

Government is, in its essence, always a force working in violation of justice.

LEO TOLSTOY

Anarchism & Automation

BRAZIL!

STUDENT LIFE

50 Days of Dynamic Inaction

THE Wilson government is nearly halfway through those promised "one hundred days of dynamic action", and whilst no one can deny that the Prime Minister and his colleagues have been busy, it is difficult to detect signs of "dynamic action." Of course there will be no "dynamic action" not because of Mr. Wilson's small voting majority in the House, but because he, no less than his predecessors, is a pawn in the hands of the permanent civil servants, as well as being unwilling to put the bankers, the financiers, the

F.B.I. and the International Cartels on the spot.

It is significant that Treasury red tape does not find any difficulties in increasing the tax on petrol, or levying a surcharge on imports overnight but needs months to sort out pension increases. We are told that there are something like 2,000 different pension rates, and that even if the presses worked night and day the new books will not be available until next March. "Dynamic action" means cutting through the red tape of bureaucracy. Just as every petrol

station in the country changed its prices overnight, so should it be possible to instruct the post-offices throughout the land to honour the existing counterfoils at the new rates.

As to the fate of the pound sterling, for a party which alleges that it seeks to bring about a new social order based on justice and equal rights and opportunities for all, what does it matter what the speculators in the money markets do? Is the Wilson government in office to defend the pound sterling or to ensure

that everyone in this country by their efforts can earn enough to have a square meal every day, a roof over their heads, and other material needs, and services as well as the leisure to do what they like and to live? All the recent government manoeuvres have contributed not one iota to these ends. In defending the pound all Wilson has been doing is protecting the speculators and the bankers at the expense of the people of this country. For the majority of the wage-earning public it matters little whether at the end of the week they are paid in pounds or peanuts—assuming that they can buy their food and pay their rent with peanuts. It matters little to them if the pound is devalued in relation to other currencies though it obviously matters a great deal to those individuals who make their fortunes speculating in the currency markets. The recent "run" on the pound and the "rescue" operations put into effect by the central banks when even the government's two per cent increase in bank rate failed to halt it, were manoeuvres dictated not by public interest but by money interest. Let us quote the *New York Times* editorial (November 30):

The central bankers of the free world deserve credit for responding to the sterling crisis with speed and courage. Their prompt action in backing the pound saved Britain's currency, but even more important, it prevented an undermining of the international monetary framework and forestalled financial crisis. (Our italics).

Note the italicised passage for it is significant as is also the following: "Now, the speculators are in for another beating because the massive resources mustered by the international consortium, together with the protective measures taken

by Britain's Labour Government, are strong enough to weather the storm". For it emerges from the foregoing that the working people are the shuttlecock in a financial struggle between the "international consortium" (i.e. central banks) and the "speculators", with Mr. Wilson playing the game of the banks. Is that the long and short of the "crisis"?

★

IF the government were to declare that it could not function without the banks, that at least would be an honest admission, and if it resigned forthwith one would feel nothing but respect and admiration for Mr. Wilson and his colleagues. Of course they will do neither. The desire for office is stronger than either their dignity or their intellectual honesty. It seems to us that if Mr. Wilson had no intention of being the cat's paw of international finance he could have by now demonstrated his dynamic intentions simply by protecting the internal economy from the international speculators. As no mean economist himself, and a professed socialist, has he not during the years in thoughtful opposition succeeded in devising a means whereby it would be possible to operate two currencies one for internal use, the other for the purpose of imports and exports. After all if we cannot export more than we import what better way of keeping the "books straight"—and preventing the situation Mr. Wilson found when he took office of a deficit of payments of about £600 millions which had apparently escaped Sir Alec's notice. And if Mr. Wilson knows, as he does, that there is a large quantity of "hot money"

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CONGO - Hell on Earth!

IF there is Hell on Earth then the Congo could be it.

The Belgians were slung out after many long years of a vicious, changing to a paternal regime. The theory that "Africans are like children" was carried out to the letter by the Belgian administration. To them the Congo and the Congolese people were there to be exploited, particularly the jewel of the Congo, Katanga Province, rich in mineral deposits. Katanga was and still is the happy hunting ground for foreign investors.

In July 1960 Tshombe was the self-styled leader of the Katanga Province which broke away from the Central Congolese Government. The issue of the break-away was ostensibly on the question of Nationalism or tribalism. On the one hand was the desire for a strong unitary state in the Congo and on the other, the desire for a federal State based on tribal alliances. This was the direct result of Belgium's colonial policy, to encourage tribal governments, playing one chief against another, the old policy of divide and rule. Belgian and Northern Rhodesian vested interests stood by waiting to pluck the prize jewel from a bewildered Congo, where a yearly output of 300,000 tons of copper were involved.

Belgian troops maintained Tshombe's position in Katanga, he was their puppet. He stated on 21.7.60 that "If Belgium does not want to lose the fruits of 80 years work in the Congo she must recognise our independence. If she does not do this our riches will be lost to the free world for ever."

The Congo Government appealed to the United Nations against Belgian aggression.

On July 7th, 1960 U.N. Security Council recognised the sovereign independence of Congo. On July 14th, 1960, U.N. adopted a resolution calling for the withdrawal of invaders and authorising military assistance to *SUPPORT THE LEGAL CONGO GOVERNMENT*.

U.N. military action in the Congo was one of backing all and sundry. Franco-British financial interests were not happy with U.N. action, and promptly set about sabotaging the whole affair hence the resignation of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien; who raised such a stink that 3 Deputies were suspended from the Dail in Ireland for asking for a debate on his statement. The United Nations left the Congo in June 1964 on a technical knockout.

The Congo has been a cesspool of intrigue since 1960. Lumumba was murdered, Tshombe was thrown out, varying factors have struggled against each other, all to the detriment of the Congolese people. Hunger and disease have spread like wildfire.

In January this year was a full-scale revolt in one of the provinces. It was led by an ex-minister of the Lumumba Government. This revolt spread so quickly that the American magazine *Time* on August 14, had to admit "Slowly but surely the country is slipping out of the Government's grasp. In the seven months since the current wave of revolt began in Kwilu Province, various rebel bands have captured fully a third of the nation."

This situation could not be tolerated by outside vested interests particularly America who were strongly backing Adoula the reigning premier, who couldn't muster a majority in his own parliament. In July of this year Tshombe was brought back—the stooge returned, he was so desperate he freed his bitterest left-wing opponent Antoine Gizenga. Tshombe failed to get support even from Gizenga so the Congo had to be conquered by force to become part of the "free world". The Congolese National Army have had enough fighting, Tshombe has to be propped up by well-paid mercenaries recruited from South Africa. Military equipment and money for this imperialist adventure comes from the United States. With the American's supporting Tshombe as the counter-revolution, the rebels have to be supported by the Chinese, this keeps the book straight. Both sides have a stake in this bloodbath, America wants to save Congo for the "Free World" and China wants the "glorious" influence of "Communism" to spread. What havoc, misery and murder occur in the process, this is the price the Congolese people have to pay, they have no choice.

Stanleyville—one can only express sympathy for all those who were killed

and injured. And for the Congolese still alive, their Hell continues with the possibilities of a typhoid epidemic.

Human beings have gone made in the Congo and will do so again unless some sort of cure is attempted. The Congolese in the final analysis are the only people who can solve their problem and they can only do this when the army supporting the vested interests are kicked out with all the trappings of the power-seeking politicians.

Suez, Sharpeville and now Stanleyville, this is the kind of progress we are making in 1964 plus half-a-dozen was going on to prove we are really civilized. If we really sit and think for a minute we must realise how we, the Joe Soaps, in every country are being literally murdered both spiritually and physically by the system we tolerate. In a few weeks time around December 25th, we shall be treated to "Good will to all men" and all that jazz, but on December 27th, the murder starts again, and will continue as long as we tolerate and accept it.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

DOCKERS—A CRITICAL TIME

The first report of the Devlin Inquiry averted the official dock strike called for December 1st. Both the employers and the unions have accepted this report, which gives the portworkers rises of 19/2d. for timeworkers and 5% for pieceworkers. The unions were claiming 25/- and 5%, respectively while the employers offered only 12/6d. and 3 1/2%.

The report rejects certain points that the employers made, namely that the dockers' "average" wage compared favourably with workers in other industries and because of the reduction in hours, this has meant that all dockers have continued to work the same amount of hours, but more being at overtime rates. The report says that the dockers' wages have fallen behind those of other workers and that the four hours reduction has meant that more men were taken on at the "proving attendance" and this has actually reduced working hours. It also says, "We therefore conclude that the employers were able to absorb the effect of the reduction in hours by a more effective use of their labour force without an increase in overtime working."

The employers had based their case mainly on this issue of overtime working, for although the dockers have not received a national pay award for 2 1/2 years, the employers claimed that the two reductions in hours, the 42-hour week starting in August 1962 and the

40-hour week of July this year, had in fact meant a pay increase and so they could only offer 12/6d. and 3 1/2%.

The portworkers came out of the inquiry with an average increase in that over a 2 1/2 year period, it conforms to the "norm" of 4 or 5%. Even if an official strike had taken place, it is unlikely that the figures would have been exceeded, for the union leadership were in favour of accepting the employers' last offer but this was turned down by the dockers' delegates. There had been strong rank and file pressure all through the negotiations, but it seems that there was not the support for further action to gain the full 25/-.

There are two other inquiries which commence in the New Year, these being "Decasualisation" and "Causes of dis-sension in the Industry and other matters affecting the efficiency of working". The issue of decasualisation is one on which the docker could stand to lose. Plans for this, drawn up and agreed on by the employers and the unions, have already been rejected, but in this the employers see their chance of bringing the individual worker into a more controlled position and reducing his traditional freedom.

At the present time, the majority of dockers hire themselves out each day, sometimes working on cargoes from which high rates of pay can be earned and sometimes not. Some days he

might not even be picked out and will only receive his "attendance money". With decasualisation he will work for one employer. This could break down the solidarity which exists among the dockers, and although they may have regular work, it could mean a smaller pay packet and worse working conditions. But these are questions which must be decided upon by the dockers themselves and not by Courts of Inquiry, employers or union leaders, who in some cases have never unloaded a cargo in their lives.

The next few months will be a critical time for portworkers. Over the past few months there has been continual publicity given to the question of congestion in London's docks, "restrictive practices", "unofficial strikes", etc. These things are seen as handicaps to what is called "our vital need to export more". The new Labour Government seems far more anxious to do something about this, but will it be at the expense of the portworkers' pay and conditions? Any encroachment on these must be resisted.

With the trade union leadership being unwilling to rock the Government's boat, they will do their utmost to make their members accept agreements which are not beneficial. The rank and file must see that their interests are not sacrificed for those of the Government's policy and the employers' quest for higher profits. P.T.

ANARCHY 46

OUT NEXT WEEK, DISCUSSES

Anarchism AND THE Historians

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

(From our correspondent in Brazil)

THE trouble is that we cannot find the honest men left in Brazil to come into their own. The organizers of the coup of April 1st have now, it seems, fallen out; but anyone of consequence who has expressed publicly any socialist—even liberal—views has already had his political rights cancelled. (The List, which it is rumoured will soon be opened again, ran to 630). The most famous case is that of Celso Furtado, Brazil's most eminent economist, who, like any other economist who looks twice at Brazil's backward regions (i.e. 90% of it), has had some radical things to say about solutions. Down he went on the list of notables to be deprived of their rights; this dangerous quasi-Communist was then given a top coordinating job in South America by a U.N. organization, and also was offered a post as professor in a University in the U.S. It is hard to see how Brazil benefits by obliging such men to live abroad. Writers, doctors, lawyers have gone with him, and, of course, politicians and trade union leaders. We do not, in fact, have any operative trade unions in Brazil at present, but candidates for new and cleansed unions are now being schooled and named by the President. With infiltration at 47% increase for half a year—and you worry in England about 3%—the complete lack of strikes is what strikes a European as uncanny. It strikes the President as healthy and necessary, however. He is also running a "You-ought-to-teach-THIS-way" course for teachers, whom he suspects of being a disturbing influence on children. In an ordinary school in Rio, one teacher whom I know was unwise enough to say to a class that perhaps the coup ("golpe" is the beautifully descriptive Brazilian word) was not wholly for the good. Three days later she was hauled before a staff meeting and accused of being a Communist. The pupils (it was said) had accused her. In this sort of atmosphere, and with a long list of proscribed books—*War and Peace* was listed among the subversive property of a detainee—education is a muttered affair, especially as teachers are pushed around and underpaid in Brazil anyway.

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IN BRAZIL 'SON OF REVOLUTION'

On the public scene, the *golpe* leaders have it very much their own way, particularly since they successfully cancelled the rights of Juscelino Kubitschek, the most likely President-to-be in 1965. It is only human, I suppose, that they should quarrel among themselves. The interesting thing is why they have quarrelled.

Since April, inflation, far from being slain with the dragon Communism, has flourished even more luxuriantly than before. There have been no improvements in the supply of basic foodstuffs in Rio: rice and milk, for instance, frequently being unobtainable. Partly due to the government's brainwave of removing the subsidy on fuel, cost of transport has gone up a hundred per cent. Nonetheless, the Senate rubber-stamps all the military President has chosen to show it, and it is difficult not to believe that they would vote themselves certifiable lunatics if told to. In fact, to the naked eye, with all the power he has, the President seems to have done nothing except fight Communism from nook to cranny and very loudly, double the salaries of the army, and pay them (unlike anybody else) their back pay at once. That is, until recently Governor Lacerda of Guanabara (in which lies Rio de Janeiro) was one of the civil politicians who supported the *golpe*. He has been touring Europe to explain to you what the "Revolution" really means to Brazil; and also, say the cynical, to keep his aura clean while the stables are being cleaned out in Brazil, so that he can come up as Presidential candidate in 1965 pure as the driven Omo.

Governor Lacerda raised no criticism of inflation, or the cancelling of political rights, or of the convenient elimination of his chief opponent for 1965, Kubitschek. He said nothing about the supply of food in Rio, perhaps because he bears some responsibility for it, or about the ciphers in the Senate, or about the palmy days that have come to the military. (In the good old days we had toe-to-toe matches between him and President Goulart about Goulart's irresponsible paying of large salaries to the Federal police so as to denude Lacerda's lesser-paid State police force). As long

as the 'democratic reforms' which the 'Revolution' promised were nowhere to be seen, all the Revolutionary leaders, including Lacerda, could continue to promise them in unison.

Then came the day when the President presented the Senate with a programme of reforms; Land Reform (which had been studied carefully by a commission), Universal Vote (which means giving it to illiterates), Election of Sergeants (NCOs' right to put up for election to the Chamber of Deputies—a right which generals always appear to have had), and Prolongation of Presidential Term.

It is apparent that Governor Lacerda does not feel himself at one with the Land Reform (which he says is unpractical), with the extension of the vote (which he says is dangerous, and which, though at first granted, has now been rejected by an alarmed Chamber of Deputies) or with the election of sergeants (a demand which, after all, was one of the chief things the army brass used to prove that Goulart was Communist). But what lashed him into a real rage—and into sending an immense telegram in which he resigned from leadership of his party, which had voted for everything in the parliament—was the prolongation of the Presidential term. Castelo Branco will now be with us (as the cynical forecast long ago) for at least another year. Governor Lacerda's chance to parade his Omoed image before the telly camera is postponed until 1966. This gives the opposition to him, of course, a chance to rally and mount another candidate, maybe even an honest one, to replace Kubitschek. In his bitterness and disillusion Sr Lacerda went so far as to say that he was fed up of this revolution and would be glad when the next one came.

Of the other civil leaders who still have the sunlight of the Revolution in their hair, Magalhães Pinto, millionaire director of the Bank of Minas Gerais (and Governor of that State), has pronounced himself 'perplexed' by the movements of Governor Lacerda; Adhemar de Barros, who is in serious danger of being impeached in his home state, and whose dishonesty is a byword in the country, is keeping more quiet, pre-

sumably in the hope that if enough Presidential candidates blot their copy-books, he himself will be able to sweep to a popular victory, with his programme of unlimited gambling casinos (in which he would presumably have an interest), for all cities. The position of the candidate Sr. Zarur, who has his own radio programme with a hidden choir and organ as background while he communes with Christ, is, as usual, practisedly vague but it probably looks from his platform as if God is scattering his enemies. There is quite some need for constructive opposition to President Castelo Branco, if only because he, and his various Generals, who rule, in fact if not in name, a number of the several States of the nation, seems to be getting away with murder. Recently the Governor of Amazonas decided to increase the indirect taxation in the State (indirect being the most inequitable type of taxation, and in a land where avoiding income tax is a national morality which the rich can most easily live up to) and was faced, surprisingly, by a State senate which rejected his demands. He thereupon dismissed the State Senate, and when the two newspapers of his capital city criticized this action, he confiscated them. Next, the leader of the senate spoke at a large public meeting, where he was efficiently arrested, by the Governor's order. In Rio, we are not that much disciplined, but this week the *Private Eye* of Brazil, an irreverent, bawdy and sometimes childish left-wing magazine called *Pif-Paf*, disappeared from the bookstalls after the State police had (belatedly) read its last page, which was a warning to the Governor to stop interfering with the freedom of journalists to say what they want.

This very governor is Sr. Lacerda, and we therefore ponder whether he is a fitting replacement, in 1966 or at any other time, for Castelo Branco as President. Sr. Lacerda is an ex-journalist; he is also an ex-Communist. Later, when he had seen the light, he scandalized family-loyal Brazil by denouncing his father to the police (for being a Communist), and his virulent abuse of all the Presidents and dictators Brazil has had for years has been a colourful feature of public life. The one solution that seems to commend itself to him is his own election, but, though he has run Guanabara State with vigour and some honesty (incidentally *highering* the taxes to a level greater than anywhere else in Brazil) it must be doubted whether he has the stability of character or the quality of diplomacy required for a President. He is given to extraordinary outbursts of temper, and wept on television after the *golpe*. His face is the pale, bespectacled face of the unhealthy, over-serious, driving fanatic; small-featured, taunted, thin-lipped. One cannot judge presidential candidates by

phenology, but his recent speeches and acts ring like temper and ambition rather than statesmanship or concern for reform. As for his claims to an honest administration, they are Brazilian claims: there are people, not yet 'established', in his Civil Service, who have received no pay at all since April last. The State government has had authorization from the Bank of Brazil (the usual excuse for delay) to pay, but is dragging its feet, presumably because the value of the cruzeiro falls daily, and so, in fact, the State's payment to its employees will become less and less in real value the longer it can wait. Meanwhile these employees try to live on their families, for the Banks fulfil a classically capitalistic role: they will accept money from small men, but lend only to big ones.

So, given the centripetal junta of the *golpe*, to whom do we look to be saved? It would take a bold man, and preferably a bold Brazilian, to say whether our squat, ugly President, who has mooted Land Reform and Election of Sergeants, is genuinely reformist—whether a military can be reformist—and whether any reformist in Brazil can possibly get his measures put into practice. He certainly seems to know how to lose friends and disillusion people: he has by now lost the support of the left wing and of Lacerda's right; and there never was a centre in Brazil. There is, however, a great yearning for an honest, fearless, reformist leader, and if Castelo Branco can manage to look like one of these animals, he will have a ready-made 'party' of his own. A lot depends, too, on the friendliness and loose pursae of the U.S. But it is my guess that there is little hope for a Brazil denuded and silenced of independent-minded professors, liberals, intelligentsia; a Brazil liable all the time to blatantly silly decrees like the recent enforced withdrawal of the film "7 Days in May" presumably because it dared to suggest that a President may be wrongly opposed by a military junta.

There are, of course, compensations to living in Brazil. We have the privilege and freedom of another year or more with an election campaign, so scoring over both the U.S. and Britain. If the Right comes to the worst, we can lie on Rio's beaches and, though we are within sight of informal sorts of garrisons from the military 'fort' at Copacabana, the soldiers, being Brazilian, are congenitally placable; and no-one, not Castelo Branco nor Lacerda nor even Goulart, issuing his speeches from Uruguay, has talked of making Brazilian H-bombs. And the attitude to the Space Race is summed up by the jest at the time of the American probe at the moon; that the rocket took its photo of the dark side, which proved to have a placard on it saying, "Go home, Americans."

Some Thoughts on Violence

and vile are, to the loud ringing of cash registers, continually dwelt upon as though they, and they alone, constitute 'reality'. In its way the new mental climate is just as half-baked and dishonest as that of pre-war with its comfortable middle class illusions.

France is an example of just how hypocritical attitudes to violence can be. It is only just over twenty years since the French people knew the horrors of occupation with its deportations and murders. And then for nearly twenty years after the war the French Army, in S.E. Asia and North Africa committed atrocities which in both scale and beastliness made the German occupation of France, the Russian rape of Hungary and the Chinese seizure of Tibet seem tame. It is only three years since French C.R.S. police crushed the testicles of scores of Algerian demonstrators in a Paris street with the metal butts of their sub-machine-guns and either hanged from trees or drowned in the Seine forty Algerians whom they thought might be ringleaders. (Although English journalists were present and some were beaten up by the C.R.S. only about two English papers had the guts to carry the story.) In the face of such horrors one would think that the French people, with their memories of the 1940-1944 occupation, would show extreme revulsion. But no, this time it was 'their' army and police which was doing out the violence and someone else who was on the receiving end. But after all, it isn't only in France that people know that things are 'good' or 'bad' only in relation to whether they are done by 'our side' or 'the enemy'. And did not the French governments,

including the 'socialist' ones, say that the 'French cause' was the just one.

The only protests in France against French atrocities came from a small number of left-wing intellectuals and a smaller number of priests. The vast bulk of the population, more interested in the advent of that shabby delusion the 'affluent society' just didn't want to know. Some reservists did desert but this was because they objected to being recalled to the colours and not to the conduct of the war. While it is true that state censorship suppressed many of the facts about French military behaviour it never silenced the tough soldiery many of whom, like the paras, proudly recounted their overseas activities. At present the written military memoirs of such men are beginning to appear.

I singled out France because it offers such a clear-cut example but there are a great many other countries of which the same sort of thing could be said. But it is paradoxical, and the reasons have not yet been satisfactorily given, that at the same time as public attitudes to government organised violence—wars, foreign occupation, arms build ups—is becoming more apathetic, that the actual amount of violence within people's private lives is diminishing. The amount of cruelty to children and animals shows a marked decrease and attitudes towards law-breakers and the mentally sick have become more humane. Older people I have spoken to say that kindness and consideration, although still rare, are more prevalent than in their younger days. It is true that there is more violence from some sections of the community, particularly teenagers and criminal gangs but there can be no doubt

that the amount in the nation as a whole is declining. It is also true that there is a great deal of current interest in sadism and masochism but this seems to be largely vicarious. And if it is translated into deeds, then so long as it only involves consenting adults in private it does no harm. It is better that sadists and masochists relieve themselves on each other; if they can beat each other black and blue they are less likely to want to involve children or people who are not that way inclined. But the main sado-masochistic outlets are films and books. I recently saw a film *The Victors* which, though claiming to be an anti-war film and quoting Wilfred Owen, and though based on Alexander Baron's excellent collection of war short stories *The Human Kind* turned out to be simply a vehicle for sick horrors. Its main aim seemed to be to show how vile the human race can be, particularly in wartime. It showed coloured soldiers being knifed by racists while scores of their "comrades in arms" stand by doing nothing; men wishing to surrender being killed to satisfy an officer's revenge lust; a sensitive young soldier's dog being shot for a bet by brutal veterans; women being cold-bloodedly seduced and put on the streets and similar things. The only incident depicting kindness was when a wounded soldier fell asleep and awoke to find that an old working man had slipped ten shillings into his pocket. The audience thoroughly enjoyed the whole thing and the film was a re-showing to meet "popular demand" as the management phrased it. Also shown was a five-minute trailer of a James Bond film during which I counted about a score of homicides mostly by ingenious and particularly unpleasant means. This trailer had the audience jumping in their seats and there were long queues the following week.

AUTOMATION & ANARCHISM

IN his fifth Reith lecture on the "Age of Automation", last Sunday, Sir Leon Bagrit suggested that "Automation could end the division of the world into capitalist and Communist systems, for with the "golden era" of plenty which automation could bring, traditional political ideas based on shortage would become outdated". This it seems to us to be the utopian dream of one who believes that machines can solve problems which are man-made, which are social and political as well as being economic. It is the marxists who stressed that all Man's problems were economic, and the age of automation may well in the not so distant future, disprove yet another marxist dogma.

"From a battle for possession of wealth, Sir Leon explained—we are moving into an era where we shall be much more concerned with the means of exploiting our technical resources—and then with the organisation of society for the greatest good". If this were automatically true, it is difficult to understand why existing technical resources in the world, which are considerable, are not being fully used, though needs are growing every day in the world, and that it is clear that there is no conscious move on the part of those who possess the wealth and/or the power to gear our present productive capacity for the "greatest good" of society. The application of automation to many productive operations obviously does offer the technical possibility of a world society based not on toil but on leisure but there is absolutely no guarantee that mankind as a whole will benefit, in the sense of living fuller lives with material security, so long as the power-class-structure of capitalist society subsists.

The problem in the world today is first and foremost one of distribution of wealth. Automation simply pro-

vides a technical means of increasing the production of wealth, but for the same reason that production today is restricted to a level which is profitable for those who control the means of production, so tomorrow under automation the same criterion will apply. And the fact that Sir Leon considers automation will create a new technological class on a world-wide scale, is evidence enough, to this writer, that he has overlooked (or simplified) the basic problems which divide mankind not into "capitalist and communist systems" (would that half the world were truly communist!) but into rulers and ruled.

We cannot be impressed by the idea of a technological class on a world-wide scale any more than we would advocate world-government or are encouraged by the growth of international financial and industrial corporations. Anarchists are internationalists as well as anti-Monopolists in every sphere of human activity.

Automation is no panacea for the ills that beset mankind. If anything it emphasises the fact that human skill and invention has put within our reach the technical means to ensure that every human being on this planet shall not go hungry, shelterless or cold. It invalidates the Malthusian argument for war, famine and pestilence as necessary checks to population growth but it does not in fact automatically remove these scourges from our midst. We shall only make proper use of our skills, our machines, our natural resources and produce for needs on a world scale when we succeed in solving the problem of distribution. Sir Leon Bagrit puts his trust and feeds his hopes into the Computers of tomorrow; anarchists think it can only be done through a social revolution made by the people for all the people.

50 Days of Dynamic Inaction

Continued from page 1
tucked away why doesn't he call in all currency and replace it with new currency. With what doesn't come in he could pay for the printing of the new currency as well as giving the rest to the pensioners! These are not, we hasten to add, anarchist measures but the measures Mr. Wilson could surely take if he were prepared to challenge the moneyed powers that be within the rules of the capitalist game!

He could, for instance halve the defence budget overnight just as he increased the petrol tax and the import levy, and pay the workers affected by the cuts full pay to stay at home and still have millions of pounds to play with. After all, if he recognises that the British nuclear deterrent is a waste of valuable resources why assume that British conventional weapons can be a more effective form of defence? The part has never been greater than the whole, and if the H-bomb is the last word in human annihilation, and the U.S. and Russia possess it in sufficient quantities to destroy humanity many times over, why waste valuable resources on conventional weapons, mere pea-shooters, when we could use the same resources to build houses, and hospitals, and playgrounds and schools?

Instead, the Wilson government, in spite of its intention to drop the "independent deterrent"—as the

H-bomb is referred to, is proposing to maintain the present spending of £2,000 million a year on defence. The "dynamic action" we are expected to recognise lies in the fact that because expenditure will not be increased it means that relatively speaking, in view of the increased cost of living, and of materials, it represents a cut in "defence" expenditure. We hope that even Party members will not be fobbed off by such half-measures!

★
AGAIN, the Labour Party promised to finance its minor economic utopia out of a 4 per cent. growth in production. Their Tory predecessors managed no more than 2½ per cent. It is a myth that either Tories or Labour really want increased production. What they want is increased productivity which will make certain goods more competitive in world markets, and this will balance payments as well as making possible wage increases without affecting profits.

For our needs we work quite enough. The problem is that we spend too much time producing useless things (however profitable they may be for the boss) and engaging or paying for equally useless services. Any socialist who was not concerned with playing the capitalist game, would know that the first problem to tackle is WASTE—wasted effort, wasted raw materials,

It was noted that Crappers of Chelsea, suppliers of sanitary wares once 'by Royal appointment' no longer flaunts a coat of arms. Debre's steerage was however augmented by the presence of two gentlemen who gave up their seats on the parliamentary bus for Mr. Cousins and Mr. Gordon Walker. Mrs Henry Brook and Mr. Fenner Brockway who said, "I shall be a very reluctant peer. When the Prime Minister invited me to accept a peerage, I said 'I profoundly dislike privileges and titles'. He replied that it was not a title he was offering me, he was asking me to serve in a sphere of work for the party and Socialism. In that spirit, I agreed to go to the Lords, but I shall retain the name Fenner Brockway outside Parliamentary activities". . . .

THE POPE met President Radhakrishnan of India and conferred upon him the knighthood of the Order of the Golden Spur, the highest decoration conferred by the Pontiffs on non-Christian heads of state. He also gave the President a cheque for about £18,000 for the poor in India. The tiara previously planned to be sold for the benefit of the Indian poor has been handed over to Cardinal Spellman for an American shrine in recognition of America's help to the needy nations. The Pope also sent £1,785 to the widow of a photographer who fell from a lorry when photographing the Pope's visit. A Hindu religious leader called on the Pope to hand over to the Hindus one of India's principle Marian shrines, it is claimed that the shrine was erected over a dismantled temple of Duiga Devi. The Central Executive of the All-India Association of Indian holy men urged respect for the Pope as India's guest, but said that Christian missionaries should not exploit India's tradition of tolerance to convert innocent and uneducated people to Christianity by coercion and allurements. Father Hans Kung, a Catholic theologian suggested that more and better thinking was necessary on the basic issue of Papal infallibility "Perhaps we will find some more comprehensive concept, one which will better express at one and the same time the strictly binding character and



the profoundly fragmentary character of the doctrinal pronouncements of the Church". . . .

A MOTORIST at Mumbles, Swansea noted that a "No Waiting" sign on the road was the wrong colour and when fined for parking won an acquittal on those grounds. The sign has been that colour for four years. The Ministry of Transport started preparations for a by-pass at Stratford St. Mary, Suffolk on land it does not own. Hedges were cut down, but the owner has now received an apology from the Ministry for the "clerical error". The Automobile Association in Glasgow has asked motorists to ignore any telephone calls from the police requesting them to report to the police station to be formally booked for parking offences. *The Police Review*, states that powers taken by the police to hold the passports of persons on bail have no legal sanction. Three men were given free pardons for allegedly possessing offensive weapons in 1959 for which they served 28 days imprisonment. An inquiry dismissed the Metropolitan police report upon the case as "neither thorough nor impartial". . . .

A JURY took 6½ hours at Winchester Assizes to reach a verdict of "not guilty" on a non-capital murder charge. The accused claimed that he had seen a man take a young girl towards the lavatory where the body was found. Mr Sydney Silverman introduced a private

member's bill to abolish hanging for murder and substitute imprisonment. He has been promised a free vote on this and the bill is expected to get through the House of Commons. However it is not likely to get through the House of Lords and as it is a Private Member's bill the Government is not forced to use its powers to carry it against the wishes of the Lords, particularly since public opinion polls still report that public opinion is still in favour of hanging. . . .

IT IS REPORTED in the *Catholic Worker* that Robert Stroud (the bird-man of Alcatraz), failed to get necessary medical attention for a heart-attack on the night he died. When the prison shift-change was made the oncoming officers were told that the doctor-on-duty was to be reached to attend to Robert Stroud. The matter was ignored and again ignored at 1 a.m. when Stroud again asked for a doctor. Stroud made his way back to his cell and roused a friend who he told he thought that he was dying and told him to try and get the doctor. Next morning Robert Stroud was found dead and the doctor-on-duty said it was the first he heard of the matter. Copies of the *Catholic Worker* and the *Peacemaker* containing this news in a letter from Paul Salstrom were confiscated and banned in Lewisburg (Penn.) Federal Prison. It has been suggested in Parliament that the body of Sir Roger Casement hanged as an English traitor (or an Irish patriot) should be returned to Ireland. A screw doubts if this would be possible since the body was buried (as is the custom) in quicklime hosed with water which, it is claimed would leave only bones indistinguishable from the many in the grounds of Pentonville prison. . . .

JAPAN is to give the highest decoration it can award to a foreigner to General Curtis Le May, Chief of staff to the United States Air Force. He is the man who directed the bombing of Japan during the war, including the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The award of the Grand Cordon of the First Order of the Rising Sun, is to mark his services to Japan in helping to establish a modern air force. . . .

JON QUIXOTE.

STUDENT LIFE

No Contraceptives in the Redbricks

NOVEMBER was "down with contraceptive month" as far as the provincial universities were concerned. The clamp-down of the Keele University authorities, on the selling of contraceptives in the Student's Union Shop, was followed fairly quickly by the news that Leeds and Hull students had both rejected the sale of contraceptives on Union premises. The Leeds referendum resulted in a two to one victory of those who wanted to retain pregnancy as a sanction against sex, while the debate that took place at Hull saw an equally depressing result; a vote of 360 to 180 against the sale of contraceptives on Union premises.

The Hull debate, from which the press were excluded, was of course not conclusive. Christian organisations within the University had a three line whip out on their supporters, and the hall was crowded with the grey, stern faces of

wasted production, wasted services. In one fell swoop, we would work less, we would import less raw materials and useless goods and produce more things we need.

But this is not power politics. And even though Mr. Wilson, the man, is not like his predecessors, and did not take a valet on his trip to the United States because "he cleans his own shoes" (and we are the first to genuinely applaud his retort), the fact remains that for his talks with the American President he took 30 advisers. Such conversations are not about the day to day issues that matter to the ordinary man, and which, given an opportunity, he is quite able to deal with himself, but issues which have a special interest for the bankers and the merchants of death. The Press in their "background" material told us all about his non-existent valet. If they have any political acumen and do not underrate our intelligence they should at least use their great abilities as "peeping-Toms" to tell us who the thirty advisers were. Then, we would have some idea as to what the government was about.

those who had never attended a debate before and were there merely to ensure that those who did not share their repressive morality did not succeed in removing God's major sanction against extra-marital sex—the risk of pregnancy. Those present were treated to highly-coloured pictures of drunken male students dragging off helpless and equally drunken girls to bed, and storms of applause greeted such remarks as "The only effective oral contraceptive is the word No!".

Nevertheless one or two voices of sanity and freedom could be heard. One young woman, supporting the motion, said that she would infinitely prefer to be fitted with a cap, but due to the regulations governing the advertising and running of clinics she did not know where she could go to get one. (She was told, privately, afterwards). However such voices were generally drowned in the purple ocean of those, making great play with the failure rates set out in the *Which* Report, who chose to paint horrific pictures of the VD epidemic and rash of pregnancies that would result from the greater availability of contraceptives.

The most interesting aspect of the debate, and one that, perhaps, makes the picture seem less bleak than it might otherwise appear, was that very few of the speakers chose to argue that pre-marital sex was morally wrong. Those who spoke against the motion mainly seemed to be concerned with the adverse effect such sales would have on University—Town relations (the people of Hull, apparently manage to limit their birth-rate by some other means) and the

dangers of encouraging promiscuity among the innocent teenagers who came to the university knowing nothing of the wicked ways of the world. This does suggest that the sexual revolution has not come completely to a halt, merely that its momentum has slowed. Many of the speakers accurately pointed to the appalling amount of sexual ignorance among the younger students and called for an educational campaign on sex and contraception within the university. Some students have therefore decided to take these speakers at their word and a working committee has been set up to decide on the best methods of advising young people on sexual problems and contraceptive methods. It remains to be seen whether or not the University authorities will allow this committee to function. If they do not, then the probability is that pamphlets will be produced along the lines of "Spies For Peace", which will give the required information to those who desire it. But any scheme is certain to meet with considerable opposition from the students themselves. For many of them seem to have the attitude of one young woman who said to me: "If we think that sex outside marriage is morally wrong, as I do, then we have a moral duty to prevent all of you from indulging in it".

Although such speakers may be in a minority, even among those who voted against the motion, they will certainly have the backing of the authorities in their attempts to keep sex in its moral corner—as an unpleasant necessity for the reproduction of human beings.

JOHN MICHAELS.

... and no gratitude in Essex

The newly formed University of Essex Anti-Blood Sports Association has the backing of the Students' Council, and aims to stage peaceful non-violent demonstrations at hunts in Essex and Suffolk, to petition the local MP (a Mr Buck!) for the banning of blood sports, to canvass local farmers to ban hunting on their land—and to start all this just as the hunting season gets into its swing.

Complaining about the threatened direct action and propaganda, the joint master of the Essex and Suffolk Hunt

moaned: 'It is a great pity that the University should have launched an attack on local field sports after so short a time in the district, and after the district has done so much to help them get established.'

First we should point out that local worthies are always the local businessmen who know that a University in a town is good for business, and anyway—they want the young people to think for themselves, don't they? Well, don't they?
P.S.

The Apprentices' Struggle

The question of the recognition of full union negotiating rights for apprentices is one of the points in the unofficial "Apprentices' Charter" which is likely to be gained in the near future, but the four weeks' annual holiday with pay and the abolition of compulsory night-work have been rejected by the employers.

There has been a certain amount of dissension among the apprentices. This showed up at the A.E.I. factory at Trafford Park, Manchester, where their strike committee, or at least part of it, issued a leaflet calling for a return to work. This was rejected by the apprentices and the strike continued. There are also two committees calling themselves the National Committee of Ap-

prentices and there is this other strike which is being organised for next March. There are signs that the struggle is spreading to other industries. The apprentices in the building industry in London are joining in and the support of the adult unofficial grouping, the Joint Sites Committee, has been gained.

Both the Trotskyites and the Communists have been pushing their party lines in the strike movement. This could be the "kiss of death" to any hopes of gaining the points in the "charter". Time and time again these organisations have gained control, and if this has not been possible, they have attempted to smash them.

Industrial Youth has appeared again,

giving news of the strike. B.B. writes, "Don't let it be said that the apprentices couldn't organise a 'booze up in a brewery'. It was not just a strike on the menu! The industrial set-up cannot be complete without a united body of apprentices, be it official or underground. The apprentice committees formed this year or even this week must be kept! They are precious."

It is important that the organisation of apprentice committees continues, even though they have returned to work, in fact they should be extended to other factories and areas. At the same time, support should be gained from the adults. If the other points of the "charter" are to be gained, further action involving far more support will be needed.

Copies of *Industrial Youth* can be obtained from 15, Neston Road, Turf Hill, Rochdale, Lancs., price 2d. plus postage. P.T.

Some Thoughts on Violence

Continued from page 2

It seems that most men and women have a cruel streak somewhere below the surface but if it can find an outlet in the shadow world of films or in private bottom spanking sessions then it doesn't do much harm. And it is quite possible that the opening up of such outlets for people's violent instincts is one reason for the decrease in violence in other sectors of life such as schools, homes and prisons. The real big problem remains, however, and public attitudes to state violence, its tortures and atrocities and ultimate obscenity of the H-bomb, shows apathy and complacency. The reasons are not difficult to find: the inability to know what to do to combat the immense evils; the decline and near-death of that old watchdog—the liberal conscience; the mind-deadening that seems to be an integral part of modern mass civilisation so far as most people are concerned; and above all the belief, in soem ways true, that torture and H-bombs are inevitable in a world with both nation states and modern technology, to which state of affairs no one but the world governmenters and the more utopian anarchists can see any immediately practicable alternatives.

An essential first step when considering the problem of violence is to realise its hugeness and complexity. One fact that must be faced from the start is that obsession with, apathy towards, and the practice of violence is not a monopoly of ruling classes. Just as greed and narrow mindedness are as prevalent among workers as among bosses and as colour prejudice is as widespread among coloured people as among whites so the urge towards violence affects nearly everybody from whatever section of the community they spring. It has been an unfortunate thing that such elementary facts of life have been too unpalatable for some radicals and pacifists who seem to have built-in mental defence mechanisms which admit to their brains only those thoughts which do not disturb their cherished illusions. Will to violence or the more usual lack of will resulting in violence are present among people everywhere. R.J.

Notting Hill Anarchist Group

Secretary N.H.A.G., 5 Colville Houses, London, W.11. Open meeting. First Friday each month, 8 p.m., British Oak, Westbourne Park Road, W.2.

PROPOSED GROUPS

BRADFORD

Anyone interested in Anarchist discussion group and folk-singing contact Sid Frisbee, 100 Bierley House Avenue, Bierley, Bradford.

NORTH WALES

Anyone interested, get in touch with Richard Graham, c/o 26 Bryn Llwyd, Caernarvon Road, Bangor, Caernarvonshire.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

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

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

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ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

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

London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rost Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (near Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.

DEC 13 M. Goldman on: The revolution in contraception.

DEC 20 Social: All welcome.

DEC 27 No meeting Pagan rites.

JAN 3 Schleim Fanaroff on: Another look at Reich.

JAN 10 Philip Sansom Just Speaking.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

Birmingham Group

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

Bristol Federation

Irregular meetings—enquiries to c/o Martin Howells, 7 Richmond Dale, Clifton, Bristol 8.

Dundee Group

Contact Rod Cameron, 6 Westfield Place, Dundee.

Edinburgh Group

Monday, December 21st, 13 Northumberland Street, 7.30 p.m. Bill Jamieson "The Anarchism of Aldous Huxley".

Glasgow Federation

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

Hayes and District

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

Manchester Group

Meetings alternate Tuesdays. Details from Graham Leigh, 5, Mere Close, Sale, Cheshire.

Merseyside Federation

Enquiries: Vincent Johnston's, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

Tunbridge Wells Group

Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at J. D. Gilbert-Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex, 8 p.m.

Tyneside Federation

Enquiries: David Douglass, 6 Laski Gardens, Wardley, Gateshead, 10.

BRENT, MIDDLESEX

Enquiries to Jeff Nichols, 115 Slough Lane, Kingsbury, Middlesex.

BEXLEY, KENT

Enquiries to P. J. Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Bexley Heath, Kent.

CANADA

VANCOUVER, British Columbia

Monthly Forum—Last Sunday of each month. Enquiries to Bill Fletcher, 104 West 11th Avenue, Vancouver.

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

Orpington Anarchist Group

Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting, Sunday 6th December, 2.30 p.m. at "Greenways", Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson's.

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Anarchism & the Lunatic Right

IN a recent FREEDOM a correspondent pointed out that certain ideas held by anarchists are held by the lunatic right wing.

Surely this points to the fact that some anarchists are to say the least, confused.

Firstly, anarchists do not oppose the state for no other reason than the fact of its existence. Secondly, we do not only oppose the state. What we really oppose it a group of ideas, and these ideas are held very firmly by Barry Goldwater and Co.

We oppose the state, because we can never get the type of society we want while it exists. Therefore it follows that we do not oppose it just for the sake of opposition but because it personifies ideas that all humanitarians should oppose.

Barry Goldwater and Edward Martell represent those ideas probably even more than the states that we live in, but they of course are nowhere near as dangerous because they are not backed by the

power that the state has.

So it follows that the anarchist does not support these men because they represent ideas that are directly opposite from his own. It is not enough to be merely against something, one must be for something too. If we are against the state or capitalism, we will find that we have some strange bedfellows, for Sir Oswald Mosley is against private capitalism and even wants a form of syndicalism. What we must look at is the question of why these people want these things, what are their alternatives to the present system. If you see these, you see the difference.

The anarchist opposes the trade union movement as it stands now, because it's corrupt and has no socialist ideals, because it just asks for a slightly bigger part of the economic cake instead of demanding all of it for all the people. Martell on the other hand opposes the unions, because he wants the workers to get a rise in pay only when he chooses to give it and therefore wishes to employ only the docile.

The American anarchist may refuse to vote for the government for many reasons, but one may be the way that it has stalled over the civil rights issue. And also the fact that you cannot change what is in men's hearts by passing a law. The segregationist does not vote for the same government because they even pay lip-service to the civil rights issue.

As most of us have heard said before, "The capitalists may be bastards, but we must not believe it's raining just

because they say that the weather is fine". If you believe in something you must find agreement on some points with someone, even with your opposites in the political spectrum, but this doesn't mean anything.

Goldwater wants unlimited competition, we want unlimited co-operation and the state limits us both. Goldwater wants freedom for the strong to exploit the weak, we want freedom from exploitation for all. Goldwater wants responsibility (by this he means bootlicking), we want the people to take responsibility for running society, but in co-operation with each other. The difference is one of ends.

Jeff Robinson said last week that anarchism is about freedom (in answer to my article saying it was about co-operation), I disagree. I disagree because I believe that there can be no freedom without co-operation.

I would point out to those who believe otherwise, that even if a person builds his own house, digs his own garden, makes his own light, tools, spins his cloth to make his clothes, draws his own water from a well that he has dug with the tools that he has made. He is still dependent on the co-operation of others, for if they choose they could, hit him across the head, and take it all away.

We must co-operate to get rid of the Goldwaters and the state, and when and if we do this, we must carry on co-operating in order that the likes of them don't come back to lead us where they want us to go.

Socialism without freedom is tyranny. Freedom without socialism is dog eat dog (chaos). Therefore we must strive for free socialism or in other words anarchist-communism.

JACK STEVENSON.

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| Weeks 1-46 | 2,147 | |
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| | | 2,228 |
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| Weeks 1-46 (217) | 254 | |
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Contact Column

"The Anarchist"

Internal Bulletin of the movement still requires articles, letters, etc. to complete fifth edition. Send to Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23 as soon as possible as we wish to publish before Christmas.

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Help wanted to sell "Freedom", "Anarchy", "Direct Action", etc., outside West Croydon General Library. Saturday mornings 10.30 to 1 p.m. Want to cover Fairfield Hall too.

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"Say no to the M.L.F".
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Friends in Arcopagus would be delighted to hear from P. M. O'R. Mac is now at 40 Beckenham Hill Road, London, S.E.6.

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London

Accommodation Wanted
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If you wish to make contact let us know.