Paddington.

JAMES CAMERON, late of the *News-Chronicle* and the *Daily Herald* now writing for *The Sun* declared himself a Conservative Anarchist. Trevor Evans in the *Daily Express* reported in headlines "DEATH OF THE 'DAILY HERALD'". "Strike sheet" lasted for 53 years" and at the end of the story "Today, it is succeeded by *The Sun*." *The Mirror* congratulated its parent company on the birth of *The Sun* with the headline "WHAT A NERVE". Its nerve apparently failing at the end of its panegyric. "We hope that every one of our readers will buy the *Sun* tomorrow as well as the *Mirror*. If they decide right away that *Mirror* and *Sun* is the right mixture for them—well that's OK by the *Mirror*. Anyway, what the hell can we do about it?"

ON AUGUST 11, 1962, this column reprinted a story about the handcuff trade. In Number One of *The Sun* Henry

from the 'International Committee' of the 4th International). The resolutions of the 'renegade majority', the 'centre group' and the 'revolutionary minority' are published.

However, while the International and Secretariats Committees can sit down and expel most of the members of any section that takes a decision contrary to their line, the working people of Ceylon are burdened with an exploitative capitalist system and an authoritarian state machine which is now being bolstered up by a party which won its votes on a revolutionary programme.

Either the voters understood Trotskyism and have now been betrayed by the people they elected, and are unable to do anything about it; or what is more likely they supported what seemed to be the only viable alternative to capitalism, thinking more in terms of reform than revolution, and consequently are going to carry on voting for the 'renegade majority', assuring them a share of power. The policy of the 'revolutionary minority', heroic though it sounds would have led to electoral defeat, and the satisfaction of keeping to the pure line is little recompense for that. Undeterred however, the minority state their intention of rebuilding a true revolutionary workers party.

The only way to assure real socialism is to build on the basis of control from the bottom, without putting anyone in power, and without deceiving oneself that votes and membership cards marked 'socialism' necessarily correspond to people who understand and want it.



Fielding reports "All over the world new nations are creating police forces for the first time. They need our products." They also buy leg-irons, which are illegal in Britain. They also make police truncheons. Always in wood, since rubber truncheons are now banned here. A policeman told the head of the firm "I've had to hit three men with a truncheon in my service. Two with a wooden one, the third with a hubber one. The first two recovered." There is little new under *The Sun*.

A FULHAM POLICEMAN stationed at Chelsea pleaded guilty to assaulting his baby son and causing actual bodily harm. His plea of not guilty to a charge of attempted murder was accepted by the court. A doctor told the court the P.C. was suffering from schizophrenia and an order was made committing him to hospital.

A MAN who had been in mental institutions since the age of three, and who was afraid that if he went back to Rampton Mental Hospital he would not be allowed to forget that he had written a critical book about it, was sent back for not less than twelve years. He and another man who barricaded themselves in and set fire to a house in West Cromwell Road and wounded a police constable.

JOHN TYNDALL, leader of the Greater Britain movement was found not guilty of stealing £40 from Colin Jordan, leader of the National Socialist movement. It was stated that Tyndall's premises had been entered by Jordan and another man and property was removed. Tyndall's removal of property from Jordan's premises was a reprisal. The deputy chairman, according to the *Guardian* told the jury, "In the peculiar circumstances of the case it might be that you can never come to a conclusion that you might arrive at a decision." According

ELECTION ANTHOLOGY-11

To be governed, is to be watched, inspected, spied, directed, law-ridden, regulated, penned up, indoctrinated, preached at, checked, appraised, seized, censured, commanded, by beings who have neither title nor knowledge nor virtue. To be governed is to have every operation, every transaction, every movement noted, registered, counted, rated, stamped measured, numbered, assessed, licensed, refused, authorized, indorsed, admonished, prevented, reformed, redressed corrected. To be governed is, under pretext of public utility and in the name of the general interest, to be laid under contribution, drilled, fleeced, exploited, monopolised, extorted from, exhausted, hoaxed and robbed; then, upon the slightest resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, vilified, annoyed, hunted down, pulled about, beaten, disarmed, bound, im-

to *Vanguard*, organ of the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Party Unity, a meeting at the end of August made certain recommendations for approval by the local committees, and approved the September *Vanguard*, since A. H. Evans and R. Jones have left the Committee." Evans and Jones have been accused of "left-sectarian lines of argument". Members of the Young Socialists in Leeds and Glasgow have been expelled and a meeting was called at Mahatma Gandhi Hall to 'Save the Young Socialists' but since the press was excluded from the meeting we do not know whether they wish to be saved from or for Gerry Healey or from or for Harold Wilson. Or just for themselves alone.

THE LAWN TENNIS ASSOCIATION announced that the British covered court championships would continue on the day of the election. But play will probably be in the afternoon only. On the other hand the *Chelsea Post* (quoted *verbatim*) reports under the heading 'Labour Party Romance' "ton Labour Party-official Mr. Alan Mumford, and the party secretary, Miss Denise Lardner—were married at Kensington registry Office last week. After a reception at their new home in Finborough Road, the couple flew to St. Tropez for their honeymoon—but they will be back in good time to".

"Two people who found romance in the South Kensington work in the party's election campaign, under the guidance of Mr. Harry Ellis, the South Kensington Labour Party's agent".

MR. KRUSHCHEV stated that he had been mistranslated from the Japanese in appearing to say he had a "doomsday" weapon that could destroy the world. *The Daily Worker* before the corrections, takes it as "emphasising the urgency of getting rid of all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction everywhere." "By insisting on keeping nuclear weapons, the Government has helped to keep the nuclear race going, and encouraged other countries to want nuclear weapons of their own". (Mr. Krushchev has stated that whilst he has a terrible weapon it is not nuclear.) *The Worker* goes on "By taking a stand with the Soviet Union and all the other countries who want to ban the bomb, a nuclear-free Britain would help to transform the world situation." The Americans have produced a "checker-board" ice-cream of alternate 1 inch cubes of vanilla and chocolate flavour. To keep the manufacturing secret visitors to the production lines are banned.

JON QUIXOTE

prisoned, shot, judged, condemned, banished, sacrificed, sold, betrayed, and, to crown all, ridiculed, derided, outraged, dishonoured.

PROUDHON.

Let the Neighbours Vote

A statesman is an easy man,
 He tells his lies by rote.
 A journalist makes up his lies,
 And takes you by the throat.
 So stay at home and drink your beer
 And let the neighbours vote...
 W. B. YEATS
 (The Old Stone Cross).

ON AN ELECTION

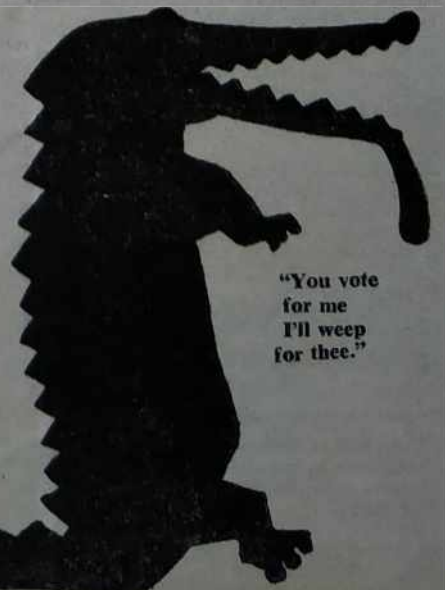
The battle's set 'twixt Envy, Greed and Pride,
 Come Conscience, do your Duty: choose your side.

J. C. SQUIRE.

Meet Me
 at
 TRAFALGAR
 SQUARE

SATURDAY
 OCTOBER 10, 3 pm

ANARCHIST FEDERATION
 OF BRITAIN



"You vote for me I'll weep for thee."

Individualism and Anarchism

DEAR SIR,

It seems to me that there are snags to both the anarchist communist and the anarchist individualist approach, at least the anarchist individualist approach of S. E. Parker.

The trouble with anarchist communism, I have found, after about ten years of public speaking, mainly to small and fairly sympathetic audiences indoors, is its lack of positive achievements. One can mutter vaguely about Spain, but we know relatively little of what happened in 1936/37, and not all of what we do know is entirely reassuring. People have said to me often, "Anarchism is a good idea, but it would not work in practice. Can you give examples of it working for any length of time?" The only examples I can think of are societies of a relatively primitive kind, and this can always be countered, not unjustly, by the remark, "We live in a much more complicated world nowadays."

Except for a very few comrades I have rarely encountered any anarchist-communist who believed in a sudden miraculous arrival of a free society. This may well have been a common belief in the days of Kropotkin, but I have seldom encountered it in my own lifetime. Most anarchist communists seem to regard the free society as an object to be worked towards, even if one could never be quite sure that it would be achieved. This point of view does not differ greatly from that of the Sydney Libertarians, although it does not dog-

★ LETTERS ★

matically close the door altogether on a possible free society at some future time.

The snag of individualism, on the other hand, at least as it is expounded by Comrade Parker, who ties it up with Sydney Libertarianism, which perhaps not all individualists would do* is that it too leads by a slightly different route to the same dilemma as that faced by the anarchist communist.

Supposing I come before an audience offering a new political philosophy, it is up to me to show that it has a good chance of working and being relevant to the problems which we all have to face. If I follow the anarchist communist line I have to admit that very little has been achieved in this way of doing things since the Old Stone Age. If however I take the individualist position I am likely to be reminded that the world is for many people a hell on earth, that one cannot simply say, as Comrade Parker does, "If a person has no ability to 'realise his interests and individuality' in spite of an authoritarian environment, I cannot see how he is going to be able to live in any kind of free way of life".

Comrade Parker is as well aware as I am that circumstances, misfortunes beyond a person's control, can break the spirit of the strongest. An audience, however sympathetic, is likely to bring to my attention innumerable cases where present society simply crushes people, who cannot resist, because they are too

poor, too ignorant, too young, too old or too sick (in mind or body), and I shall be asked, with justification I think, whether it is not better to support a policy of social reform which is likely to help these people to better conditions, rather than to, as it were, cut oneself off from society, or at least from what the rest of the world is doing, on one's little island of doctrinal purity, whether communist or individualist.

I am thinking along these lines because I have just come from addressing a small audience on anarchism, and the meeting really only got interesting when we got away from the subject onto various branch lines, leading away from anarchism into vaguely related topics, such as the abandonment of the old among the Eskimos, the persecution of money-lenders (Jews and Lombards) in medieval Europe, the caste system of ancient India and Freud's theory of anal fixation.†

I am inclined to think that the free society as an ideal appeals to imaginative types, who like to project themselves into an imaginary world. Individualism appeals to a person who likes to think himself tough. As a criticism of society anarchism is excellent. It is never wrong. Anarchists have prophesied that new governments would be as bad as the old ones had been since the days of the French Revolution, and they've always been right. But when it comes to suggesting something positive it is another story. The communist will draw up a plan of communes, and (if syndicalistically inclined) workers' syndicates. The individualist will counsel self-assertion. Neither seem to me to be very practical in the immediate present. The first needs large numbers of people, the second a thick skin which not everyone possesses. What is the answer to this?

London, W.11.

A.W.U.

Who can it be?

DEAR COMRADES,

On page 1 of FREEDOM for 19 September, slap in the middle of your excellent comment on the Labour Party manifesto, is a reference to the individualist anarchist who declares his self-sufficiency. I would like to make it clear that I am not the individualist anarchist of whom you speak, nor am I acquainted with him or her.

On the other hand (turning to page 2 of the same issue) I am acquainted with P.H., and in fairness to him I must point out that he is not one of those communist anarchists, of whom S. E. Parker writes, who demand submission to one pattern of behaviour.

Shorn of capricious misunderstandings and clever debating points, the argument between the communist anarchists we know and the individualist anarchists we know is only, surely, that each lot says what the other lot takes for granted. The individualists are striving towards a society of sovereign individuals; they take for granted that such individuals must co-operate for mutual advantage. The communists are striving towards a society in which coercion is replaced by mutual aid; they take for granted that such a society must be of individuals who are equal and mutually free.

They want the same social order, they strive towards it in the same way, and they organize themselves not only in similar groups but in common groups. The only real disagreement between them is which succinct form of words best sums up what they are all driving at—a point on which we can surely agree to differ.

London, Sept. 20. DONALD ROOM.

Franco a Nazi!

DEAR EDITOR,

The argument, as to whether Franco is a Nazi or not, does not stand or fall on the evidence presented by 'D.R.' (FREEDOM-12/9/64); in fact, the 'live exercise' by Luftwaffe's which helped Franco to power, is the poorest! Has your correspondent forgotten the Spanish Blue Division, which treated bolsheviks unmercifully during the Siege of Leningrad? Muñoz Grandes, tipped as Franco's successor, was the general in charge of the Blue Division. Consider, also, the following messages from Franco to Hitler: on September 22, 1940, "I assure you of my undeviating devotion to you personally, to Germany and the cause for which you are fighting. I hope that in upholding this cause I shall be able to renew the old ties linking our armies." And on February 26, 1941, "I stand all prepared on your side, I am at your disposal decisively and unboundedly, united with you in historical destiny."

If your correspondent remains unconvinced, I am prepared to offer him further details, which I withhold for reasons of space. If Franco listens to appeals for justice, I fear it may be more for reasons of expediency than clemency. He is still attempting to effect Spain's entry into another Nazi-ridden organisation—NATO.

DENIS COBELL.

London, S.W.1, Sept. 15

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

First Tuesday in each month at 8 p.m. at Jean and Tony Smythe's Ground Floor Flat, 88, Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

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

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6 months (20 issues) 15/- (\$2.25)

Solidarity with the Twelve

Last week, Tilbury Docks were brought to a standstill, when 2,000 dockers came out on unofficial strike. They took this action in solidarity with twelve dockers whose registration books had been withheld by the firm of T. F. Maltby. Without these books, the men cannot get another job in the docks and the firm took this action because the

men refused to unload a cargo of cattle cake, which was running alive with cockroaches. They asked for the cargo to be fumigated, but the port health officer said that it was not necessary.

The 2,000 strikers have also shown their disapproval of the way the officials of the Transport & General Workers' Union have handled the case of the 12 men, by withholding union contributions.

Although the strikers have now returned, they are still determined to get the registration books back as well as compensation for the 12 men. The strikers' committee has consulted solicitors who "believe the 12 men have a case against Maltby's. They (the solicitors) recommended that the rest of us go back and we are accepting their advice. But we intend to fight the firm through the courts. The books have not been returned to the 12 men and they will stay out until this is settled. But the rest of us will make up their wages by voluntary contributions."

If this dispute had been left to the T. & G.W.U. officials, these 12 men would have been without wages, but united action by the rank and file has by-passed the slow constitutional procedure of the union-employer agreements.

Probably the threat of court action will be enough to make Maltby's hand back the books. Meanwhile the men are not left isolated and have the support of their fellow work-mates. Here at rank and file level and not among the full-time officials, lies the strength and solidarity to win this dispute.

P.T.

SLIPPING!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT SEPTEMBER 19th, 1964

Week 38

EXPENSES: 38 weeks at £70 £2,660

INCOME:

Sales & Sub. Renewals:
Weeks 1-37 ... 1,699
Week 38 ... 23

New Subscriptions:

Weeks 1-37 (168) 189
Week 38 (2) 3

1,914

DEFICIT £746

DEFICIT FUND

East Rutherford: A.S.* 7/-; Detroit: Group £6; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Montana: E.H. 16/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Woldingham: F.B.* 5/-; Leeds: A.C. 5/-; Hong Kong: M.S. 3/-; East Rutherford: A.S.* 7/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-;
TOTAL 9 3 6
Previously acknowledged 559 11 0

1964 TOTAL TO DATE £568 14 6

*Denotes Regular contributors.

FINGS

Film Society

Last season made a loss of £30. Creditors now pressing. Organisers would appreciate any help. Snd to Guthrie McKie, 30, Muswell Road, London, N.10.

Room Wanted

Student (male) seeks cheap room handy to New Cross, late September. Or share with comrades. Write Keell Wolfe, 90 Bath Road, Cheltenham.

North Wales

Would any readers in North Wales be willing to have their addresses given for contacts to a lonely school-boy comrade? If so, please write c/o Freedom Press.

Anti-Election

Anti-election campaign advancing for the last leave. If you find it all sick-making, meet for leafletting 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6, Monday, September 28th, October 5th and 12th.

Meeting—Manchester

"Towards Libertarian Unity", S.W.F., C.W., I.L.P., Otter, Bannister, Kepper, Land o' Cakes Hotel, Great Ancoats Street, Manchester 4. Saturday, October 3rd and Sunday, October 4th, 5.30 p.m.; 8 p.m.; Sunday, 2 p.m. Northern Libertarian Alliance, Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

Why Vote?

Anti-election campaign is under way in North Kensington, beginning with distribution of a leaflet prepared by West London Working Committee of 100 and Notting Hill anarchist group. Will anyone interested in helping and/or purchasing leaflets (2/- per 100) ring LAD 8748. Specimen leaflet available.

Anti-Conscription—Glasgow

March from Bridgeton Cross to George Square, Saturday, 10th Oct.

Anti-Election

Orpington Group could do with some help and ideas for anti-election work; if you can contribute either please contact—Roger Hewitt, Flat 4, 10, Southend Road, Beckenham, Kent.

"Angles"

Issue No. 2 out in September, orders 9 St. Paul's Road, Colchester, Election Anthology. Itinerant Action International. Worth 6d. to read our editorial policy alone.

If you think

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

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Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
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