

'It is a common error in politics to confound means with ends. Laws exist in vain for those who have not the courage and the means to defend them. Electors meet in vain where want makes them the slaves of the landlord, or where superstition makes them the slaves of the priest.'

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STALIN MUST GO!  
HE WAS MAD  
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO!



### STOP PRESS

Our special correspondent in Moscow writes:

"The official explanation, put over by Moscow Radio, that the removal of Stalin's embalmed body from the mausoleum in Red Square was the unanimous decision of the delegates at the Communist Party Congress is a lie. In fact what happened was that blast from Mr. K.'s 50-Megaton bomb carried away the roof of the mausoleum and with it sarcophagus, Stalin-and-all. At the time of writing no news of where he landed is available. Cynics say in Albania but this has not been confirmed.

The mausoleum is a shambles and closed to the general public but I had no difficulty in gaining admittance (as correspondent of an Anarchist paper, I was *persona grata*), and to my surprise I noticed that though Lenin was still there his embalmed body and sarcophagus were on their side. On enquiring from an official, who had been present throughout, how this had come about, I was told that as Stalin was being carried into space, Lenin and sarcophagus turned to their present position, and in the process a deep sigh filled the hall accompanied by the comment: 'Poor Stalin, they've caught him at last. Now perhaps I can rest in peace'. And, said my informant, what struck him was the emphasis on the 'I' which coincided with Lenin's embalmed body plus turning on their side. To quote his words: 'It sounded like a man who had at last shed a load of guilt', and he was puzzled and concerned. All I could tell him was that perhaps in ten years time he should look around for another job. By then perhaps even Lenin will have been 'tumbled'."

## ANARCHY 9 IS ALL ABOUT PRISON

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# Are our leaders suicidal lunatics?

OF the long list of possible technical causes of a nuclear war by "accident" by far the most fantastic, to our mind, was the one by which "a woman calling a taxi in New York on a short circuit wireless system, because of the combination of the wavelength of the system and the pitch of her voice, caused a space rocket to be fired at Cape Canavarel".

A new book published in America with the title "The Nation's Safety and Arms Control" gives further "examples" of how a nuclear war could be started by accident. One of the most engaging suggestions is that a squirrel or other rodent nibbling at a cable could send a

Minuteman intercontinental missile into the heart of Russia. Replying to this charge, the U.S. Secretary of the Air Force, Mr. Eugene Zuckert, points out that there is a complicated system of mechanical and manual controls that will prevent an accidental launching of a Minuteman. He further added that cables used to relay complex, coded communications are buried deep in the ground, and that an animal gnawing at a cable will set off an automatic alarm enabling the system to be shut off.

Another charge by Mr. Arthur Hadley, the author of the book in question, is that Matador missiles, which can carry a nuclear warhead,

are standing unprotected in Europe and can be fired by one man who sleeps beside them. Mr. Zuckert replies that "safety controls make it impossible for one man to fire such a missile intentionally or mistakenly.

Of specific "accidents" the book describes an incident in which it is claimed that

two 200-mile range Bomarc missiles automatically erected themselves on their launching pads and were showing exhaust fumes before Air Force officers rushed from a mess hall and pulled wires and threw switches to prevent a launching.

Mr. Zuckert says that the only case resembling that took place about a year ago at a US base when two Bomarc erected themselves because of a short circuit. However, he says, there was no danger of an accidental launching, and denies that smoke came from the exhausts.

Obviously, either Mr. Hadley or Mr. Zuckert has his facts wrong, and it would not be all that difficult to establish the true facts. In the meantime we can only express opinions, and this writer's is that Mr. Zuckert was telling the truth. And the reasons are too many to enumerate here, though a number have already been given in *FREEDOM* and could easily be added to. Perhaps the most obvious is that in spite of the hundreds of possible ways in which it is alleged that missiles could be launched by accident, no such accident has yet occurred. The second most obvious reason is that the technical problems involved in preventing accidental launchings are small compared with those which had to be overcome in developing the weapons and carriers of death, and no self-respecting scientists would overlook such minor details. Why even in our puny domestic arrangements, if a rat gnaws the electric light cable a simple device called a fuse ensures that the house isn't set on fire by the resulting short circuit!

Come, come comrades! Whatever we may think of the level of intelligence of the politicians let us not forget that they are very temporary mouthpieces of a system based on economic privilege and social status for a minority which has successfully defended itself against allcomers, reformers and revolutionaries. To treat this minority as lunatics bent on destroying mankind, themselves included, is to assume, wrongly in our opinion, not only that life means nothing to them, but that their grip on the reins of power in all its aspects is threatened.

It is clear to us that the ruling class is not suicidal and certainly not stupid. It has succeeded in maintaining its privileges by sharing some of its power. It has succeeded in stifling the aspirations of the working class movements by

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## The Next Sit-down?

(From a Correspondent)

THE sit-down on October 21st was an odd business. To begin with, the Committee of 100 had planned not an act of civil disobedience but a token vigil outside the Russian Embassy to express disapproval of the present series of nuclear tests; no sit-down was intended. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament had already demonstrated outside the Embassy, and on the night of October 17th four members of the Committee of 100 pulled off the remarkable feat of staging a sit-down inside (and English policemen were called in to remove English demonstrators from what is technically Russian soil); the demonstration on October 21st was organised very quickly, speed being put before numbers, and might have passed off uneventfully as a final protest, making its point but achieving little publicity, if the authorities had not fallen "base over apex", as Alex Comfort puts it, into yet another booby-trap.

The Metropolitan Police Act of 1839 was invoked once again, and when the relatively small procession of about 750 people marched down the Bayswater Road from Marble Arch they were stopped short just before Kensington Palace Gardens. This is a private road, but if the police had stretched a point and let the demonstrators hold their vigil in front of No. 13 as planned, there would have been no obstruction, no sit-down, no trouble. After all, the Committee had organised a similar vigil at the Cenotaph on August 6th with police co-operation, and on this occasion the police escorted the procession for a mile and a half before suddenly stopping it. The small delegation of doctors and scientists could go to the Embassy, but the 750 supporters should disperse. Within a few minutes a march had become a sit-down, and the police had another case of civil disobedience on their hands.

Faced by the threat of arrest, about a third of the demonstrators did disperse, while the remaining 500 or so sat down where they were standing, at 3.15 p.m. It is worth remarking that the large proportion who went away showed just how legal the Committee's intentions really were, and that the sit-down actually obstructed no one at all. But the police, well re-inforced from all over London, had come to see the law broken, and broken it was; so arrests began immediately after the official police warning had been given.

Everything went perfectly. There was no violence and hardly any shouting from the sitters; the police had behaved stupidly, but they behaved very gently (did the unpleasant stories of what happened in Trafalgar Square on September 17th have some effect after all?); for the first time at a large sit-down everyone was arrested; the weather was beautiful (how far does the Committee's success depend on good weather?). In just over two hours just over 500 people were courteous-

### Intimidation

The following letter appeared in a recent issue of the *Guardian*:

Sir,—I am a 16-year-old schoolboy at a direct-grant grammar school. Recently it has come to the notice of my headmaster that I have been taking part in Committee of 100 demonstrations. He has warned me that if I sit down at any more protests I shall be expelled from the school.

The headmaster has made it clear that he is not concerned with any views I hold on the subject of nuclear disarmament but that he is greatly concerned about any action that I may take in connection with my views.

If I act on my beliefs and sit down at the next protest I shall have to face the future without any qualifying exams and with the stigma of expulsion.—Yours sincerely,  
Arthur Johnson,  
West Lancashire.

ly carried to the waiting vans and coaches, whose presence caused a real obstruction and obliged the police to divert the traffic, and were taken away to be charged in several West London police stations. Only about 90 refused bail.

First the authorities forced the issue and engineered a sit-down; then they treated the sitters extraordinarily well; then in the courts the following week they behaved oddly yet again. The inconsistency of their behaviour can be seen in what happened at the West London Court at Hammersmith. One magistrate, Mr. Seymour Collins, handed out fines of £2 (the maximum) with 3 guineas costs, and imprisoned previous offenders who refused to be bound over; the other Mr. Guest, fined everyone £1, and showed no interest in previous convictions. This recalls the weekend of September 16th and 17th, when some people were fined only 5s., and Pat Arrow-smith went to prison for three months.

What is going on? Can't the authorities make up their minds what to do about civil disobedience? In most cases so far they have confined themselves to charging offenders under a law carrying a derisory penalty, which is neither punitive nor deterrent; then suddenly they become vicious, beating up a few people and imprisoning a few others. On September 17th they made a proper sit-down impossible; on October 21st they made one inevitable. As long as the attitude of the Government towards the Committee of 100 is as stupid as their attitude to the Berlin question, the Committee of 100 can expect to continue its successful campaign. The danger will come when the Government either decides to let the Committee rip, in which case it will suffer the fate of CND (which is actually thinking of calling off the next Aldermaston March because the numbers might be too large!), or else decides to smash the Committee to pieces, in which case goodness knows what will happen. The next sit-down (if we live that long) should be extremely interesting.



# Friday Night and Saturday Morning

WHEN we got to Fulham Town Hall, a man outside the door was selling this week's *Melody Maker* with a front-page headline "Mick Mulligan's Band Breaks Up". For a while he had us worried: was this what the anarchist ball—which the MM called an "off-beat date"—had already done to its star turn? (We've beaten bigger men than them, as Mick Bakumin used to say). It transpired however that after twelve years on the road, the Mulligan-Melly partnership has simply "had enough of dirty transport cafes and damp digs."

We don't dig those damp off-beat dates either, but we needn't have worried, for the ball to celebrate the seventy-fifth birthday of Freedom Press, went off like a bomb, with three hundred or more of London's

liveliest off-beats gyrating between the ballroom (decorated with some of FREEDOM's historic back-numbers) and the bar (decorated with FREEDOM's editors).

"Are all these people anarchists?" asked wide-eyed American visitor Dachine Rainer (who used to edit *Retort*). "We should like to think so" we replied, as the place filled up with familiar and new faces. There were jazz-men and musicologists, production engineers and demolition men, psychologists and beatniks, a girl from the San Francisco to Moscow march, luminaries of the Committee of 100 fresh from jail, a troupe of novelists and poets—Charles Humana, Alan Sillitoe, Christopher Logue and Colin MacInnes, actor David Markham, students, physicians, meter-readers, FREEDOM's machine-minder and one of its typesetters, a gaggle of architects, and the only pacifist bouncer in London's nightlife—not that he was called upon to perform, for this was an anarchist, and not a law-abiding assembly.

Up on the stage, the Mulligan band and George Melly gave no sign that those damp digs had got them down, and when they were overcome by thirst, they were relieved by the Thameside Four, an agreeable bunch of folk-singers and guitarists. When priceless objects had been raffled from the stage (one winner, Schleim Fanaroff, nobly declining his bottle of Scotch), George Melly was presented with a teapot, made for the occasion by potter Frances Sokolov, to replace the silver one taken by the bailiffs when its owner declined to pay that portion of his income tax which the government proposed to spend on lethal ironmongery. George's speech of thanks was made all the more impressive as he was under the curious misapprehension that he had been made Mayor of Fulham. (Stranger things have happened—four years ago the then Mayor, David Shopland, said in his inaugural address "I am a believer in anarchy", and that was before



AT THE ANARCHIST BALL

Freedom Press moved in on Fulham.

Behind the scenes, or rather, behind the various refreshment, cloakroom and cash-desk counters, were some of those who made the ball possible and kept it rolling: Joan Sculthorpe (and her parents and sister—to whom many thanks), Mary Canipa, Mary and Jack Stevenson, Gladys and Peter Turner, Richard Ward, Bob McKeen, Ian Celnick, Arthur Moyle, Jack Robinson and many others.

Among the anarchists who

The photographs show messages from well-wishers being read, George Melly giving his unique version of 'Frankie and Johnnie' and receiving his 'Ban the Bomb' teapot, the Thameside Four, and general views of the hall.

couldn't be present, we most of all missed Lillian Wolfe, who has been engaged with Freedom Press activity for fifty of its seventy-five years. We send her our affectionate greetings. We were sent greetings from Alex Comfort, Charles Duff, Doris Lessing, Compton Mackenzie, Ethel Mannin, Herbert Read, and other absentees, including Augustus John, who always claims to be our oldest reader: long may he keep that title. His message evoked his recollections of FREEDOM's founder, Peter Kropotkin (as did the splendid chestnut beard of one of our guests, the *editor of Graduate Careers*—a bright light behind an enormous bush, is how he described himself: you'd never guess he was a careerist). Nobody thought of inviting Kropotkin's daughter from Hollywood, Cal., but she wouldn't have come anyway.

Friday night turned into Saturday

morning, and now we're looking forward to FREEDOM's hundredth birthday in Nineteen-Eighty-four—plus-two. Whether we ever get there or not depends among other things, on what Freedom Press's Friday night well-wishers do to ensure the continued appearance of FREEDOM or ANARCHY every Saturday morning.

But perhaps we won't have to wait so long for another ball.

CALEB WILLIAMS.

We thank all those who sent messages of good-will to the gathering, and particularly those who added a special donation to the Press Fund for the occasion—Compton Mackenzie, David Markham and Doris Lessing.

## BOOKS?

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10 a.m.—1 p.m. Thursdays;  
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In 1956 Colin Wilson's "The Outsider", that ragbag of quotations, made the news headlines when a coterie of fashionable critics led by Cyril Connolly hailed the book as a major publishing event and the readers of the Sunday bloods sat back in their chairs to witness the heralded appearance of a scruffy messiah from the intellectual undergrowth but found in place of the Dostoevskian character that the world awaited a beardless boy complete with drooping forelock, National Health glasses and a pleasant smile. Everybody behaved rather silly and camps were formed, letters sent to the press, pronouncements made and the Royal Court theatre rejected a Wilson play to the disgust of Colin's widening circle of friends who prophesied that the long dark night of Western civilization had finally set in. Wilson was young and his behaviour was excusable, the commercial press accepted the Wilson story as part of their normal silly season and played it accordingly, while the real villains of the piece, the *avant garde* critics of the Establishment maintained a discreet silence, for it was they who gave this young man of such little talent his fantastic and passing reputation, and realising that they had erred, they blithely walked in the other direction.

"Adrift in Soho" is Wilson's fifth publication and is on the same level as his previous books. It meanders and it drifts and it fails even by its own terms as a record of a facet of our society and its non-conformist fringe. Ronald Bryden of the *Spectator* in a full length review of the book, that makes more interesting reading than the book itself, cried that there has been a conspiracy

## SECONDHAND DRIFTER

of silence the last couple of years over the "Wilson affair" but I would hazard the guess that many a painter, poet and author trying unsuccessfully to place his work before the public gaze must have longed to join the most publicised conspiracy of years. Each of Wilson's productions follow the same pattern beginning with the announcement, the dispute, the reception and then the inquest and it is like unto a man jumping off a high roof while the public stand and watch, powerless to prevent the tragedy yet fearful that it might not take place. We watch with gutgripping fascination the death jump and then flock forward to view the shattered remains silent in the knowledge that in some way we share a common guilt. Yet as we turn for a final look before we hurry away we see the corpse cheerfully climbing the wall for another death jump. "Adrift in Soho" is no more than an account of Wilson's first few weeks in London and centres around Lucie Buhler's French café in Old Compton Street and the pub on the corner. He mentions various Soho types such as Iron Foot Jack, who was dead and buried before the book was published, the little man who keeps the bookshop on magic black and white near the British Museum and who has put his theories to the final test for he too is dead and buried and a gentleman whom he names Robert de Bruyn whom Wilson claims as an anarchist yet who reads like Count Potocki, last of the kings of Poland, poet and coffee drinker and who by no stretch of the imagination could be called an anarchist. A reactionary, a romantic or a dreamer of

royal dreams but not a disciple of Kropotkin.

But the interest in this third-rate book lies not in its contents but just whose book it really is. The central character in the book, apart from Wilson, is a character who goes by the name of James and it is he who leads the hero by his hot little hand into the darker turnings off the Charing Cross Road. But a 35-year-old actor named Charles Russell claims that not only is he the James of the book but that two years ago he sent his autobiography to Wilson and that this book is based on those pages. Russell is said to be getting 15 per cent. of the royalties and that he is the "James" of the dedication.

Russell states that he originally sent the book to Wilson for a preface but Wilson said that he would like to re-write the book and Russell agreed. Wilson for his part claims that he received Russell's manuscript in August of 1959 and he was quite pleased with it, so much so, that he contacted Russell and agreed to re-write it and publish it under their joint names with the title of "My Friend Charles", but that Victor Gollancz would not agree and, says Wilson, he also had to change Charles into "James".

Understandably Russell was annoyed and to quote Wilson "This rather upset Charles. I scrapped his manuscript, except for a couple of pages. I agree the ideas came from him, but I did all the writing."

There for what it is worth is the alleged story behind this dismal little

book. Written on the level of a two-penny week-end pulp magazine it contains not one single character worth remembering and as a record of our time it is completely worthless. A pseudo intellectual with a passion for the mystique of violence in the abstract, Wilson advanced upon the public behind a barricade of quotations from Shaw, Nietzsche, Kant and Kierkegaard and now he retires behind another man's life yet if he had troubled there were so many people he could have found to write about. Billy Kaye, with his quiver of kids, just out of prison after twelve months for playing around with heroin and cocaine and now plugging away at his own book, the "Barber of the 'Ville"; the gallery dealer who loves to wear full drag of an evening; the Irish poet long-haired and beringed who composes his bad poetry at the café counter; the young artists who now sit upon the stones outside the National Gallery to sell their paintings with their dirty jeans covered with Ban-the-bomb slogans; the ageing homosexual who has a blue rinse and a perm when he is in the money. The drifters and the dreamers who go to prison when it is not fashionable and are in the vanguard of every protest.

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### Stop Press

#### AUGUSTUS JOHN

We are most sad that since our report on the Anarchist Ball was written, the death has been announced of Augustus John at the age of 83. We shall present an appreciation of our grand old friend next week.

\*Adrift in Soho, by Colin Wilson, published by Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1961.



## Are our leaders lunatics?

Continued from page 1 drawing its leaders into the Establishment, by the carrot of gadgetry ("A forecast for Europe in 1970" "Washing Machines for all"—*Guardian*, Oct. 30), and by its stranglehold on mass communications media. It has introduced a permanent cold-war economy which serves both as an effective financial cushion for the crises of capitalism as well as a psychological weapon against social change.

No mere change of government can or will alter the existing structure of society. Are we not witnessing this truth throughout the African continent where a new propertied class is emerging as the white "colons" sell out; where a new group of politicians simply take over where their white predecessors left off. (Indeed to ensure the continuity of the system many are retained as advisers!).

All this makes resistance and revolution more necessary than ever, and not, as many think, outmoded. For if nothing else is clear in the world we live in, one fact is crystal clear: that the ruling classes throughout the world are consolidating and not abdicating their power. And if the people want peace (and the only guarantee is a completely disarmed world), justice (so long as there is privilege there can be no justice) and freedom (so long as some men have the power to direct the lives of other men there can be no freedom) they must

destroy the present power structure of society.

Sitting-down and allowing oneself to be carried off to gaol is proving an effective propaganda weapon, and most important of all is probably making some of those who join in these demonstrations think along unorthodox, revolutionary lines. In this sense it contains the germs of a revolutionary movement of the people. "Banning the Bomb" is a slogan acceptable by the respectable as well as the revolutionary, but it is the fact that on most other aspects of the social problems from which war stems, the demonstrators are divided, that only a few see in civil disobedience a first step in a revolutionary struggle against the power of the State, which allows the government and the ruling class to ignore them so far as their actions and policies are concerned.

Many concerned with the activities of the Committee of 100 are aware of this and it is encouraging to see that much discussion and re-thinking are going on. What is less encouraging are indications that the so-called "New Left" is making a bid to impress its rigid political formulae onto the movement. This can only have disastrous consequences if allowed to continue unchallenged. It seems to us that anarchists and other libertarians have an important part to play in the free development of this, at present, spontaneous protest movement of youth.

## Nationalism is a Mug's Game

ONE of the "Myths of War and Peace" which we did not deal with at the time (*FREEDOM*, Sept. 2), was that of nationalism as a cause of war. In so far as nationalism is used as the bludgeon—the pointing finger hypnotising you into the belief that "Yours country NEEDS you"—to force people to take up arms in a struggle with which, until then, they had not identified themselves, it can be argued that patriotism, in the disguise of nationalism makes war possible, but the causes of war have nothing to do with these sentiments. If they had one would assume that the ruling class (and we don't mean the government but the "power behind the throne") would be as intransigent in their nationalism as say someone like Dr. Verwoerd, is in his apartheid policies. On the contrary the ruling class which is more concerned with its business interests than with patriotism affects an *internationalist* outlook which the working people cannot afford. A glaring example by way of illustration. Less than a fortnight ago the Cunard shipping line decided to abandon the idea of replacing one of its transatlantic liners in spite of Government offers to subsidise the new ship with our money to the tune of £18 million. Consternation in the ship yards, bosses and workers alike, and in political circles, government and opposition alike. A week later a report prepared for the Ministry of Transport showed that British ship-owners had ordered 34 ships, valued at £23 millions, from foreign yards because the latter were cheaper.

Business is business and nationalism must not be allowed to interfere with business. But fools and the man in the street take nationalism seriously. Only last week in Brussels some 100,000 (police estimates 64,000) Belgians from all over Flanders marched through the capital for three hours in a new

manifestation of the Dutch-French language quarrel that has divided the country since its formation more than 130 years ago! It is worth quoting what their demands were in view of the fact that some supporters of the Common Market and of world government seem to cherish the illusion that these man-made barriers that divide human beings can be legislated away:

- A long-scheduled linguistic census should be abandoned.
- A definite linguistic frontier should be established.
- Brussels, limited to nineteen communes or districts, should be bilingual in every respect.
- In Flemish communes outside Brussels administration should be conducted only in the Dutch language and no special facilities should be provided for French-speaking Belgians.

Language is no barrier to Big Business. Last month the London brewers Whitbread and the equally important Dutch brewers Heineken joined forces to develop new overseas markets for their beers. First step in the link between the two beer barons is that the Dutch firm's lager will be sold in Whitbread's 1,000 public houses and off-licences in the United Kingdom. But plans are also on hand to build a jointly-owned £1 million brewery in Nigeria, and Ghana is one of the other countries which they are investigating as a possibility for joint development. This example of the "internationalism" of big business would be insignificant in itself; but it represents a rapidly growing trend. Occasionally we hear of take-over bids by American firms of important British concerns, such as of Fords of Dagenham. How many people realise that British industry's direct investment in the United States now stands at no less than \$2,248 millions, which is not far short of American industry's investment of £2,475 m. in the United Kingdom?

THE myth of the anarchist as a criminal and a bomb-thrower dies hard. Recent press references to "bombs and cloaks" shows that that anarchist image is the stock response of the lazy (or rushed) journalist.

It saves a great deal of thinking to have these political swear words but they tend to change with time and circumstance. "Bolshie" is rather old-fashioned, "Red" covers even socialists and liberals, "Fascist" is a rather vague term meaning basically (to the left) "someone disliked", the emotive "Nazi" produces the conditioned reflex of saliva in either left or right (according to the date). To call a man an "anarchist" is even actionable—Henry Ford having won a libel case on these grounds.

It is true that the cloak-and-dagger-and/or bomb school or anarchism did flourish from about 1878 to about 1901. (It is interesting to note that another myth-figure, the American cowboy, flourished for about the same period and left a great deal more literature.)

The association of anarchism and crime went further than this; there were those who believed in expropriation, in defrauding insurance companies with bogus fires. The anarchists were not alone in this, the Sidney Street gang were Latvian Social Revolutionaries, and Josef Stalin, in his youth (as every Communist will now admit) took part in a fund-raising bank-raid in Tiflis. It is not possible to see how a belief in the abolition of private property entails a belief in its transfer.

The belief in the *attentat* or "propaganda by the deed" was shaken by the growth of nationalism and the war of 1914-18 which inured the peoples of the world to the deed of violence which became the common political practice.

The whole history of anarchism reveals crimes on the part of the law against anarchists, The Haymarket Case, Francisco Ferrer, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Japanese case of 1912, the Walsall "plot" of 1892 all testify to the criminal nature of legal punishment.

The development of totalitarian governments (making explicit what is implicit in all governments) gave an ideological sanction to this criminality. Hitler and Stalin acted perfectly legally during their whole careers. The concentration camps had a sound legal foundation. It is significant that the gypsies have not been able to claim compensation for their imprisonment in the camps since it was not part of a policy of genocide—as far as gypsies were concerned. Nor was the confinement of homosexuals or Jehovah's witnesses, it was all legal.

The recognition of governments as criminal was always maintained—by the winning side that is. Nuremberg was the first occasion when the crime of losing a war was put to trial . . .

The anarchist no longer can be accounted the sole criminal since governments and states have revealed themselves to be criminal in performance as well as in intent. It is in the anarchist philosophy that much of the wild thinking and wilder activity about crime and punishment can be dismissed.

It is obvious that the association (insisted upon by the church) of crime and sin is on the way out in this country

## ANARCHISM AND CRIME

at least although we still have our Blasphemy Act. It is recognised by all the reformists that laws only supplement *mores*. No laws are enforceable without public acquiescence in *some* degree. If the degree of acquiescence is too low (as in prohibition, and street betting) the law will be changed, although the deed presumably still remains sinful. "Hard cases make bad laws".

The theory that crime is an anti-social act receives some criticism on the grounds that society itself can be anti-social and crime can be a social activity. A society founded, as ours is upon competition and "keeping up with the Joneses" is in itself anti-social whereas the criminal gang can be a social grouping.

When society itself is dedicated to a crime such as baiting Jews or negroes, liquidating Trotskyists or kulaks, or indulging in the crime which contains all crimes—war, this society is criminal or, at least delinquent. When States are formed to consolidate the crimes of acquisition of property, of land, of slaves, they glorify it as Empire. Property itself, is as Proudhon says, robbery, particularly in a world where there are those who have not.

As States grow and make more laws there must inevitably be more crime. The great crime empire of Al Capone was built upon the prohibition law. Once that law was repealed the bootleggers' occupation was gone. Similarly with the war-time black market.

These two instances lend weight to the theory that everyone is capable of being a criminal given the right laws, circumstances and environment. The Lombroso theory of the criminal as a special type is no longer valid.

Is it possible then to have a society without crime? Can crime be stamped out? This is the fond hope of the Sunday journalist, the clean-living TV cleric, and the Tory dowager.

If crime *could* be stamped out, it would have happened in England, at least, with its solitary confinement, its capital punishment, and until recent years, its floggings. These punishments only tend to produce crime. The punishment is the payment for crime. The average offender having done his time feels he is entitled to start again and the prisons, those "universities of crime" as Kropotkin called them encourage this view.

It is necessary from time to time to break the law in order to continue the progress of society. Mankind moves on a moral escalator, there is nothing that has not in one society or another been illegal or may not be made compulsory. The propaganda of the deed is logically

continued by the suffragettes and the Committee of 100. In its participants there is invoked a healthy reevaluation of law and order. The veil of the temple is rent and the British bobby is never quite the same man again.

In a minor key the complex of traffic regulations has enmeshed countless more "law-abiding" citizens and their complacency has been shaken, not by the policemen's venality, which is rare enough, but by the utter unreasonableness of it all. In the reported words of Canon Collins in Trafalgar Square "But . . . this is absurd!"

Precisely, it is absurd that laws made to trap wicked law-breakers should be used to persecute poor innocent citizens who have a valid excuse. This current unpopularity of the police has been siphoned off to some extent by the provision of traffic-wardens who are the motorist's current scapegoat . . .

But nevertheless statistics seem to show a growth in the crime rate. Much of this is technological in character. The centralisation and growth of monopoly in businesses lead to bigger and more worth while pay roll and mailbag robberies. It was recently said by one of the big banks that the overall cost of certain security precautions would make them uneconomic since the total average losses by bank thefts were less than the cost of the precautions.

New social patterns provide new crimes. The self-service store has a consequent influx of shoplifters but the proportion to the number of shoppers is probably no greater than the ordinary store and the overhead costs are far lower.

The view, expressed by Samuel Butler in *Erewhon* of crime as sickness is not so far fetched as it seemed at the time. We live in a sick society. There has been a breakdown of associability and acts that were once regarded as the pranks of juvenile high spirit, the aberrations of eccentricity, or the misfortunes of weaker brethren are now all regarded as criminal acts duly reportable to the appropriate authorities.

The provision of more police to stamp out this "crime-wave" is no solution. For, with a more efficient police-force more "crime" would be discovered, not all, of course, of the same verity or heinousness. This would in turn necessitate more police. The danger of a large police force has always been recognised, not only in the possible corruption of the police but in the corruption of power in the hands of the government.

The theory that crime was due in the main to poverty has received some setback in the Welfare State. There is still a deprivation in our society which leads to crime. Whilst the glittering prizes of society must of necessity be out of the reach of the many there will be those who will reach for them. As society's "wants" increase, the poverty line moves and the underprivileged become more resentful whilst the emotionally immature live in a society which grows more and more complex and hence they are more unable to cope.

Society gets the criminals it deserves. It is doubtful if man has the society he deserves. The State makes its criminals but Society makes man.

JACK ROBINSON.

## VERWOERD CONSOLIDATES

THE dents which have been made in the hard wall of segregation in the Southern States of America and in much of the African continent, appears to have no parallel in South Africa.

The occasional organised uprising leading to widespread violence, which anywhere else might precede the collapse, or at any rate the weakening of, the existing tyranny, seems, in South Africa, to leave the government of the moment even more firmly entrenched, and the economic and political position of the African quite unaltered.

No doubt future historians will draw thorough and complex conclusions, but to the ordinary contemporary observer seeking a solution it seems quite simply that consistent

political and physical repression has paid off and will continue to do so for a long time, due mainly to the geography, the size and the economic situation peculiar to South Africa.

Unlike Britain and other European countries who, for political reasons, have had to grant some concessions to formerly subject peoples, and undaunted by the censure of other Commonwealth countries, South Africa, if anything, has hardened its attitude on apartheid and is preparing to tighten its hold on the Africans.

In the recent election, 7% of eligible white voters went to the polls—the lowest percentage in memory), 70 of the 156 seats went uncontested, and the Nationalists

emerged with an increased majority of 105.

Following this success it is expected that Verwoerd will push through his legislative programme, tightening the pass laws and influx control, widening the treason law with the intention not only of stifling criticism of government policies but, it is feared, making difficulties "for liberal and progressive politicians"; and,

"press on with his plan to establish industries on the borders of the new Bantustans, and will at least make token demonstrations with the economic development of the Bantustans themselves."

Backed by the powerful Dutch Reformed Churches (except for a few dissident voices within their ranks) and by the majority of white South Africans, it looks as if Verwoerd is confidently planning for a long stay in power.

# Freedom & Anarchy Need More Readers



# Secondhand Drifter

Continued from page 2

and pushed aside when it becomes respectable. This should have been their book but Wilson failed them. But the final bitter joke is that our little band of fashionable third-raters are determined to forestall posterity in acknowledging their assumed genius, for Wilson and his friends have already placed a plaque upon the wall of the house wherein for a brief while they laid their heads, while Wilson's doppelganger, Michael Hastings has gone on record with his protest that Wilson's manuscript of the "Outsider" one "of two of the most important artistic events of our time" has gone to America. In an age when all values are suspect, when morality is deliberately made subservient to national policies it should be no surprise that our cultural priests should hearken to a puking boy seeking if not the risen Christ at least a John the Baptist. But as they say in Lucie Buhler's French café, "No matter where you slice the bastards you'll always find baloney".

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## Bumper Week!

What about next week?

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT OCTOBER 28th 1961 WEEK 43

Expenses: 43 weeks a £70	£3,010
Income from Sales & Subs:	
Weeks 1-41	£1,283
Weeks 42-43	£47
	£1,330
DEFICIT	£1,680

### DEFICIT FUND

Southend: P.A.O.\* 5/-; Peterborough: F.W.\* 2/-; Newcastle: A.R. 2/6; Glasgow: S.M. 3/-; Glasgow: J.H.\* 1/6; Surrey: F.B.\* 5/6; London: S.L. 4/-; London: T.K. 2/-; Hounslow: L.\* 3/-; Hull: J.W. £2; Los Angeles: L.M. £1/15/-; London: D.S. £1/8/-; Co. Down: J.O.H. £1; Los Angeles: S.S. £7; London: R.E. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.\* 2/6; Bilston: J.W.P. 2/6; Ilford: M.D.\* 6/-; Lincoln: A.B.\* 5/-; London: E.M. 2/6; Oxford: Anon.\* 5/-; Glasgow: J.H.\* 2/-; Los Angeles: J.S.\* £17/10/-; Berkeley: B.C. £1; Margate: T.L. £1/10/-; Wolverhampton: J.G.L.\* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; London: J.McE. £1; Hounslow: L.\* 2/6; Surrey: F.B.\* 10/-; Shoreham: M. & D. 2/6; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* £4; London: Proceeds Dance, Oct. 20† £41/15/-.

TOTAL 84 3 6  
Previously acknowledged 789 0 2

1961 TOTAL TO DATE £873 3 8

From sale of tickets	9 0 0
Refills	15 0 0
Collecting boxes in cloakrooms	5 12 0
INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS:	
Edinburgh: C.M.c.K.	3 15 0
Coleman's Hatch: D.M.	5 5 0
London: D.L.	3 3 0
TOTAL	£41 15 0

## Only £800 Short!

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Vol 1 1951: Mankind is One  
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FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

# SF

DEAR COMRADES,

As Arthur Uloth says, there must be some sort of boundary between science fiction and other fiction. But if he will not allow science fiction to "move out of the purely mechanical sciences and into psychology, sociology, ethics and politics", he limits it to a much narrower scope than is allowed by editors, writers and addicted readers of science fiction pulp magazines. One of the conventional story-settings in these publications is in the far, far future, when human colonies are settled and thriving on many planets, each more or less self-contained economically and remote from the others, and each with its own political, economic, religious and ethical conventions. Sometimes the story is of conflict or co-operation between two or more entirely different cultures; more often it is about someone who journeys from planet to planet across the galaxy, with digressive descriptions of the civilisation on each planet visited.

Every imaginable kind of society is made to exist in these stories. Besides the pure inventions, like societies of nomad traders who have no home but a spaceship, there are societies closely modelled on ancient civilisations, primitive cultures, religious communities and visionary utopias, including, of course, anarchy, under its own name. If there is a preference it is for the more extreme forms of society. The spaceship, or some telekinetic device whereby our hero at least gets from place to place, is essential to the plot of such stories, but they are not about spaceships.

Other types of stories deal with the strange social codes that may exist among aliens, the way in which human civilisation on earth might be modified by over-population, decimation, flooding (by the melting of the polar ice-caps), draining (by holes in the sea) or other pressures, and fictitious developments of Parkinson's law, Finagle's law and "The Organisation man".

Utopias are rare. The social speculations, like the technological speculations which were the main pursuit of *Amazing Stories* before the last war, are not ideals but entertaining curiosities. No "message" is intended, but the pre-occupation with social study involves the recognition that many societies are possible, that human nature varies according to environment, and that right and wrong are different in different situations. These are examples of what John Pilgrim calls "ideas which upholders of the status quo would regard as subversive", which are entirely outside the scope of western, detective stories, romances in women's magazines and other forms of addict literature, and which science fiction written for adult addicts (as distinct from strip cartoons and television plays) presents as a matter of course.

Perhaps this is why, when the editor of *Analog* invited readers to describe their personal utopias, the only reply published (reprinted in the October, 1961 *British Edition of Analog*) was from an anarchist called Jerry Millet.

DONALD ROOUM.

## Sharing Everything but Power

FOLLOWING the direct action methods of the Southern States Negro, a group of white and black Rhodesians put the apartheid law to

the test last week when they organised a bathing outing in the traditionally all-white Salisbury Central Swimming Pool, thus forcing the incident into court, where Chief Justice Sir Hugh Beadle ruled against segregation.

This is one of a number of "reforms" recently applied which mean little in terms of actual power to Africans but which marks a change in attitude forced on White Rhodesians by events rather than the power of moral argument, although there is still a strong group determined to "keep Rhodesia white".

Many Africans themselves are unimpressed by the elimination of the colour bar in public places, they are much more concerned with political rights and power.

But even if it means sharing the same swimming pool or drinking at the same bar, the wily white politicians would rather force themselves into this social degradation than share equally political power and economic prosperity.

The mistake they make it would seem is in thinking they can concede one without the other.

# Correspondence

## Individualism or Communism?

DEAR EDITORS,

The antipathy to State and authority which Armand regards as being peculiar to individualism is fully shared by communist anarchists. The difference is that individualists, being wishful thinkers, hope to live "as anarchists" in an authoritarian State, and are not sure if they do or do not believe in an anarchist society. The anarchist communist knows that individual liberty can never be realised until the material needs of the people are satisfied and aims at living in association, which in any event, is the only way a free society can meet modern needs.

Where everything is free and authority has ceased to exist, the mythical recalcitrant cannot be coerced into taking any action against his will. All who seek individual sovereignty should turn to anarchist communism. It is the only way.

Yours sincerely,  
F.B.

## New Left for Old?

To the Editors, FREEDOM.  
The Editor,

You write that "The much acclaimed New Left is simply the old discredited authoritarian, Marxist, Left in modern dress." While appreciating your point, might I express the opinion of one who moves amongst them: that your oversimplification, comrade, is a distortion.

Hull, Oct 22,

J.W.

## Teachers' Pay - and Principles

DEAR FRIENDS,

I got the figure of £1,100 p.a. for the average teacher from a *Daily Herald* survey. The weekly columnist of a local paper, also, has given a similar figure. I have never seen these figures disputed anywhere—until "Teacher" of Brighton came on the scene! Of course, it is the headmasters, deputy heads and departmental heads who are mainly responsible for such a high average, especially those in the Grammar Schools. And if "Teacher" does gain anything by striking with the Unions most of it will go to these already well-paid people. This happens in all the professions and trades.

"Teacher" states that "teachers should control their own work and conditions and a movement that is prepared and able to strike could do just that". I would agree to this if the movement were one which adhered to PRINCIPLES: if "Teacher" cannot see that all of the unions use expedient means only he

must be rather blind. Both he and Albert R. Brimicombe, who for some obscure reason wants to preserve the Burnham Committee salary-negotiating machinery (is it some kind of anarchist group?), are wasting their precious time.

Now if our friends were to test the power of their employers by persuading their colleagues to down tools on an important principle, for example if they were to boycott the morning worship sessions, I would support them right up to the hilt. The unions, of course, would be absolutely against such an idea—because no principle exists in those bodies.

Bucks, Oct. 21,

PARENT.

## More facts wanted

FRIENDS,

Opinions will continue to differ on whether the fate of Man depends on a few button-pressing individuals—will differ, of course, right up to the moment that the vital button is pressed. It is not widely known—as of course no matter of real importance in the conduct of man's affairs is allowed to be widely known—that, since the "massive retaliation" doctrine may cancel out any advantage of "West" over "East" or "East" over "West" any "minor local difficulty" which erupts into "conventional" war can produce a situation where the commander in the field (like the Polaris commander) will decide the use of nuclear weapons.

## Press Cuttings

THE WORKERS' POWER

New tactics are to be used to stop the tea-break being cut from ten to five minutes at the Ford car works at Dagenham today. The workers' plan was put into action when the company gave the new system a trial run.

Many men offered £1 notes to the trolley girls for a 3d. cup of tea. Few had the right change. Others dithered deliberately over their choice of food. The result was chaos. In some departments the break lasted 35 minutes.

(Guardian)

## GOOD BUSINESS

A 400-year-old cottage, which changed hands 25 years ago for £100 and was sold last year for £6,000, is to be pulled down to make way for road widening at Longham, near Bournemouth.

## BETTER THE COMPANY OF CROCODILES THAN OF "NIGGERS"

Livingstone (N. Rhodesia),  
October 23

Scores of white Rhodesians swam in the Zambesi river here over the weekend rather than bathe in the multi-racial municipal pool. Previously it was a rare sight to see more than a dozen people bathing at Livingstone beach, about one mile above Victoria Falls, where a notice gives the warning: "Bathing is suicidal because of the crocodiles."

Yesterday about a hundred Europeans splashed in the Zambesi and one said: "Multiracialism at the municipal pool has driven us to the river. We would rather take a chance on the crocodiles."

The municipal baths were full of Asian swimmers but during the weekend only three Africans used the pool.

—Reuter.

## THE DEMOCRATIC WAY

Chicago, October 20.

John Kilpatrick, president of the United Industrial Workers' of America, was found shot dead in Chicago today in a car which had been wired with dynamite.

Police said the killers apparently had planned to take one more step by wiring the dynamite to the car's ignition so that it would blow up if the car were started. They said it appeared that Kilpatrick had been abducted from a local union branch where he made his headquarters. He was found about 200 yards away.

Kilpatrick was credited with bringing about the downfall of Angelo Ineco, once the "boss" of the Chicago Industrial Workers, who is now fighting a 10-year sentence on charges of "milking" the union's welfare fund.

—British United Press.

A directive to this effect, entitled "Provisional Regulations for the Chain of Command for the Tactical Use of Atomic Weapons" (in the German Army—which at that time had no nuclear weapons) was signed by Gen. von der Groben and dated Feb. 10th, 1958—I seem to recall an article on atomic artillery in the British Army corroborating this position in the *Guardian* during Jan. 1960—Jan 20th I believe.

The real trouble is that there are too many infernal machines about—and too many irresponsible—and as Raymond Challinor says, mentally unstable—people in control that the worse that has been envisaged may yet occur.

What is needed at this juncture is a more informed public opinion, less controversy in papers like *FREEDOM* and *Peace News*, *Humanist*, etc., and more fact and information—if the public knew what was published in papers like *Aviation Week—Missiles & Rockets* or even *Air Force Review*, they'd either die of heart attack (and do the Big Brothers in the eye) or throw out governments of the existing order without further delay.

Southampton, Oct. 7. B. C. BEVIS.

## LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP CENTRAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at  
The Two Brewers,  
40 Monmouth Street, WC2  
(Leicester Square Tube)  
Sundays at 7.30 p.m.  
NOV 5 Jack Robinson: *The Year 1886*  
NOV 12 Maurice Goldman:  
Subject to be announced  
NOV 19 Ian Leslie:  
Subject to be announced  
NOV 26 A. Rajk: *The Lesser Evil*.

## Hyde Park Meetings

Every Sunday at 3.30 (if fine)

## OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.  
Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2.  
1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.  
3rd Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.  
Last Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Laurens and Celia Otter's, 57 Ladbroke Road, W.11.

## JAZZ CLUB

New season's meetings will be held at 4 Albert Street Mornington Crescent NW1 at approximately monthly intervals.  
Next Meeting Friday 17th Nov.

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