

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"You can never get me to regard freedom as synonymous with political liberty."
—HENRIK IBSEN.

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Threepence

Reflections on that Promise of a Four-minute Missile Warning in 3 Years' Time! IS POWER POLITICS A HOAX?

ONE member of the serious press, *The Guardian*, admits in an editorial on the subject of how much warning of a missile attack will be obtained from the radar chain now in course of construction, that only in a world gone slightly mad can there be serious argument about whether Britain would have four, five, ten or fifteen minutes warning of the surprise attack from Eastern Europe.

But being also one of the serious pillars of this "world gone slightly mad" the *Guardian* hastens to add: Yet the argument is serious, for on it depends whether the bombers and missiles based on Britain can be counted as a deterrent to major war.

And this of course is the official line put forward last week by the government's spokesman when discussing the Defence White Paper and explaining why, after all these years of goodwill missions, disarmament conferences and even the recognition, last year, by Ike and Mr. Khrushchev that neither considered the other a warmonger, Defence expenditure will be £116 millions more than for last year!

It is to our minds sheer lunacy to believe that a nation deciding to launch a missile attack on other nations will be deterred by such considerations as to whether the other nation will be in a position to get enough H-bombers into the air before the missiles destroy them on the ground. None of the nations possessing nuclear weapons have any illusions about the boomerang effect of starting a missile war. Once started only wholesale extermination can be the outcome for mankind, and everybody knows it, and for this reason no one will knowingly start the conflagration.

WHAT we have been experiencing since the end of World War II is unprecedented, and the result of the revolution in mass communications and in science and technology which was sparked off during the last war. We would suggest that power politics prior to 1939 was a much more real and potentially dangerous phenomenon of capitalist society than it is to-day. Then, whole continents were the prize over which the colonial, the naval, powers manoeuvred for advantages, for conquest. With the growth of nationalism and the liquidation of old style colonialism (accelerated by the military needs of the colonial powers in their armed struggle against the military might of Germany and Japan), the power struggle between the nations has been modified radically. That is, the real struggle, for it is an undeniable fact that however much frontiers may be modified, or countries "occupied" there can be no

return to the approach of old-style colonialism. And this fact is all the more significant when one bears in mind that in terms of military weapons and techniques alone there is no reason why the colonial powers should not be in a better position now than they ever were to physically occupy and grind down the peoples of these territories.

It is equally significant that the military occupation of W. Germany has not prevented that country from rebuilding its industrial potential and raising the living standards of its people to among the highest in Europe. In world markets to-day W. Germany and not Russia is Britain's most serious competitor.

WHAT then is the struggle for power all about? For many of us this is a question which has long ago been answered. To some of us it is simply the ambition of some nations for world domination; for others it is a question of economics, a struggle for markets in a world of shrinking markets. We believe that there are politicians whose lust for power is so great that they dream of world conquest. On the other hand we believe that in the world we live in there are too many ambitious politicians and industrialists as well as "unco-operative masses" to make the realisation of such personal dreams of world hegemony impossible. We are even coming to the conclusion that economic issues are no longer the dominating factor in the power struggle that they once were.

INDEED we are inclined to the view that the "power struggle" in international politics is a huge con-

fidence trick in which so many people have a vested interest, that it is virtually impossible for any body of citizens to break the vicious circle. Apart from the "summit" leaders whose most pedestrian utterances are repeated by the Press and flashed on the T.V. screens in millions of homes throughout the world, every minor political leader has an interest

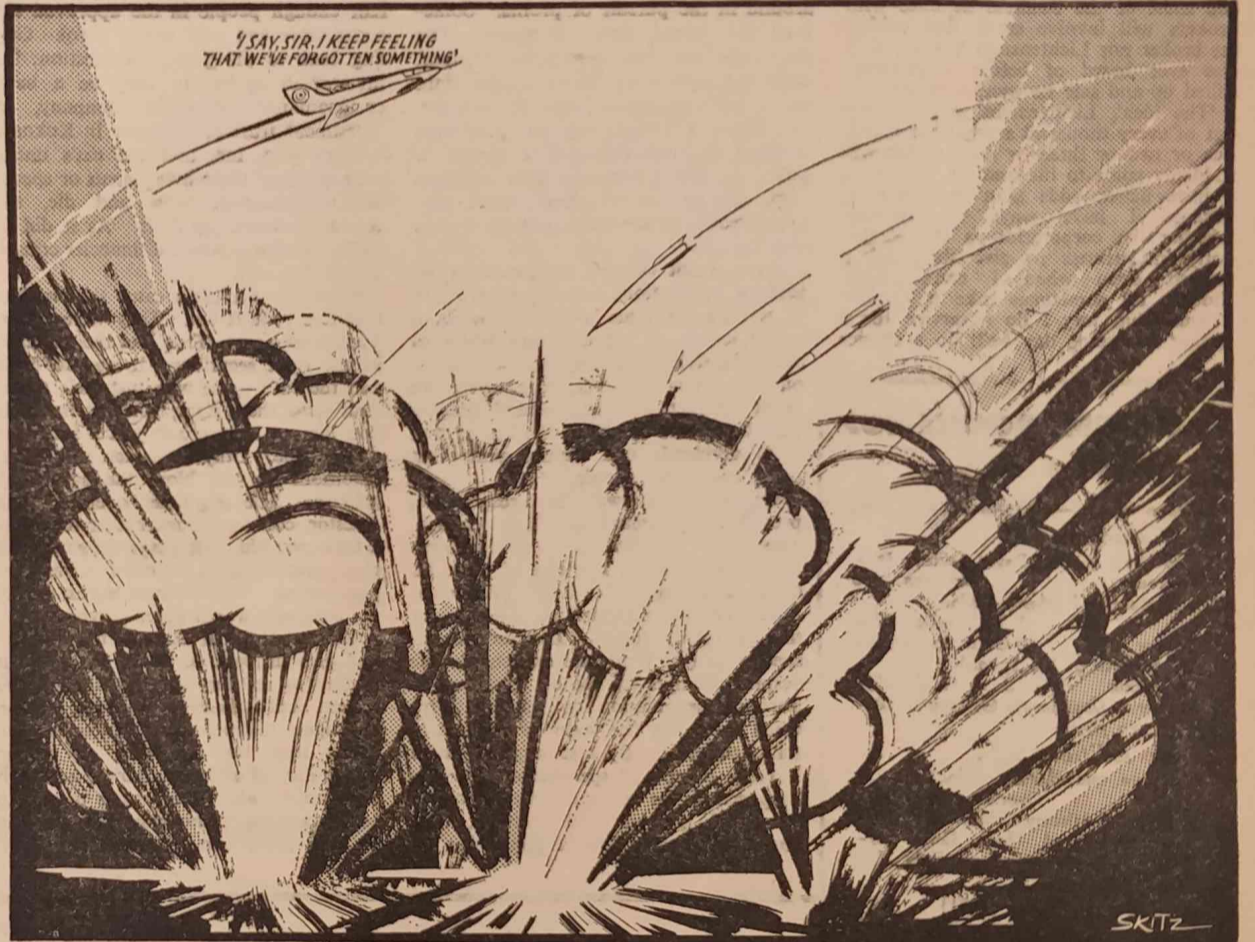
in the maintenance of international "tensions" and of playing his role in the alignment of world power. But for it Nkrumah could not dream of pan-Africanism nor Nasser of an Arab federation. And feeding the leaders are the hundreds of thousands of advisers, delegates and civil servants whose status and livelihood depend on the perpetuation of the

power-political struggle. Again how would the thousands of political journalists earn their livings, as well as pontificate on T.V. and Radio, if there were no international political crises to unfold and to analyse?

Think of the number of career-men in the Services whose jobs and pensions would be affected if the Powers were to agree on disarmament! The Defence White Paper was a tonic to them. As the *Guardian* put it so tactlessly last week

The Defence White Paper ought to please almost everyone . . . The con-

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Boycott South African Goods

MANY of us have been carrying out our own individual boycott of South African goods ever since it was first asked for by opposition South African organisations last autumn.

Next Tuesday, however, we are to be joined by most sections of the official Labour Movement (whatever that means) who support the boycott in principle, but are chary about how it is to be applied.

The organisations calling for the boycott include the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the Liberal Party of South Africa, and in a message to the people of Britain, leaders of these organisations have said:

This year it is proposed to conduct a limited boycott of South African produce in Britain for a period of one month, starting on March 1st. The boycott is a protest against Apartheid, the removal of political rights, the colour bar in industry, the extension of passes to women and the low wages paid to Non-White workers. In the towns and cities of South Africa over half of the African families live below the bread-line.

Economic boycott is one way in which the world at large can bring home to the South African authorities that they must either mend their ways or suffer for them.

This appeal is therefore directed to the

people of Great Britain to strike a blow for freedom and justice in South Africa and for those whom the State would keep in continuing subjection in the Union. If this boycott makes the authorities realise that the world outside will actively oppose Apartheid it will have struck a blow for freedom and justice in our country.

Much Controversy.

During the months following the first introduction of the boycott idea, the organisers have been busy, gaining much publicity and arousing much public controversy. They have succeeded in getting their proposals discussed at highest levels of the Labour and Liberal Parties, the TUC and the Co-operative movement.

It is the acceptance of the idea in principle by these organisations that gives March 1st its significance as the beginning of the month's official boycott.

But we must refer again to the equivocal manner in which the Labour movement has faced this issue. The Labour Party has officially supported the idea of a consumer boycott. This is the least it could have done, but unfortunately the immediate effect has been to give the boycott a party political flavour. (Mac went out of his way

in his Capetown speech to attack the boycott on those grounds). The same could be said of the Liberals, but oddly enough nobody ever thinks of them as of any significance in party politics.

It is in the reaction of the Trades Unions and the Co-ops that the chance of effective action has been thrown away. These associations of producers and distributors have all refused to accept responsibility in these functions, supporting the boycott only to the extent of urging their members to operate a consumers' boycott.

As we have pointed out before, this means that trades unionists will transport South African goods all the way to the shops and then refuse to buy them. While the official Co-op attitude is that it is not for distributors to curtail their consumers' choice, only for the purchasers themselves to refrain from buying.

Limited Effect.

This half-hearted approach, plus the fact that the action is only to be supported for one month will mean that the actual economic effect of the boycott will be strictly limited. The proportion of South African imports which are perishable is small anyway. It won't hurt retailers—

and wholesalers even less—to have their stocks of South African preserves or wines or tobaccos on their shelves one month longer than usual.

And, of course, perhaps the most important of all South African imports are gold and diamonds. How do we boycott these?

But it is not in the hopes of immediate economic effect that we should support the boycott. It should be done as an expression of revulsion against the practices of the South African Government and of solidarity with the oppressed African and coloured peoples there.

It has been suggested that participants in the boycott could send the money they save to refugee funds, and this is a most laudable suggestion, assuming that boycotters do not accept the produce of other lands instead of South African goods.

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NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD!

OTTAWA, FEBRUARY 17.

Canadian unemployment was estimated at 504,000 by the middle of January, about 134,000 higher than in December, but 34,000 below 1959 averages, says a Government statement.

Building industries accounted for more than a third of the increase.

British United Press.

MISSILES FOR INDIA

According to British aircraft industry sources, the Bristol Aircraft Company has been negotiating with the Indian Defence Ministry for the sale of its Bloodhound missile.

This was reported from London in the *Times of India* of January 30.

Later that day a Ministry spokesman in New Delhi declined to comment, but said that even if India were buying the missiles, they would not be equipped with atomic warheads, the use of which India had steadfastly opposed.

Peace News 12/2/60.

How to Screw your Neighbour in 13 Easy Chapters

WALL STREET.—The inside story of American finance. M. Mayer.

A few years ago Marks worked out a scheme by which the Italian government could redeem \$40,000,000 of its \$132,000,000 debt (then selling for only \$160 per \$1,000 bond), merely by paying the interest. Marks outlined the deal which involved several bank loans and the use of the interest payments every year until 1967 to retire the loans. The Italian government took his outline over to a Swiss banking house, which offered to do the job for less money than Marks would charge. "That was fine with us," Marks said. "We saw the deal starting, because you can't buy that many bonds without making something of a stir in the market. So we bought a couple of million dollars of bonds, sold at a higher price, and made more money than we would have made if we had done the deal ourselves."

But Lichtenstein is obviously a man incapable of gloom or depression. "Life dazzles me," he says. He runs an insurance business somewhat similar to Gus Leby's insurance business; but while Leby buys from underwriters perfectly good securities that have been overpriced, Lichtenstein buys junk. Unless a corporation has surrendered its charter (which means that the stock represents nothing, and cannot even be transferred), Lichtenstein will probably be willing to bail a broker's customer out of it. He does no business with the public directly, and most of the business he does with brokers will involve stock that neither the broker nor Lichtenstein nor anybody else ever heard of before a customer called up and said he wanted to sell it.

"The idea," Lichtenstein says, "is that out of every thousand stocks that I buy, one or two or three or four or ten will suddenly come to life and get profitable. I have better odds than most people, because I have ways of checking whether the corporation is still sufficiently in business to give the stock a chance. Even when I can't check, though, I'll sometimes take a gamble, because that way I do a service for a broker and some day he'll do a service

for me. I won't tell you how I check up on stocks, because if I did you'd set up in competition with me. This is a profitable business. If it were a sufficiently profitable business I'd be retired. I'm a very lazy man."

Wertheim is always ready for special deals; it is the special situations firm par excellence. Its most spectacular and famous deal was in the common stock of Nedick's Inc., the New York chain of hot-dog and orange-drink stands which went bust in the early thirties. The late Maurice Wertheim, one of the founders of the firm (and of the Theatre Guild and half-a-dozen other cultural enterprises), bought the company, very casually, at a total cost of \$36,000, including lawyers' fees. That was in 1934; between 1934 and 1951 Wertheim took out of Nedick's more than \$2,000,000 in dividends, and in 1951 sold it to National Phoenix Industries for nearly \$4,000,000. The total profit was some \$5,900,000, or nearly 10,000 per cent.

This is regarded at Wertheim as a successful deal, but there have been others even more successful, especially in Cuban sugar properties. Cuban sugar

properties have gone down seriously in value since 1949, which Wertheim is sorry about—but not hurt. Wertheim sold out in 1948.

Lund is a very cynical man, with the belief that many of the statements made by sellers of stock are pure hokey. He has a low view of market forecasters and money managers, and an even lower view of professional traders. When the Stock Exchange cries about volume, Lund is not moved: "Three-quarters of that volume in 1929," he said, "came from professional, inside traders, churning and manipulating the market. Sure, the boys made money; but it was all against the public interest."

Lund's cynicism and expertise make him a much admired man on Wall Street, because the Street in private conversation is pretty cynical about itself.

"... In 1958 he made a lot of money; in 1953, 'I was happy to make expenses and a salary'—in short, that's the way the ball bounces. He may complain gently, but he will not gripe."

(What a hero! One year he fails to make a fortune. One whole year, and he does not even gripe).

THERE are at least two distinct ways of looking at this state of affairs—the idealistic and the realistic. As idealists we doubtless deplore the philosophy that holds men mere ciphers to be tossed around in the pursuit of profits. Somehow the values look all wrong. The man who manipulates pieces of paper, sells the right stock short at the right time, and generally plays the market, can make a fortune without producing a thing or even supplying a service of value to the community that supports him. He has to be clever, mark you. Only really good brains can be wasted this way.

As a result of the manipulator's ingenious calculations a navvy finds a job in a uranium mine in Alaska while a miner leaves his pit in South Wales to draw the dole—and they both watch TV on the never-never. Such thoughts can never distract the master-mind playing with his pieces of paper—he knows that it is dividends and capital gains that really count, not people.

Gambling has always been respectable, provided the stakes are high enough. The Field Marshal or politician loses three million lives, not one of them his own, as a result of a slight miscalculation. This is regarded as unfortunate, though highly moral. The investor or speculator (the terms are interchangeable despite attempts by the big gamblers to attribute speculation to the small fry while annexing the halo of investment for themselves. By and large, I invest and the other guy speculates. There is supposed to be a moral distinction in terms of motives and technics. The investor, however, has a larger eye on

the dividends, which means staying in longer. Why it should be more moral to be a big-time operator collecting both dividends and capital gains is not clear. It is a bit like murder, it would seem. Kill enough people in the approved circumstances and you are a hero). Getting back to the gentry in question; the investor or speculator may be a bank or mammoth insurance company, an investment trust or Jo Blow in Kokomo—that's you, me, and the cat's uncle. As a result of these investments or speculations industries grow and die, the economy booms or busts. As it did in 1929. Which is where a financier cringes at the obscenity.

When the big crash came the big-time investors rode it out. They were smart. They read signs. They had their(?) cash in the right securities. It was Jo Blow and the cat's uncle who lost their shirts. And serve them right, you may say. If you aim to be a crook you'd better be a good one. Only little men with small ambitions try to blow the safe with gelignite. The big-time operator, the investor, corners the market or organises a take-over bid. He plays the game and cheats according to the rules, earning his just reward. Without such honest crooks the economy would never survive.

Which just about exhausts the idealism and gets us back to harsh realities. It is easy to see the faults in the present system, and it is even easier to picture, in vague outline, an ideal society in which men live according to human values instead of seeking power and their own mean ends. The snag is to offer a cogent argument showing how we may proceed from one to the other. Few

would be willing to sacrifice their present standard of living with its material comforts and promise of colour TV and the smellies to come, for a primitive social unit based on mutual aid, whatever its rewards in human terms. We should like both material comfort and a libertarian society, but the one bird is in the hand and the other is flying too high; we don't have that much faith in ourselves, let alone the next guy. So, somehow, we must try to find some way of introducing a greater emphasis on human values into a society that must have its motorways, TV stations, universities, cars and aeroplanes.

All this means organisation on a large scale; decisions being made by small executive groups that affect thousands who never meet on a personal level. The London-Birmingham motorway was possible only because some group recognised the need for such a road and put the wheels in motion; another group broke the problem down into engineering terms, working out the "cut and fill", the concrete needed, and arranged for the right machines to arrive at the right place at the right time. And somehow the whole project had to be financed, because no-one works for nothing in our present society—not even anarchists. The groups in question were government committees of one sort and another, local and national, and private contractors. The money came from taxes that you and I paid, like it or lump it, and over which we exercised no control. In principle, we could throw out the government that chose to spend our money in this way if we felt sufficiently incensed by the time the next election came along, provided our anarchist principles did not prevent our voting. In fact, we shall use the motorway, regretting only that it was not built twenty years ago.

How else might matters be arranged? In the case of the Channel Tunnel, if

ever it comes into being, the government will provide neither the initiative nor the cash; these will come from "private enterprise"—the small groups of men pursuing future profits, and perhaps, sideline, the common weal. In Russia and China the private contractor has appeared; but state capitalism has failed to recommend it to anarchists. It proved to be neither more efficient in terms of productivity, nor more concerned with the rights of the individual.

For some time the Liberals have been plugging co-ownership as more in line with modern ideas of social justice. Workers, they contend, should be shareholders, and thereby have an interest in a firm beyond their weekly wage packet. This is a long way from syndicalism, but it could turn out to be a step in the right direction. Some anarchists would object that co-ownership is just a cunning trap for maintaining the status quo. By giving the worker a stake in his firm he is less likely to oppose the system as a whole because he has been fooled into believing that he is now on the other side of the fence, or that the fence no longer exists. This sort of objection—it usually comes from the burning with revolutionary zeal—can be turned inside out. According to this line of thought every wage increase is to be deplored for the same reason. The more a worker is paid the less will he be exploited, and the less will he favour radical change in the system. Anarchists of this ilk should be campaigning for wage reductions as a means of keeping the class conflict alive.

What is it then that anarchists object to in the present system? They object to their cars and the roads to run them, and along with everyone else will wonder what they can get of the good things of life, whether provided via government or private enterprise.

Basically, what anarchists ought to object to is not the system itself, but the values that support it. There is nothing wrong in principle with

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BOOK REVIEW

GYPSY LORE

THE origin of the gypsies is rather mysterious, though it appears that their language is of Indian origin. It is claimed that they are akin to the Jats of northern India. (Briffault identifies the Jats with the Getae, who were in Southern Russia in Roman times). At all events they are neither Egyptians nor Romans, though they may have passed through Roumania. They are the last survivors of the non-Mongolian nomads, who used to roam the steppes of western Asia till they were driven into Europe, and incidentally into civilisation, respectability and the settled life, by the Tartar peoples from further East. The only difference being that, whereas the other wanderers became in time civilised and "good citizens", the gypsies never settled down as a people, whatever some individuals and families may do.

The gypsies first receive official mention in the fifteenth century, but Berco-vici claims that they were known in the time of Homer. The general opinion is that they were pushed westward by the armies of Tamerlane. At any rate, they had soon spread to every part of the continent and the British Isles. When the Europeans occupied North America the gypsies were not far behind.

From their first official appearance till the present day they have been the victims of a steady and unrelenting persecution. Hitler put them in concentration camps along with the Jews. In England they are barred continuously by the police and the school inspectors.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Webb's book* will do a little to make people feel

more tolerant. I do not know whether he is not perhaps a little inclined to idealise his gypsies. Let's face it. Nomadic people in our midst are bound to be a bit of a nuisance sometimes, however much they desire not to be. I believe that our society has reached the stage when, unless it is to become a sort of utilitarian barbarism, it must be prepared to tolerate things which conflict with its efficient running, whether it be the wild life or the gypsies and other nomads.

According to Mr. Webb's description of them, the gypsies live in a sort of primitive matriarchal anarchy. They have no state. The basis of society is the family group. Their supreme penalty, rarely enforced, is the sending of an individual "to coventry" for life, as among the Eskimos. The woman is as important a source of the family's income as the husband. When she marries (there may be no ceremony of any kind) she need not necessarily take her husband's name, she just tacks a "Mrs." on to her maiden name, nor need her children. Gypsy children are kindly treated, are not forced to attend school (they have to learn to cope with the gypsy life, in which "book-knowledge" is almost useless), and are not struck.

Although subtopia is closing in on every side, the gypsies show no signs of dying out. It would be a good thing though if the medieval policy of "moving the gypsies on", or of simply exterminating them (Germany and Russia), were to be abandoned. Is this likely to happen?

The book is illustrated with some good photographs.

*GYPSIES, *The Secret People*, by G. E. C. Webb, Herbert Jenkins, 21s.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Science Note How is your Clock?

IN the last fifty years it has become quite clear that animals can measure time in the absence of environmental fluctuations. Cockroaches kept in constant temperature, humidity, pressure and complete darkness will start to run about at the same time every night. Fruit-flies which have been bred for generations in similar conditions and have no rhythm of life, if shown one single flash of light will begin to behave in twenty-four-hour cycles. Rats kept in constant conditions and reared by a succession of foster-mothers so that the cycle of feeding times is different from twenty-four hours, and crabs flown from east to west so that any unknown environmental fluctuation dependent on the earth's rotation has a different period, still have twenty-four-hour rhythms. And starlings, which find their way by the sun, will lose it in a room with a fixed artificial sun, because they react as if the fixed sun had a diurnal motion.

The theory is generally accepted that animals (and come to that, plants, which have the same time-measuring abilities) have "internal clocks" or organs which record time in some way. But in spite of all the efforts of biologists none has ever been speeded up or slowed down, and until very recently none had even been located.

Now, however, Dr. Janet Harker of Girton College reports in the *Times Science Review** that she has tracked one down to a group of four cells in a nerve ganglion under the oesophagus of the common cockroach. Once every twenty-four hours, precisely, this group of cells puts a hormone which initiates activity into the animal's blood. Precisely how it works is not known, but it can be anaesthetised (by freezing) separately from the rest of the cockroach, and its phase (though not its twenty-four hour cycle) altered by this means. When this is done the hormonal "clock" is out of phase with the nervous system, which proves that the cockroach has at least two internal clocks; and if the interval is not too great the hormonal clock will regulate itself to conform with the nervous system again, which proves the clock in the nervous system is the master.

For those who have come in contact with the teaching of Wilhelm Reich: the most interesting experiments involve taking the hormone clock out of one cockroach and putting it in the bloodstream of another, when it continues to function as before. A cockroach remains perfectly normal and healthy with up to

five hormone clocks in its bloodstream, all secreting hormone at the same time, but if it has two hormone clocks running out of phase, secreting hormone at intervals to say twelve hours instead of twenty-four, it invariably develops cancer!

In the same article Dr. Harker mentions an experiment on human internal clocks made by Dr. Lewis and Dr. Lohban of Cambridge.

They measured the excretory rhythms of groups of people living in the abnormal diurnal cycles of 22 or 27 hours during the summer months of continuous daylight in Spitzbergen. The subjects wore watches which ran to these periods while apparently reading normal time. Not only was there variation in the adaptability of individuals but some failed to adapt at all to the new routine. These individuals showed signs of stress, particularly at those times when their rhythms became most disorganised.

Dr. Harker comments: "In view of these findings it is likely that people who fly east and west with any frequency would also vary. It is possible that rhythms would become dissociated, and considerable strain would be placed on regulatory functions."

Airline pilots and other flying workers usually work to timetables based on twenty-four hour periods and presumably need not worry. The people most likely to be disturbed are those who fly from place to place adapting themselves to the rhythm of each local environment; having dinner and making a speech at seven each evening, having breakfast and inspecting a guard of honour at ten each morning, and so on, and hopping across time lines every couple of days. The Great States of the World, Heads of State, Directors of Mammoth Enterprises and what-not have only recently begun to use aeroplanes. It will be interesting to see, as they fly oftener, further and faster, whether they get sicker or more irritable, or die earlier. D.R.

"FREEDOM"
SHOULD HAVE
MANY MORE
READERS!

Will you help?

*Spring, 1960.

ANARCHISM AND THE TEENAGE THING

Please accept the enclosed cheque as a 12 months subscription for FREEDOM. I attend one of the art schools in London and would be only too pleased to put up publicity for meetings, etc., on the College notice boards. London, N.W.3

We, the undersigned, have been rather irregular readers, but readers none the less, of FREEDOM for some months past. We were introduced to it by —, who is a centre of minority opinion here. We unfortunately missed your questionnaire copy and would like to remedy our, and your deficiency by this letter. We have now placed a regular order for the future, and who knows, you might even get donations from us.

Facts and figures:
First bought in Charing Cross Road.
Approx. readership: 9
Average age: 17
Political opinions (these, you may imagine, are rather fluid in some cases): 2 Anti-authoritarianists and 1 Individualist; 2 Orthodox Liberals; 1 Trotskyite and 1 Socialist; and 3 uncommitted.

We were delighted to read (in the February issue of Lilliput) of Mr. William Verdun Wheal's fight for an independent state in Shoreham, Sussex. We feel it would go a long way to making true democracy work. We would like your comments on this.

— Grammar School for Boys.
I have been reading some copies of your magazine FREEDOM, loaned to me by a school friend of mine and I would like to know more about Anarchism. I would be very grateful if you could help me in this.
— College, Somerset.

THESE three letters turned up in the post the day after we had read in the Sunday paper these words quoted from Colin MacInnes's novel *Absolute Beginners*:

"As for the boys and girls, the dear young absolute beginners, I sometimes feel that if they only knew this fact, this very simple fact, namely how powerful they really are, then they could rise up overnight and enslave the old taxpayers, the whole damn lot of them—toupets and falsies and rejuvenators and all."

And then stifling a yawn at yet another government report on Youth, we read in the newly-published Albemarle Report the following:

"It's all brainwashing", they say fiercely, equally of those who would 'sell' them soap, records, drink, politics, religion, 'the whole lot are out to brain-wash you. Why should I buy it?' Yet the fierceness with which they can say this indicates an acute disappointment. From one aspect it is a sign of health that they throw up so strongly self-respecting a defence against the conflicting mass of public voices. We do not think this attitude much extends to their personal relations with one another, and these are often marked by a vivid and tolerant co-operativeness. And this scepticism towards almost all that does not come within the concrete, particular and known area of local life is not confined to one social or educational group. In different forms it can be seen in undergraduates as in unskilled workers (and in Paris and Chicago as in London—indeed some of the basic causes are common to countries on both sides of the Iron curtain.)"

The Albemarle report goes on: "At what should be the age for enthusiasm, for attack, for unregarding commitment, in a period offering unparalleled opportunities for young people to see and know and explore, whole areas of human experience have been thus defensively written off." And a couple of sentences later: "When something attracts their loyalty and seems not to be a 'sell' they will show and accept leadership and discipline of a high order."

We knew that was coming—the leadership and discipline bit. We know too, from the account in FREEDOM a fortnight ago of the circumstances leading to the banning of a student paper at Bristol University, what happens when young people go in for "enthusiasm, attack and unregarding commitment" and all the rest of it, when it isn't the direction approved by the competent authorities.

The 20-year-old editor said to a reporter: "There's a big complacency in society which I don't feel. It's complacent to deny that people like me exist. I just had to say I'm alive."

The opening words of the banned magazine were "This will only be well-received by those who woke up about sixteen and haven't stopped screaming yet." The same, we presume, applies to FREEDOM, and this is why we look hopefully towards the new generation of our readers: the ones who have woken up and haven't stopped screaming, or become, in the terminology of *Absolute Beginners*, weirdies, conscripts, taxpayers or peasants.

Question Time

Now as to the readers' questions: we welcome E.G.'s eagerness to put up publicity on his College notice boards. From the point of view of anarchist propaganda, the thing about schools and colleges is that they are likely to contain people who have woken up and haven't stopped screaming, or rather haven't got resigned or oblivious to our absurd world. This is why the efforts of the respondents in Debating Societies and other such groups are so valuable. E.G. being an art student can probably produce better posters, etc. than we could, and the only advice we can offer is that he should make montage posters with gouache colours and portions of the paper, i.e. the page 1 heading, or the Meetings and Announcements, publications list, etc.—or a montage of headlines. He is welcome to extra copies of the paper for this purpose, or copies on a 'sale or return' basis, if he can get new readers. Or he might pin up, as we have done, FREEDOM's funny advertisement from the back cover of the new *University Libertarian*.

We have read the article about Mr. William Verdun Wheal recommended by the boys from Sussex. Mr. Wheal is a second-hand car dealer who on being told by the County Council that unless he pulled down a wall he had built round the house he rented from them he would lose the lease, barricaded the place, put his employees in five armoured cars with shotguns and Union Jacks, and then bought three Sherman tanks to defend the property. He now plans

"to convince the people of Shoreham of the feasibility of his plan to make the whole town and its environs into a com-

pletely self-governing, self-supporting kingdom... a free port with a flag of convenience, to dam the River Adur and turn it into a 'Sussex Norfolk Broads'... He visualises a casino and a big tourist industry... 'On my reckoning, this plan of mine should bring a steady £30 a week to every citizen... Money for jam—if only I can make them see it my way...'

"This shall be put into effect by popular vote," he declared. "The revolutionary must be constitutionally elected. I shall fight if need be," he continued. "But I must have the people of Shoreham solidly behind me. Fidel Castro won only because he had the people behind him. Legality must be the policy of the conqueror."

"Now it is almost certain that the good people of Shoreham will offer me the throne. But... I shall offer it instead to the Duke of Windsor, the rightful King of England. Trouble is that there is nowhere in Shoreham for him to live in the proper style. So I visualise my armoured cars sweeping into Brighton—won't they look a sight as they stream down that front to take the Royal Pavilion there as his residence. You know it would be a simple matter to sweep from Brighton right over Sussex, and to take London as well..."

And so on. Well Mr. Wheal is certainly an entertaining character and it would be convenient to have our own Monte Carlo on the South Coast. But what pathetic delusions of grandeur: he became a self-styled revolutionary because of the Council's legal action against him: and the first thing he envisages is legality plus tanks—and the enlargement of his city-state, complete with a bit of moth-eaten royalty. The "true democracy" of which our correspondents speak was that of the Greek polis (so long as you weren't one of the slaves), but before Mr. Wheal has convinced a single fellow-citizen he is planning an empire. The only thing to be said for Mr. Wheal is that he would make a good subject for one of those cosy Ealing comedies—except that it's been done already in *Passport to Pimlico*.

Thanks!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!	
WEEK 8	
Deficit on Freedom	£160
Contributions received	£168
SURPLUS	£8
February 12 to February 18	

Hamilton: D.N. 6/6; Manchester: A.R. 3/3; Billingham: D.G. £3/0/0; Glasgow: Anon. £1/0/0; Manchester: G.M. 6d.; San Francisco Group: Part proceeds Social, Jan. 30. £35/0/0; Leeds: G.L. £1/0/0; London: Anon.* 2/9; London: Anon. 1/-; London: J.S.* 3/-; London: P. 7/6; Surrey: F.B. 5/-; Glasgow: Anon.* 10/6; Newcastle-on-Tyne: H.R.R. 1/-; London: M.S. 1/-; London: B.L. 5/-; London: E.P.S. 2/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.* 2/6; Tadworth: W.G.G. 4/-.	
Total	42 15 6
Previously acknowledged	125 6 0
1960 TOTAL TO DATE	£168 1 6

GIFTS OF BOOKS: Torrington: S.W. London: N.W.; London: Anon.
*Indicates regular contributor.

MUTUAL AID IN NOTTINGHAM

A "help-your-neighbour" service has been introduced on a large housing estate at Clifton, Nottingham. The scheme provides that when a job needs to be done, one of the men who lives on the estate and who is skilled at the work is called upon to do it.

For instance, a woman may decide she wants a new cupboard in her kitchen, so she calls for the services of a man on the estate who is a carpenter to get the job done. In exchange, her husband will undertake work at which he is skilled. The only charge is for materials. "In this way we are doing away with repair bills and bringing families closer together in a true community spirit," said Mr. Gethin, who has organised the scheme.

The system operated during the week-end when Mr. J. Fountain, a carpenter, took his tools to the house of Mr. and Mrs. Thurby to do a job in her kitchen. If his radio or vacuum cleaner goes wrong, his wife knows she can call in Mr. H. Thurby who is an electrician.

An extension of the scheme is the formation of a non-profit making league for wives on the estate to hold meetings where they can exchange articles for which they have no more use.

(Guardian).

Bibliography

Our final correspondent wants to know something about anarchism. Somehow we don't publish as frequently as we might, articles explaining the basis of anarchist ideas to new readers. In the because it would bore the regular readers, and partly because the paper is largely devoted to examining and commenting on social and political affairs from the anarchist standpoint. However, most weeks you will find an advertisement for FREEDOM FRESS publications about anarchism which you are welcome to send for, and we plan to produce a special supplement to our April 16th issue, designed to introduce anarchist ideas to new readers. In the meantime reader I.W. might care to look in his school library. If the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* there is a pre-war edition printed later than 1904 (which we hope it is), he will find an authoritative and non-propagandist article under the heading "Anarchism", written by Peter Kropotkin, the founder of this paper. In the later editions it has been revised by the late Professor Laski. In the post-war editions it has, we believe, been further revised and contracted.

He will also find in his school library, a number of books designed for school use which give reliable accounts of the ideas of the classical anarchist thinkers. On Godwin there is H. N. Brailsford's very good little book in the Home University Library, *Shelley, Godwin and their Circle*, as well as an A-level G.C.E. text by A. E. Rodway, published by Harrap, called *Godwin and the Age of Transition*. On Proudhon, there is a good recently-published book in the Teach Yourself History series, *Marx, Proudhon & European Socialism* by J. Hampden Jackson, and there is a good account of Bakunin and his ideas in Isaiah Berlin's Home University Library book on *Karl Marx*. He will find accounts of these, and other anarchist thinkers, principally Kropotkin, in Vol. 2 *Marxism and Anarchism* of G. D. H. Cole's *History of Socialist Thought*. None of these books of course are by anarchists.

When you are in London call at Freedom Bookshop!

Something to Yell About

But apart from anarchism as a political theory (in most people's opinion, a discarded byway of 19th century socialism, but one which has for us, been vindicated by the events of this century) there is

The Boycott

Continued from p. 1

Certainly the search for substitutes raises pretty problems. Should we buy oranges from fascist Spain or tobacco from the deep South rather than from South Africa?

This dilemma has been raised by many who are opposed to the boycott anyway, but it seems to us that it is easily resolved because we have been asked by representative organisations in South Africa to boycott their country's goods. No such appeal has come from other countries.

Further—though this is an argument tinged with patriotism—we in Britain must take particular responsibility for what goes on in Commonwealth and colonial countries. Although the British would like to pretend that the Nationalists' policies are the work of Dutch-originated Afrikaanders, the bulk of South African industry is still run on British capital.

The Whites May be Thankful.

It is important that the non-Europeans of South Africa should know that there is a substantial body of opinion in Britain which sympathises with their struggle against tyranny and despises the Nationalist Government. The boycott is important also in that it is a means by which the people can protest outside of governmental channels. It can be an expression of international solidarity through direct action over the frontiers, making the African masses realise that all Europeans are baaskap-minded.

Who knows? Even the white South Africans may one day be thankful that the Africans had such demonstrations of solidarity from white people...

anarchism as a social and personal tude. The word comes from the Greek *an-* and *archia*, meaning contrary authority, and in this sense, we can never understand how young people (today) fail to be anarchists. You have only to read the press accounts last week of the government's £1,619,000,000 a year Defence White Paper, or the ludicrous debate in Parliament on February 17th, to whether we would have four, five, or fifteen minutes warning of a surprise attack on this country, to convince yourself that authority is not silly, or vicious but quite simply mad. In a logical way of course, which is why, dear young readers, they aren't going to bother to conscript you any more. You might as well die at home, while some survivor of the first round presses the button to dispatch our own bit of expensive ironmongery to your opposite number Kiev.

And, forgetting the missile-lobby competition and all those exciting nuclear tests which are becoming fashionable again, there are enough things to yell about to make anyone an anarchist. Look at what Mr. Anthony Crosland last week characterised as

"the enveloping blanket of smug, left-wing conservatism which descended on Britain during the 1950's. This can be seen almost everywhere one looks: our lagging rate of economic growth, the sluggish pace of technical innovation, the complacency about our institutions, the absence of civil initiative, the lack of revolt against the public schools, the number of taboo subjects from the hierarchy to the Trade Unions, our laws on homosexuality and hanging, the level of public patronage to the arts, our internationalism, our attitude to Europe, and so on indefinitely. It is not only these things persist longer than in other countries; but they persist with the support of most of the population."

Poor Mr. Crosland looks to Labour Party to do something about it. As a professional politician he can't do anything else, but before you start yelling for him take a look at the rest of the party and see if they are really any different from the other lot. And was not especially for the ones who of you "leadership and discipline of a high order"?

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENT

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT
MEETINGS are now held at CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS
"The Marquis of Granby" Public House, London, W.C.2.

(corner Charing Cross Road and Shaftesbury Avenue) at 7.30 p.m.
ALL WELCOME

FEB. 27.—L.A.G. SOCIAL at 5, Caledonian Road, N.1. (Nr. King's Cross Station) at 7.15 p.m.

Games, Entertainment, Refreshments Admission 2/-.

FEB. 28.—A. Rajk on THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (Up to Kronstadt)

MAR. 6.—Denys Bowen (Director New Vision Gallery) on ART AND ANION

MAR. 13.—Basil Bonner (Abortion Law Reform Association) on 'ABORTION—LEGAL OR ILLEGAL?'

MAR. 20.—To be announced

MAR. 27.—Jim Baker (Australia) on SYDNEY LIBERTARIANISM AND PERMANENT PROTEST.

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