

16560 R

REASON



25c

april 1964



PICTURE: PLANET NEWS

CONTENTS

TENANTS FOR SALE. by T R CARNETT Page 4

Page 6

MAN ALIVE. Joan Brunner. Page 9

Page 10

POEM. Gwyn Williams. Page 17

Page 22

THE ALBANY GEORGIA EXPERIMENT. Bradford Lyttle. Page 25

Sally Joanson. Page 26

CREATIVE TOYS. Page 16

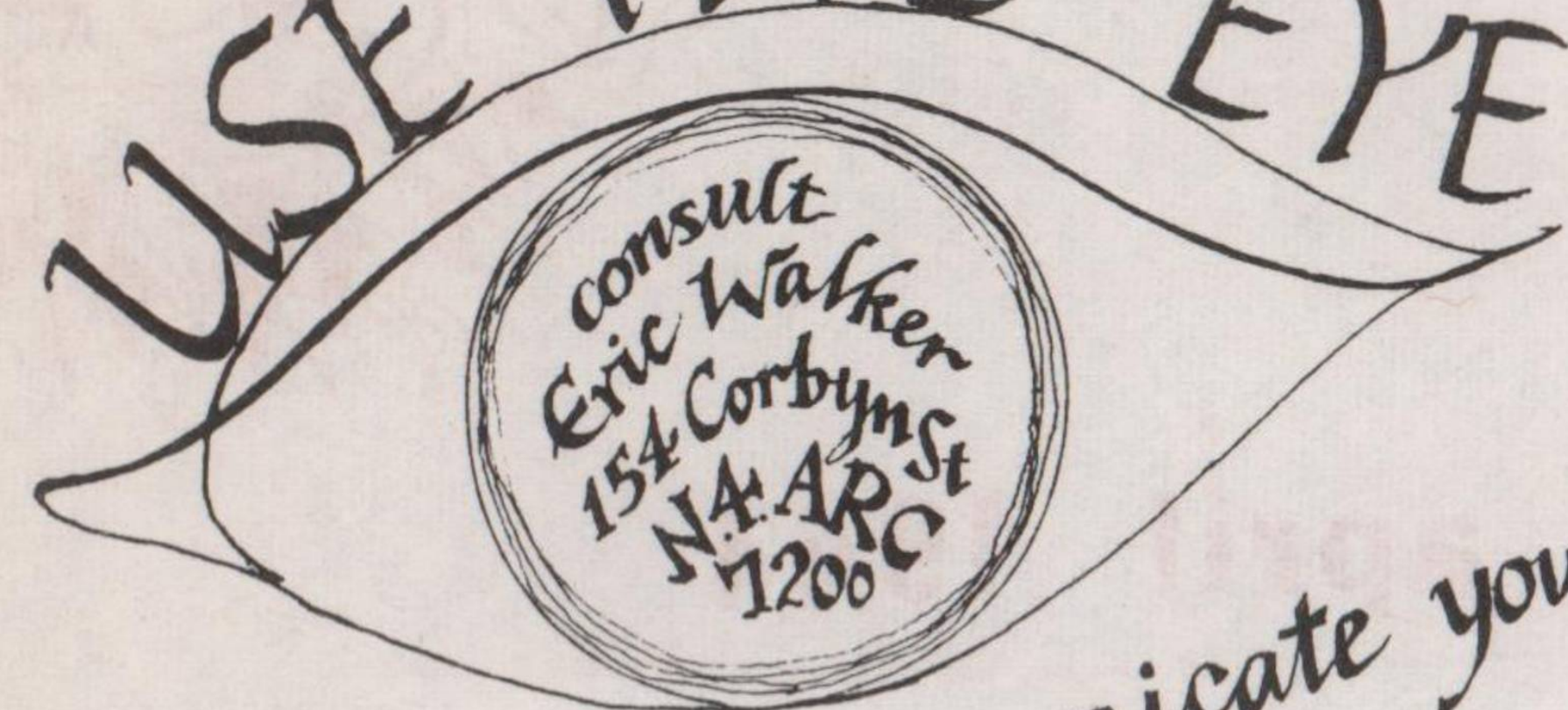
RADICAL POETRY. Robert Swan. Page 20

HANGING. Page 25

RADICAL NEWS FROM OXFORD. Page 25

THE PERFUMED ALLOTMENT. Page 25

USE THE EYE & EAR
 to communicate your message



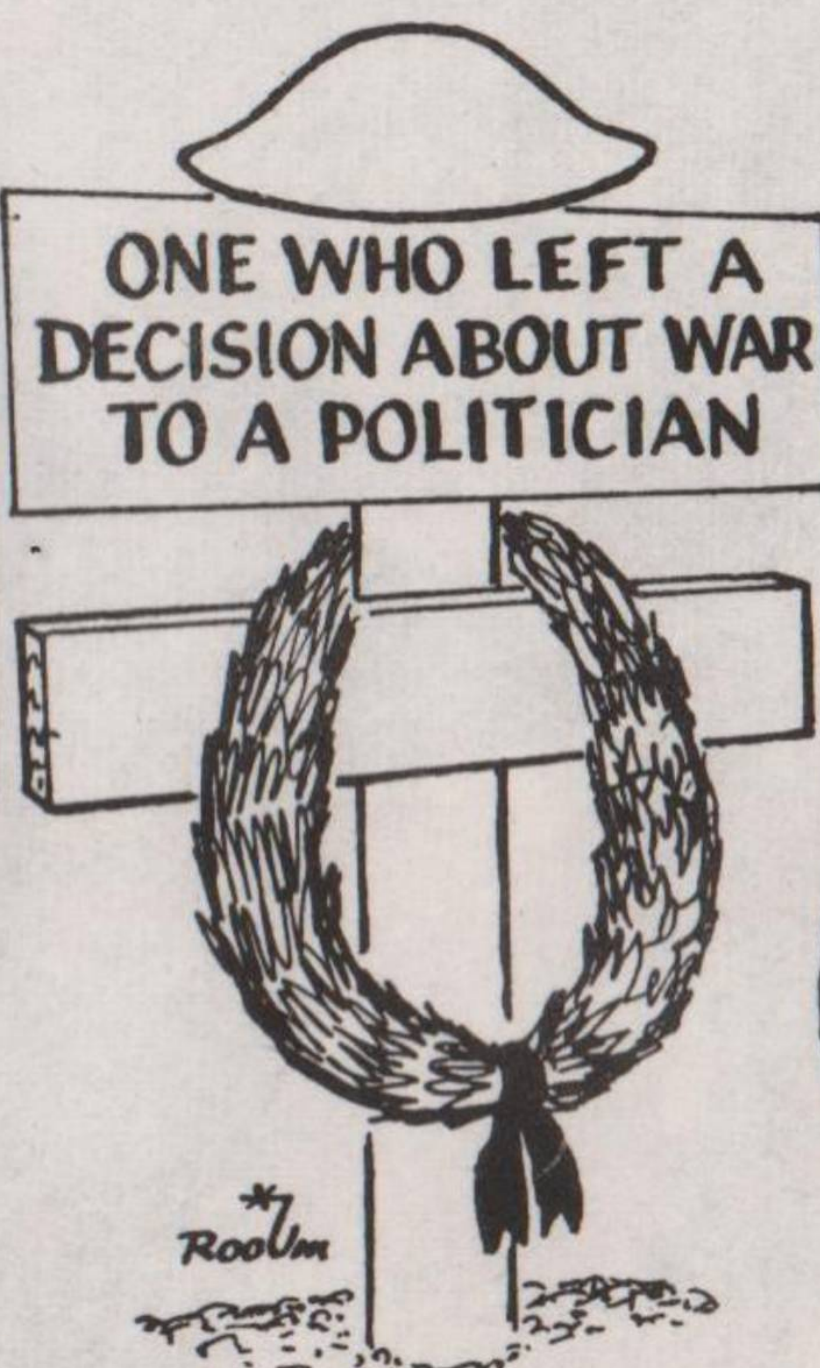
FOR FILMS, VISUAL AIDS, LOUDSPEAKERS

Peace News announces

Alternatives to nuclear policies
 Sightseeing at RSG 6



what a lovely War Mini
 Greek demonstrat
for Quee



offensive weapon (a piece of brick) when he appeared at Marlborough Street Court on August 8, before Mr. E. G. Robey.
 Room was framed by a police officer, Detective Sergeant Challinor, who placed a brick with Room's property when he arrested him, and claimed to have found it

"War is far too serious a business to be left to film critics." - Peregrine Worsthorpe on "Dr Strangelove," February 2, 1964.

A disturbing case

Bahhling Broo
 It couldn't happen in Britain...

price 6d
 (US 10 cents)

Peace News

an independent weekly

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Great Britain and abroad (sea mail) 3 months 9s.
 one year 35s. PN pamphlets add 10s p.a.

AIRMAIL EDITION

North Africa and Middle East 3 months 9s 9d.
 one year 38s.

Africa (except N), India, S.E. Asia 3 months

News American subscribers \$8.50 a year to Peace

News, c/o AFSC, North 15th Street,

Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Australia, New Zealand and Pacific 3 months

11s 9d, one year 46s.

Six monthly rates pro rata. Special trial subscription offer, see coupon.

please send

6 weeks

Peace News

post free trial

US: 10 weeks
 for 1 dollar **2s 6d**

I enclose

Name
 Block letters, please

Address _____

5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1. TER 4473



REASON

Naturally this magazine will discuss issues with emotion as well as reason, and will err on the side of feeling rather than pure intellect. We hope to avoid jargon; and we intend to leave obscure unrelated topics to the weeklies, with bigger circulations.

Our topics are related by a common theme: that of personal responsibility.

We hope that the sum-total of 'Reason' will suggest an alternative to violence - both in ordinary life and in that other world of 'politics' - and to organised vengeance both against the individual and against the arbitrary masses of individuals known as nations, whether under the name of morality, charity, honour - or plain expediency.

We shall publish articles which deal with these problems from the point of personal involvement, both through special knowledge and through practical experience. We welcome articles, poems and drawings from readers whose own interests make a contribution to our scope.

In this issue we have assembled a group representing the wide relevance of our theme, but we hope in later issues to deal with particular subjects in greater detail. Subjects such as conscription, the election, education and child care, racialism in its many forms.

We hoped to publish much more news of action and discussion going on, and we shall be glad to have any eyewitness reports or advance information you send us. We should also welcome help with the full exploitation of offset litho technique, and with the distribution and sales of the magazine.

- Ann Davidson
- Win Gardiner
- Dennis Gould
- Colin Johnson
- Sally Johnson
- Sarah McCalliskey

4 Benhams place,
 London NW/3
 SW1 3878

COVER PICTURE

Will Warren being removed from North Pickenham missile base, in Norfolk 6th December 1958. On that winter Saturday, in biting cold, a mere 50 members of the little known Direct Action Committee invaded Swaffham. The reception was rough, two demonstrators went to hospital with eye injuries. The demonstration continued the following day, after a night huddled in an open hut.

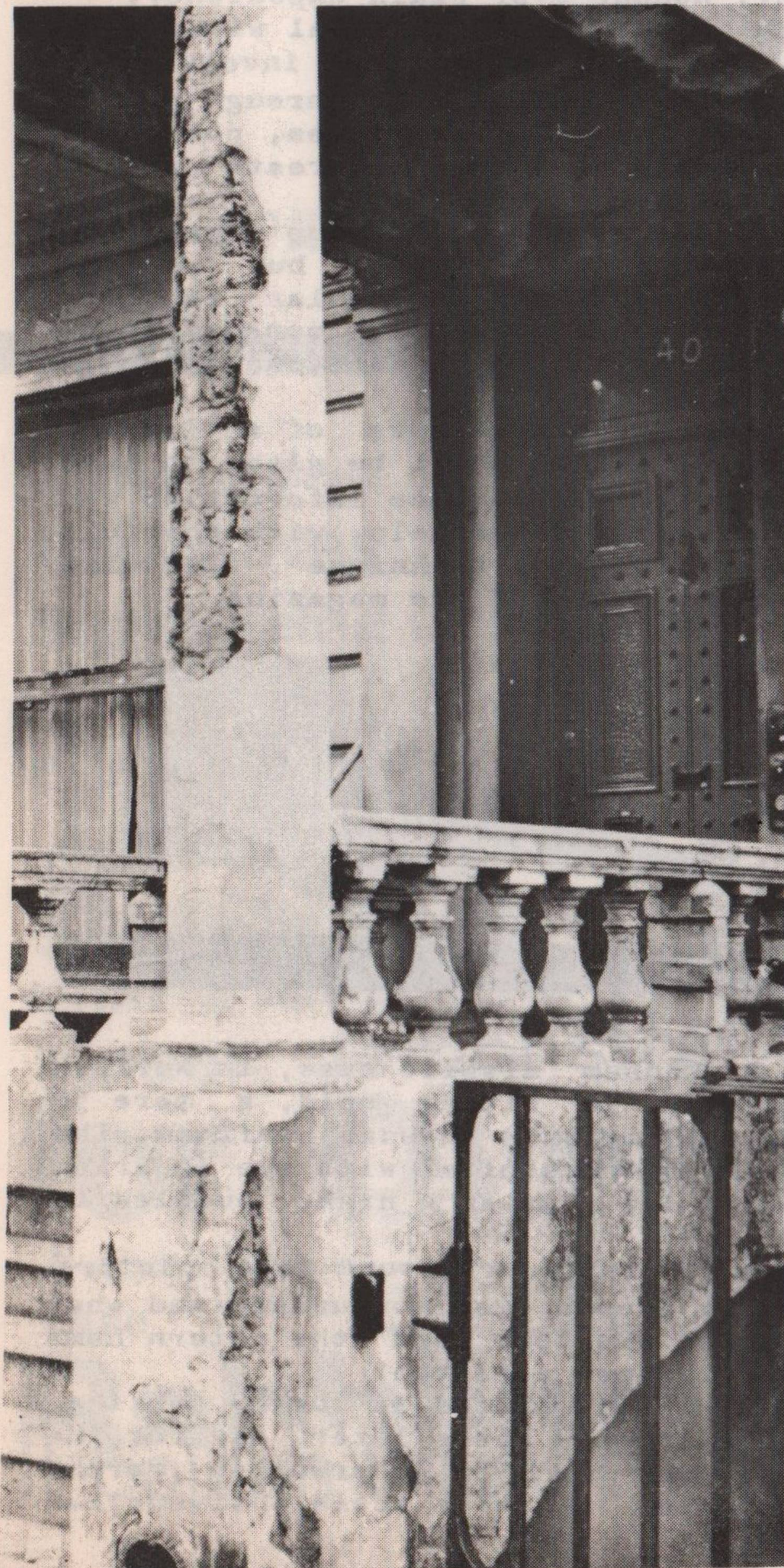
That Sunday morning, most householders found this picture on the front page of their newspaper. Few people even now understand what really happened that weekend, and to those who took part the return home seemed an anti-climax. Had anything really been achieved? The next few days' post gave the answer; support poured in both for the Direct Action Committee's next demonstration, two weeks later, and for the rapidly growing CND, who were to take over the 1959 Aldermaston March. From this picture more than any other, sprang the large scale anti-nuclear movement.

As the election approaches the arguments for and against rent control become more heated. Recently these have been pegged to the Rachman property scandals. But their validity is better tested in a cooler atmosphere and in less sensational circumstances, particularly those not bedevilled by racial prejudices.

TENANTS FOR SALE

During the last few weeks several elderly tenants in a modest street near the East London docks have had the following experience. First they were told that their small rent - controlled homes had been bought by new landlords who, as a property company, were just as faceless as any they had had before, but who would not be operating through the usual agents in Mayfair. A representative of the company then called upon them without warning, to their surprisingly mild annoyance, on a Sunday and among other things he told them that the rents would no longer be collected weekly but must be posted monthly, which to old people on pensions is a great inconvenience. It means that they cannot use the rent collector to carry urgent messages about broken gutters or collapsing floorboards but must write laborious letters themselves or send in one of the complicated repair forms provided under the Rent Act. Besides this, it is hard not to break into the accumulating rent money in the teapot and eventually to have to send it off on exactly the right day with the rent book. But worse quite often happens: the rent book may not come back for weeks and then be found to have arrears wrongly entered in it. Sometimes this is a genuine mistake; but sometimes, one strongly suspects, it is a form of intimidation aimed at getting nervous old people to leave their unprofitable homes.

These tenants were also informed that then one shilling per week rate reduction, made last April,



must once again be paid. And when they protested that they had taken advice and had been told that this shilling was not chargeable, the agent angrily replied that not to pay it would put the company in an embarrassing position as it had already offered the properties for sale again, and at the inclusive rents being charged.

A few days later two of the tenants received frightening letters from their landlords' solicitors alleging breach of tenancy in respect of subletting without permission, and commanding them to get rid of their subtenants forthwith. One of them had merely taken in some relatives twenty years ago, and as they had always lived with her as family, there was no subtenancy at all. In the other case permission to sublet had been given at the start of the tenancy, during the war. The solicitors, clearly bent on obtaining decontrol wherever possible for their clients, and using a now quite typical technique, have so far been successfully stalled. But the terror they have inflicted has gone deep.

The next blow was that the tenants, already paying overcharged rates, received rate demands from the borough council. This turned out to be understandable because the previous agents had not told the rates office the name of the new owners but only that of the holding company out of which no response could be got. Fortunately a Citizens Advice Bureau which the tenants had consulted, was able to supply the name of the new owners - a property company based mysteriously in a small town in Hertfordshire - because this had appeared on one of the rent books examined; and now the company has agreed to pay up.

The inclusive rents of these small and elderly properties, with no bathrooms, hot-water systems or indoor lavatories, are about £2 4s. 9d., a week. If the National Federation of Property Owners were to get its way and the controls for which it blames racketeering were removed, each house would fetch at least £12 a week (16 per floor) without any conversions, repairs, improvements or redecorations whatsoever. For in totally unattractive and overcrowded industrial districts, like this one, there is no need for a speculative landlord to spend a halfpenny in order to get very considerable short-term profits. But first the old people, who obviously could not pay such rents - and would certainly not get them paid by the National Assistance Board - would have to leave. And for what conceivable destination?

In a society which includes mounting millions of pension-dependant elderly people - and it is these who now form the great majority of protected tenants - total decontrol would mean chaos and suffering, particularly, in the form of homelessness, on a quite unmanageable scale: a point far too little considered by its advocates, whether property owners or economists. Only when there is, unimaginable, a small surplus of rentable accommodation for people of low earnings or on small fixed incomes would this not be socially disastrous. On the other hand while some properties are still rent-controlled and others not, and while the shortage remains worsens - so will the temptation to exploit, to intimidate and to trick people out of their rights. It is precisely because this temptation has proved on such a wide scale irresistible that increased rent control, though not on the same faulty pattern as we have known it, now looks like the only logical solution - short of course of a local authority takeover which could be the one effective means of rescue.

Meanwhile the elderly tenants in the East London back street wait, in what anxiety may be imagined, to hear who their next owners will be. They have come to think of themselves as being bought and sold along with the unpointed brickwork and the rising damp, in nameless and unwanted lots.

MAN ALIVE

This is an extract from an unpublished novel. John Brunner is the author of many science fiction novels, published in America, and of folk songs. He was one of the original members of CND.

By JOHN
BRUNNER

This sun brings people out childharassed and discouraged to struggle through the turnstiles and go and gawp and gape. Here all along the cars rank by the pavement and a bored policeman sees groups across the road at an intersection. Red buses disgorge their arkloads of people, eyes screwed up for the brightness of the day, who pass within to give the animals a chance to study human behaviour. The animals aren't for the most part interested, and that seems sensible. By the gate as close as may be without obstructing the crowd men offer bagged nuts and balloons with ears and cardboard legs attached and crude faces drawn on, or silvergrey zeppelins on sticks. One child there has a squalling whistle which the donor now knows to be a mistake. Experiment: remove whistle. Result: bawling louder than the squalling and nobody is satisfied.

In the line Max comes first to the ticket office and bows himself a little automatically although the roof is not so low it will knock him on the head. A fiver flourished with panache into the opening. "Six!"

"Max, no!"

"My idea. Inside you are my captive audience. I will lecture you on the habits of the animals. Nobody will listen to me if they are not obliged so I oblige you, do you understand? No nonsense. Six it is."

He stepped aside and told them off one by one with waves of the large hand not holding his change. As Hilda went by ahead of Micky with a slight unconscious sway of hip he whipped the hand down and smacked her trim behind making her squeal giggle and jump all at once. He laughed falling in beside Micky.

"Micky, I think I shall observe this specimen of homo the sap closely this afternoon."

"The sap is rising?"

"Most definitely. Now come on you lot!" striding ahead and waving like a mad courier. "First we will inspect the animals with horrible habits and I will lecture you on them. That object there is a fine

example. What is it?"

"Some sort of pheasant?" Hilda said half under her breath, moving closer to Micky perhaps for refuge from Max's ebullient prods. "Isn't it beautiful?"

"Gorgeous." Feathers incredibly long and of more colours than a rainbow: sheened metallic blue, tan, red, gold, olive, white, a sharp dark eye pointing the whole.

"Peasants! Yes, these are peasants. Lady Chatterley's peasants they are called after their discoverer and immortalised by D.H. Lawrence of pious memory." Rubbing his hands and shaking his beard Max halted before the cage. "Gather round children and Uncle Max will tell you the whole horrible bedtime story. Now the relationship between these peasants and their gamekeeper was one of mutual detestation and understanding. The peasants gave vent to the keeper's lusts - much to their dismay and discomfort. This was not altogether to his satisfaction, however, and consequently he changed from love to money as the object of his exercises and I'm sure you all know what that led to."

Arms on shoulders of Sally and Doreen Les screwed up his face and said, "Go on. Go on. Make us suffer."

"But you must know about the keeper and the dough?" Max said, and turned innocent baby-blue eyes on the five of them, a grin half buried in the thickness of his beard. He threw his head back and began to carol.

"And what he done to her you must go and look
Among the leaves of the green-O!"

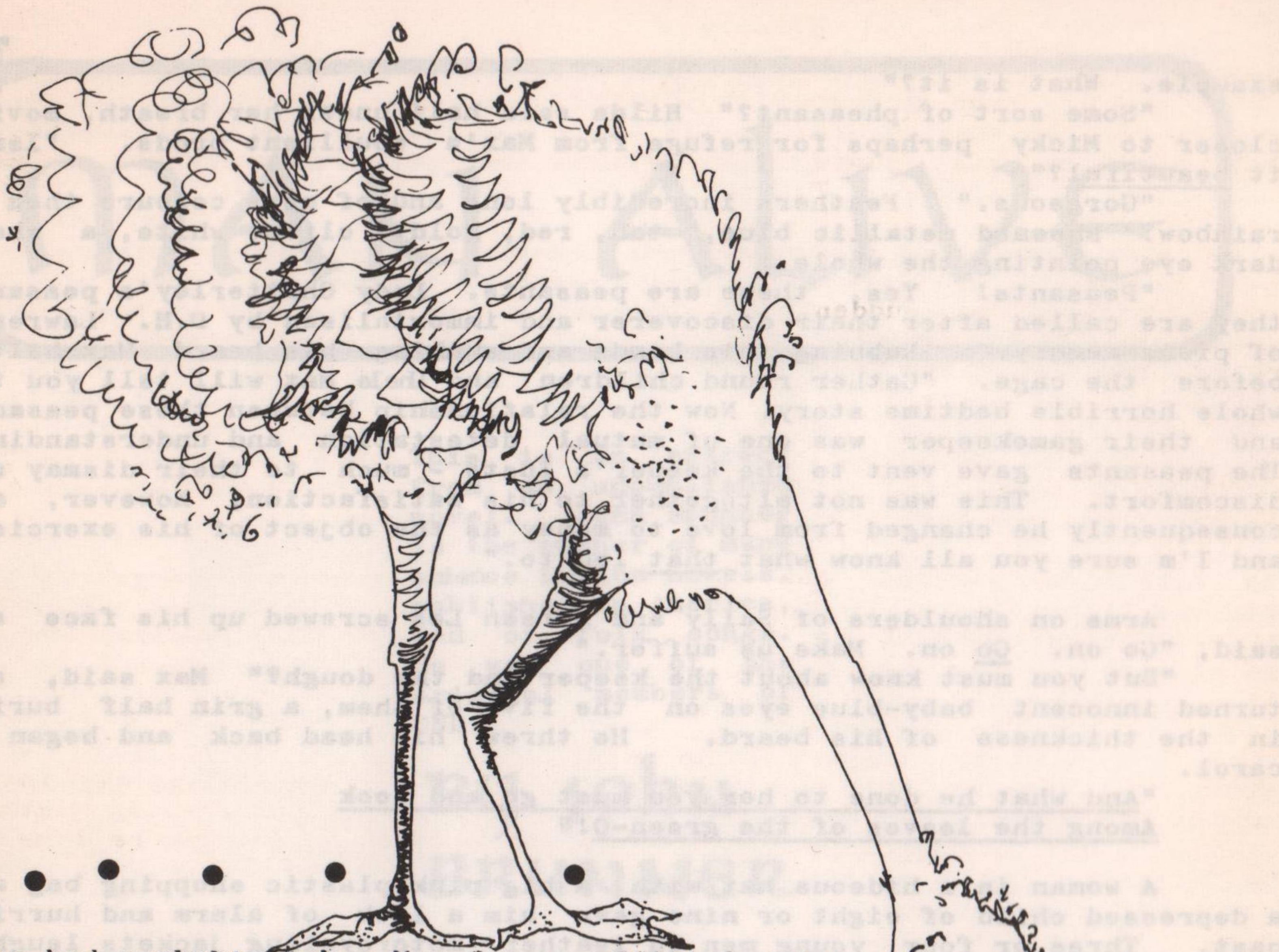
A woman in a hideous hat with a big pink plastic shopping bag and a depressed child of eight or nine gave him a look of alarm and hurried past. Three or four young men in leather motorcycling jackets laughed and pointed and came to stand and listen.

"This is of course a very ancient song," Max pursued, "and gave rise to the adjective 'deer' for one's beloved. Now let us go and inspect some dogs and cats and I will tell you all about how it began the English phrase 'rain cats and dogs'. You must always ask a foreigner how these things started. I am a foreigner, Ginger - did you know?" He came bending his head to Hilda's side. "I must call you Ginger because no one has been so kind as to tell me your name. Ah, you have green eyes also! Wonderful! I knew a girl once in Frankfurt whose eyes were green and she had red hair too, and she was a dancer in a theatre troupe. But she married a man who had red hair as well although I told her the two reds clashed most abominably and would lead to disaster in the end. Which they did. Her first baby was born bright red all over and they sent it to a concentration camp for overt communist sympathies. What is that over there? Oh yes, it is a cow. This is a holy animal in eastern countries. The most famous religion which worships them is called the Cao-Dai religion. They also worship such cows as Victor Hugo and so on. They are best known for their ceremonial music which is familiar to us even in England. I am sure you have heard the tune the old Cao-Dai of?"

"Max, you have a perverted mind," said Doreen.

"Surely! Surely! I am all bitter and twisted with the exception of part of me which is good Löwenbräu." He gave the cow a severe look; it was in fact a bison with a badly moth-eaten coat like an old rug. Feeling itself bested, the animal turned round solemnly and ignored him. With a shrug Max carried on.

"Is he always like this?" Hilda said to Micky, giggling again. Her eyes switched around their following, which now included the leather jacketed youths, a young man and a girl with their arms around each other, and a bewildered-looking pair of Japanese with glasses and cameras



who had probably taken Max for an official guide.

"I've never known him otherwise."

"And this thing here is a panda. Or pimp. You will often have wondered how it came by those two lovely black eyes. Is it a natural pair of sunglasses? It is not; the weather in Yunnan is no better than it is here. Or Szechuan - I forget where the beast originates. Is it due to the creature pressing its face too hard against sooty door to see what goes on behind the keyhole? You come closer with each guess. Good! But not yet right. No, I will explain. This animal was in the beginning a marriage broker among the animals and in the Garden of Eden all unions were regulated. But the panda also ate of the fruit of the forbidden tree and realised he could make a better living off immoral earnings. So he is called 'pander'. Until one day an indignant mule came to him and said you persuaded my mother to give herself to a donkey and I am the result as I just find out. Take that! And kicks him in the eyes which are hereafter both black."

Add to the entourage a schoolgirl who waves frantically to friends to come and hear this lunatic performing for free. An American couple in a cream suit and a proudly-worn silk dress respectively, broad grins on both faces. A young Nigerian, probably a student, puzzled but beginning to catch on and amused at the solemnity of the Japanese. A jolly woman with a boy of ten or twelve. Quite a crowd, What's Max up to? This has a point, bet you. Never knew Max do anything without a purpose. He would probably much rather be trying to get around Hilda. Small chance. However, undiscourageable is Max.

Half an hour and more lectures and some of the group slip away but others join: fifteen-sixteen altogether as well as us. Oh! Oh! Max, you clever sod.

"And we come now to the ostriches. There they are. Gormless birds

aren't they? Reading from left to right you will see that they are the president of the United States, the prime minister of Great Britain, the état c'est moi of France and the first secretary of the CPSU. The resemblance is uncanny. The best known habit of the ostrich is to bury its head in the sand and refuse to face facts. This is common to politicians also. For instance!"

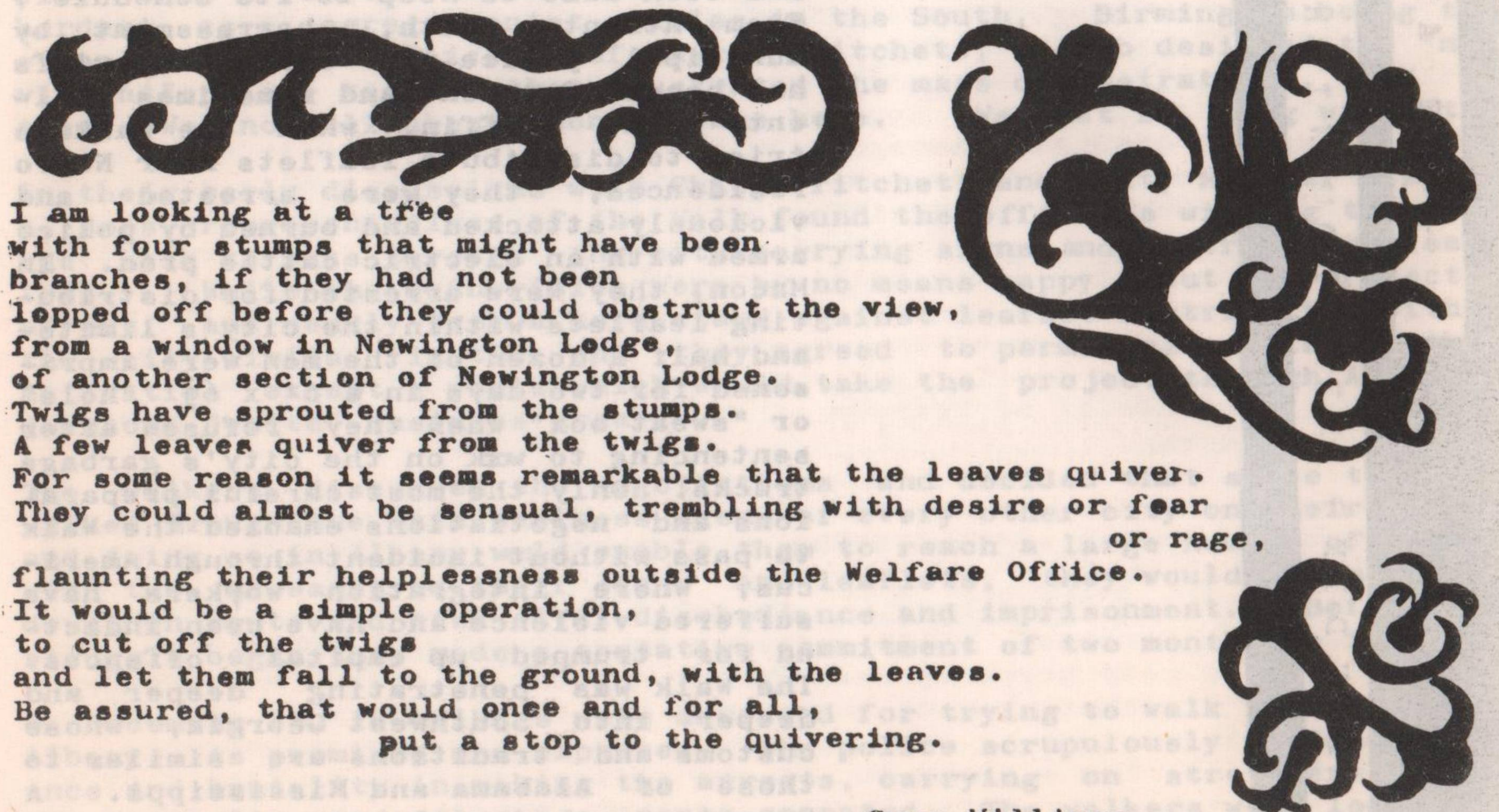
Whirling and suddenly booming in a voice like thunder: the platform voice. "For instance, what are you lot doing about the Bomb? How are you going to spend your Easter? Lounging around hoping the arms race will take care of itself?"

Startled, but hoping this too will end as a joke and let them laugh it off, the carefully recruited entourage shifts from foot to foot, embarrassed. Let them be. Max is through with joking.

Max, I love you. Crazy foal.

"And whitewashing your windows won't help any more than sticking your heads in the buckets of sand you're supposed to keep ready to put out the fires with! Three hundred square miles of fire the whole deep Atlantic is hardly enough to put out!"

Blackfaced and appalled, the creamsuited American urges his wife away, muttering about defeatist nonsense and looking horrified that we should clap Max vigorously. Hilda though isn't clapping but looking puzzled and unsure, her unpainted lips slightly apart and a white tooth showing. Max, I know you think you're marvellous. And you're damned right.



I am looking at a tree
with four stumps that might have been
branches, if they had not been
lepped off before they could obstruct the view,
from a window in Newington Ledge,
of another section of Newington Lodge.
Twigs have sprouted from the stumps.
A few leaves quiver from the twigs.
For some reason it seems remarkable that the leaves quiver.
They could almost be sensual, trembling with desire or fear
or rage,
flaunting their helplessness outside the Welfare Office.
It would be a simple operation,
to cut off the twigs
and let them fall to the ground, with the leaves.
Be assured, that would once and for all,
put a stop to the quivering.

Gwyn Williams.

bradford lyttle

Between Dec. 23, 1963 and Feb. 22, 1964 there took place in Albany, Georgia an experiment in the political science of nonviolence from which much can be learned. The experiment was an investigation of the degree to which non-violent or non-physically coercive psychological and political forces can moderate a totalitarian system.

The experimenters were members of the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace, an educational project that had been in the field since May of 1963. By means of signs, leaflets, public and private meetings and interviews with the newspapers and other mass media, the walkers had been reaching the public in the South with a threefold message of defence by nonviolent resistance; a policy of compassion, understanding and generosity for Cuba; and racial integration. The Walk, which included white women and Negro men, had encountered hostility in many southern cities but before reaching Atlanta, Georgia, had been able to keep to its schedule; From Atlanta south, harassment by municipal police and county sheriffs had become frequent and sometimes violent. At Griffin, when the walkers tried to distribute leaflets near Negro residences, they were arrested and viciously attacked and burned by police armed with an electric cattle prod. In Macon, they were arrested for distributing leaflets within the city's limits and half a dozen of the men were imprisoned for two days in a 6' x 6½' "hole" or "sweat box" when they refused after sentencing to work on the city's garbage trucks. Only the most careful preparations and negotiations enabled the Walk to pass without incident through Americus, where integration workers have suffered violence and have been indicted for trumped up capital offences. The Walk was penetrating deeper and deeper into Southwest Georgia, whose customs and traditions are similar to those of Alabama and Mississippi. A Congressman had told the father of one peace-walker "I'd be worried if my son were with that walk down there."

Albany, the next city after Americus, was more likely to cause trouble than any other on the Walk's route to Miami. Founded in the early 19th Century, Albany was an agricultural and slave trading centre in the "black belt." After the Civil War it continued for 60 years under the economic and political domination of plantation owners whose enormous holdings of 40 and 20 thousand acres surrounded the city. Terrorism repressed the Negroes. Dougherty County, where Albany is the County Seat, became one of the Georgia counties with the highest lynching rate.

In the early years of the 20th Century, a few large textile industries were established in Albany and part of the city became a company town. Unions were unknown. The new industrialists, some from New England, adopted the ways of the South and joined in perpetuating a system designed to "keep the Nigger down" and maintain rigid segregation.

During World War II, two large military bases were established in the Albany area, Turner Air Force Base, that eventually became a large base for the Strategic Air Command, photo reconnaissance and military air transport, and the Marine Supply Centre which serves the entire south-eastern part of the United States. After the War, these bases grew and undoubtedly helped attract many of the businessmen, laborers and others who trebled the city's population between 1940 and 1960. Albany grew to be a modern city of more than 60,000 but in the words of one newspaper reporter "it retained its small town ways of doing things."

Rigid segregation and gross economic discrimination against the half of Albany's population that were Negro produced racial unrest that in 1961 brought Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to the city. Two campaigns of massive, civil disobedience protest demonstrations were mounted. Both were crushed by a combination of adroit police tactics that minimized the violent incidents that bring adverse publicity and divide the white community, and deception of the Negro leadership. The segregationists conceded nothing, would not even negotiate with the radical Negro leaders. Albany became known as the city that defeated Martin Luther King and was considered one of the two hardest core segregationist cities in the South, Birmingham being the other. Albany's Police Chief Laurie Pritchett, who designed the "non violent" police tactics that frustrated the mass demonstrations, told me that "We know all about nonviolence here. We beat Dr. King with it."

In their early discussions with Chief Pritchett and City Manager Stephen A. Roos, representatives of the Walk found the officials willing to allow the Walk to pass through the city carrying signs and distributing leaflets. While the authorities were by no means happy about the project's advent, and nearly took a hard stand against leaflet distribution within the city limits, in the end they agreed to permit all of the Walk's activities except a route which would take the project through Albany's downtown "white" business area.

The walkers discussed the negotiations and decided that since they had walked through the main business areas of every other city on their route, and doing so in Albany would enable them to reach a large number of people with the messages on their signs and leaflets, they would attempt the downtown route and risk civil disobedience and imprisonment. Before the struggle began they made a tentative commitment of two months to it.

On December 23, 14 walkers were arrested for trying to walk into downtown Albany. As promised and expected, the police scrupulously avoided violence and brutality in making the arrests, carrying on stretchers those who went limp and otherwise nonco-operated. The walkers were lodged in the City Jail where, according to plan, all but two began to fast, going without food but drinking water.

THE ALBANY GEORGIA EXPERIMENT
+ EXPANDING FREEDOM WITH NONVIOLENT ACTION +

This first phase of the nonviolent contest between the police and the walkers lasted 24 days. The police were caught unprepared by the vigor and solidarity of the protest and adopted no consistent strategy to counter it. Outside of prison, the walkers maintained an office whose staff labored day and night to interpret the civil liberties issues involved in the struggle to the mass media and to peace, civil rights and civil libertarian supporters of the Walk in the United States, Canada, Europe and Asia. Sympathy generated by these efforts drew a number of supporters to Albany, some of whom worked in the office and visited influential local white and Negro citizens, some of whom committed civil disobedience, joined the prisoners and fasted. In this first phase the maximum number imprisoned for trying to walk through downtown Albany, leaflet there or picket in protest against the arrests was 20, the maximum number fasting 17. The city doctor gave vitamin injections to all who fasted more than two weeks, three were taken to the local hospital for intravenous feeding, one of whom had begun to fast without water. At the time of their release January 15-16, none had fasted 24 days. Trials and court procedures experienced during this time revealed the City Court to be part of the apparatus of police oppression controlled by the Chief, who postponed trials and determined sentences for purposes of intimidation and coercion.

The city had said that traffic and other problems relating to Christmas season shopping congestion was the reason the walkers had not been allowed to demonstrate downtown. Consequently, after their release the walkers reopened negotiations with the authorities, offering no fewer than eight possible downtown routes, five days and any time between ten a.m. and four p.m. as acceptable to them for their walk through the downtown area. The city rejected all proposals, insisting that the Walk follow the route along Oglethorpe Avenue that had originally been assigned. Out of these discussions emerged the city's policy of rigid, uncompromising opposition to any demonstration in the white business area north of Oglethorpe. "Neither you nor any other group is going to demonstrate north of Oglethorpe," said Chief Pritchett, and he was quoted in the press as saying "Oglethorpe or nothing," and "They will never walk down Broad Avenue." (the downtown business street the walkers originally wished to follow). Although the authorities never admitted that their stand had anything to do with the race problem, sources of information close to them revealed that during the 1961 mass integration demonstrations the City Commissioners had decided on a strategy of suppression involving public commitment to a rigid, no compromise prohibition of integrated or Negro demonstration north of Oglethorpe. Leadership of the Albany Movement therefore believed that any integrated demonstration north of Oglethorpe would constitute a major civil rights and civil liberties breakthrough. In public statements Walk leaders defined the conflict as being between nonviolence, civil liberties and civil rights on one hand and "police state" tactics, segregation and denial of freedom of speech on the other. The lines were thus sharply drawn.

On January 23, walker Yvonne Klein and a local integration worker were arrested for picketing and leafleting at a downtown civil defence exercise. On the 27th, 17 walkers were arrested for trying to walk into the downtown area north of Oglethorpe. On Feb. 3, seven walkers including two Canadians were arrested while carrying on a standing picket with signs and leaflets on city property near Turner A.F.B. An eighth was imprisoned when Chief Pritchett became angry with him for asking what the charges against the others were. John Papworth, Peace News correspondent, was arrested Feb. 15 for a stand-in at the police station on behalf of the prisoners. Feb. 19, Peter Light, another Canadian, was arrested for distributing a leaflet describing jail conditions. In the two phases of the struggle there were altogether 51 arrests, each a violation of the

demonstrators' civil liberties as guaranteed by the Constitution and upheld by numerous Supreme Court decisions.

The authorities and police department were well prepared for the second phase of the conflict. Their strategy involved attempts to intimidate, breaking of the prisoners' morale, and maintaining a public image of "nonviolence." The City Jail cellblocks had been scrubbed down, clean covers put over the filthy mattresses. Ray Robinson, a Negro who had stopped drinking water and eating in protest against his imprisonment, was transferred to the local hospital's psychiatric ward and there intimidated into breaking his fast by threats of commitment to a notoriously bad state mental hospital. Chief Pritchett released photographs of Ray eating to the Albany newspapers and TV stations and showed them to the other fasters. He also humiliated Ray by making public the extensive police record that Ray is trying to live down. All the prisoners were threatened with transfer to jails in nearby cities and counties, such as Newton in Baker County, which are infamous for their violence. The Walk's Coordinator, Bradford Lyttle, was isolated in a separate jail and held incommunicado for four days. Many of the men were crammed into cells with inadequate sleeping facilities: ten men in a cell with four bunks, and later, 17 in a filthy, damp cell with six bunks. Drunks were frequently locked in with them. John Papworth was beaten by a drunken segregationist. For two weeks, the only mail which reached the prisoners was brought by attorneys, and for days at a time visits from others were prohibited. The fasters, of whom there were 12 at the time of release, were tempted frequently with food.

The walkers intensified their efforts to generate local, national and international interest and support. Those outside visited influential whites, and Negroes in Albany, mailed and phoned press releases throughout the country, mailed kits of documents which interpreted the struggle to peace movement, civil rights and civil

DOUBLE Bed-sitter and kitchen dining sink; use bath. E.L. Reasonable. Refs. essential. Sorry no coloured. VAN 2120.

NEWLY Converted Bed-sitters; clean, bright hot water, cooking facilities, use of refrigerator. Europeans only. Refs. essential. Write Box 552, Boro News, Wandsworth.

COMFORTABLE Furnished Flat in quiet house, S.W.18. No other use of bath with hot water, rent and light, 6-gns. weekly. Ref. required. Ref. no coloured. Write Box 552, Boro News, Wandsworth.

TO LET AT EAST PUTNEY
a delightful flatlet consisting of a v. large + well furnished D.B.S., with separate kitchen. Sleep 2 or 3. EUROPEANS ONLY.
Apply at 19, MAXFIELD RD, S.W. evenings 6.30 - 9.30.

Furnished flatlet to let, Cricklewood. Modern double bed sitter. Slumberland divans. Fitted car etc. electric cooker and water heater. Central heating with time clock, etc. Everything supplied. Every facility. G1A1626 or RE16694
So sorry, no coloured.

NO COLOUR BAR
Watch on recruiting rate
Answering suggestions that more use should be made of men from the Commonwealth. Mr. Ramden said that basically the problem was not to raise further units but to bring further the strength. This meant recruiting more men from overseas into the British Army.
There was already a considerable number of coloured men in the Army and they had been in the Army since the beginning of the war. There was no colour bar in the Army.
Where there had been a considerable number of coloured men in civilian society it was because of the ability of immigrants to assimilate into the established community. As they date, they do not run the risk of such a situation in the Army, a watch was kept on the rate of coloured recruiting. But the number of coloured soldiers could be allowed to go up a bit without undue risk. This would be done during the coming year.

LUXURY extra large Double Bed-sitter suitable two men sharing; enclosed bath in area 6-gns. weekly. Europeans only. Tel. PUT 2961.

"If only I could get to the States, and help....."
DOUBLE Flatlet, all conveniences. Also Bed-sitter. No Coloured. VAN 508.

liberties leaders and to private supporters in the U.S., Canada and Europe, published a bulletin and appraised public officials in Georgia and Washington about what was going on. Although at one time Albany's authorities, in an attempt to slough off responsibility for their own policies, suggested that the imprisoned walkers obtain a federal court injunction favoring their release and right to demonstrate in the downtown area, the walkers never appealed for the coercive intervention of federal courts, marshalls or troops. Even though it made their struggle more difficult and placed its success in grave doubt, they preferred relying upon moral persuasion and the force of public opinion to win their civil liberties.

After 30 days on Feb. 22 the authorities' rigid posture relaxed and CNVA representatives negotiated a compromise agreement that would permit an integrated group of five demonstrators distributing leaflets and carrying sandwich board signs to walk through the white business area on Broad Avenue. Nonviolence had won a measure of truth and freedom.

The forces that secured this victory were complex. The moral power generated by the prisoners, particularly the fasters, was certainly the inspiring, catalytic element. The prisoners' tenacious, self-sacrificing witness that in the case of the long term fasters involved severe emaciation, some illness and hospitalization and painful tube feeding for Yvonne Klein, attracted people to Albany from as far west as Denver and as far north as Montreal, and stimulated hundreds of letters to Albany's officials, the Governor of Georgia and others. Almost all of the police department and hospital staff who dealt with the prisoners lost what hostility they might have had at first and became friendly. In several cases these changes in attitude were astonishing. A number of the walkers' bitterest segregationist opponents admitted admiration for their dedication and grit.

A second force was the developing sympathy and involvement of the Albany Movement. When the Walk set up its base in the city the Movement had provided an office and sleeping quarters. Tyrone Jackson, a youthful member of the Movement, participated and was arrested in the demonstrations. The Movement's adult leaders, however, refrained from vigorous public endorsement. Later on, when Albany's Negroes saw the problem being created for the city by the persistent, organized resistance of peacewalkers, they became deeply interested. After the first phase both the Albany Movement and the Albany Student Movement (whose creation was inspired partly by the peacewalkers' witness) issued strong statements condemning the city's totalitarianism and supporting the peacewalkers' civil liberties. Midway in the second phase the Movement began voter registration picketing in the Negro districts and on Feb. 22, the date the compromise agreement was reached and the walkers were released, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leaders from Atlanta led more than 100 local and out of town Negroes in voter registration demonstrations downtown. No one was arrested probably because the Justice Department had warned the Albany authorities against interfering with voter registration activities. Behind the peacewalkers' struggle loomed the growing specter of new mass protest demonstrations and a revitalized Albany Movement.

Partly due to talks with leaders from American peace organizations, several prominent white ministers became deeply concerned about the matter, involved themselves in the negotiations and demanded that the authorities accept a compromise. This assumption by them of responsibility for Albany's political affairs was nearly unprecedented. They refused to be deterred by strong criticism from those in power - not a few of whom were influential members of their congregations.

Local, state, national and international publicity about the struggle increased steadily. One of Albany's two papers, though stoutly segregationist, published letters from prisoners. The other, a sensationalistic weekly, veered from initial hostility to the walkers to surprisingly objective reports of demonstrations and discussions of how the bad publicity from the conflict would harm the city's business future. The Atlanta Constitution, after weeks of printing only terse news announcements, published a long letter from an unidentified Georgian who described the civil liberties issues in Albany and rebuked Georgia's cities for the way many of them had treated the peacewalkers. Newspapers in Denver, Chicago, San Francisco and other hometowns of the walkers published progressively longer and more sympathetic reports of the struggle as it progressed. Canadian newspapers and TV showed great interest. European peace publications issued major stories and reports.

Indirect and direct pressure came from the U.S. and foreign governments. It was reported that the Justice Department made several inquiries and the State Department may have, too, since a Canadian group organized in Montreal to support the Walk protested to the State Department about violations of the imprisoned Canadians' civil liberties. The conflict was mentioned twice in the Canadian, once in the British Parliament. A British consul inquired of Albany's authorities by telephone about John Papworth's imprisonment and beating.

An important factor in the victory were the discreet and imaginative negotiations carried on the authorities by CNVA members during the last week of the struggle. These hastened reaching of a compromise solution.

Perhaps the high cost of carrying on the conflict influenced the authorities to seek a compromise. The Albany Journal estimated expenses to the city at more than \$500 a day, which for the more than 50 days that peacewalkers were imprisoned would have committed Albany to over \$25,000.

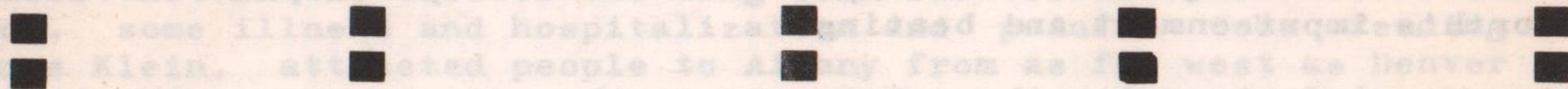
It is impossible to assess the influence of intangible, "spiritual" factors in securing the victory. I, for one, believe in God and during the struggle sought constantly in prayer His guidance and support. I therefore credit God with this victory for truth. Certainly, I would not have cared to wrestle against such formidable odds had I not believed in God, the ultimately rational nature of the universe - in which good means can be found to overcome evil - and moral law.

On Monday, Feb. 24, as agreed upon, five peacewalkers carried out their demonstration in downtown Albany. Afterwards, the entire Walk of 28 walked out of the city. The affair was concluded.

The Albany struggle lasted nearly two months to a day and demonstrated the ability of nonviolent protest action to moderate a totalitarian police state system. Complete civil liberties in Albany were not achieved by any means, but a gain had been made in the heat of the conflict where none had been achieved before. And it is particularly noteworthy that masses of people had not been directly involved in the action. The maximum number on the project at any one time was 35, 26 in jail the others working outside. There is no doubt that success was made easier by the group being predominantly white and transient, but, on the other hand, it was made harder by the peacewalkers' views about peace - pacifism, defence by nonviolent resistance, compassion for and nonintervention in Cuban affairs - policies decidedly unpopular in a city so highly dependent upon air and Marine bases and in the country as a whole. American mass media and liberals have been embarrassed by the Walk to Cuba from its onset and have usually ignored it.

The type of nonviolence used, including a high degree of cohesiveness

among the demonstrators, willingness to go to jail and remain there without paying bail or fines, fasting by many for a long time, well organized promotion and publicity probing constantly to reach and stimulate every possible local, national and international source of interest and support, skillful negotiation, nonreliance on federal courts and power - this kind of nonviolent direct action might well be copied to advantage by the civil rights and other movements in the United States and, indeed, throughout the world. What the peacewalkers did in Albany might be duplicated in any city where segregation and denials of civil liberties are serious problems. The peace and civil rights movements have the know how and personnel to carry out such intensive struggles and the civil rights movement, particularly, could back up those imprisoned in the course of them with co-ordinated, massive protests. One of the most encouraging results of the Albany struggle is that the Albany Movement understands what its outcome can mean for them. While before the city's system of police oppression - its police, jail, court and Commissioners - seemed invincible, it no longer can be believed so. Cracks and flaws have been revealed. Moral and political pressure, if intense enough and properly applied, can win concessions for freedom.



RADICAL NEWS FROM OXFORD

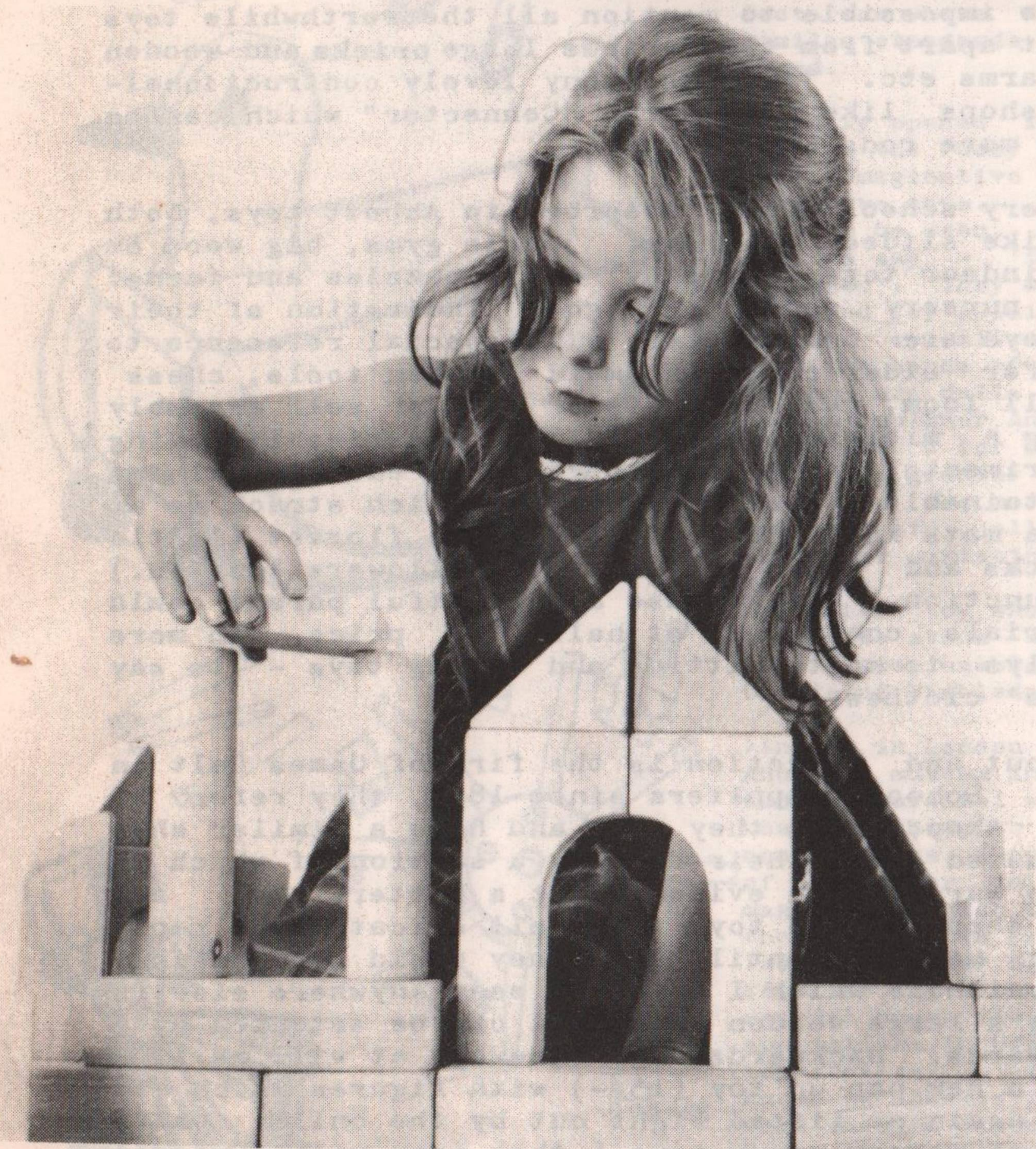
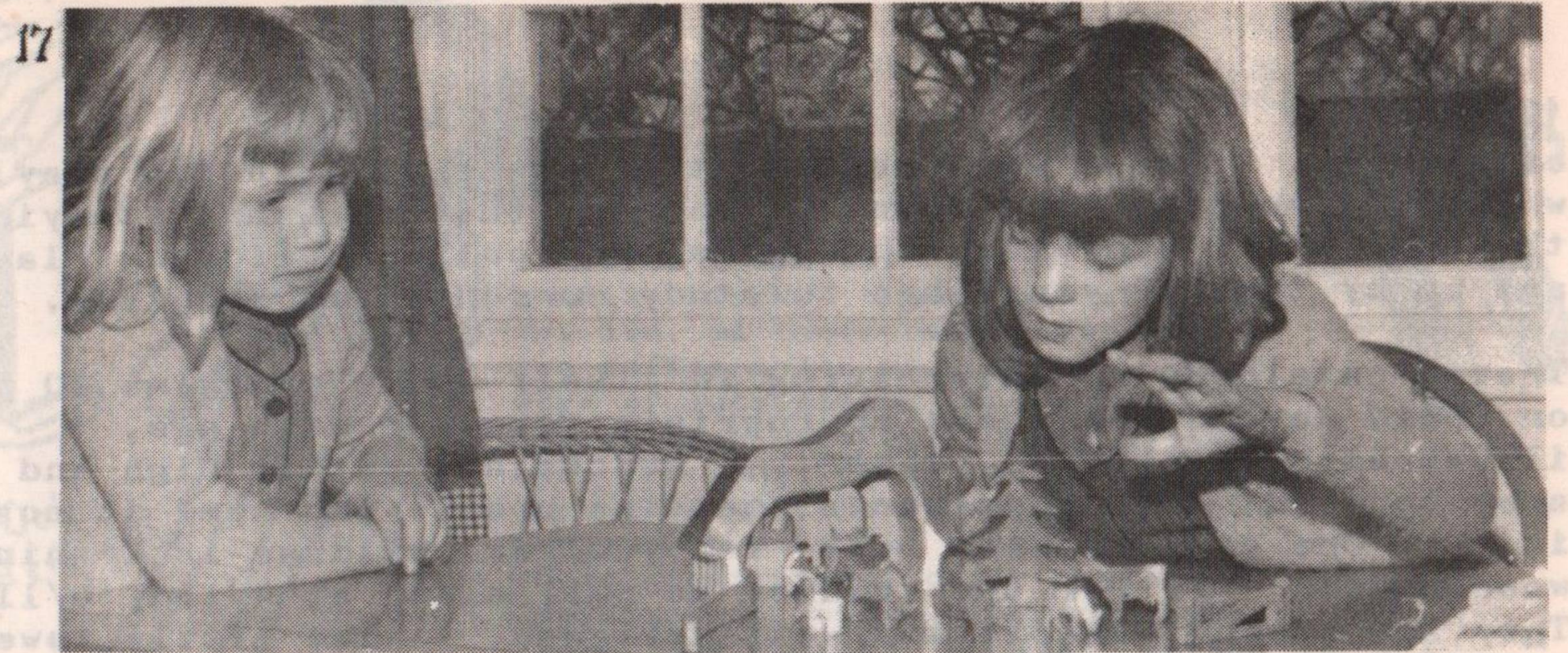
An appeal to unilateralists drew the following response from individuals.

A meeting was held at Oxford on February 15/16 attended by members of the following organizations: Campaign Workshops; Oxford and Cambridge CND - Universities - Wellingborough, Lewisham and Lee CND, Bristol CND, CUCaND London Committee of IOO, Scottish Committee of IOO, Oxford Committee of IOO & CND Group, I.L.P., International Socialists, Syndicalist Workers Federation, London Federation of Anarchists, Oxford Anarchists, and movement for a Democratic Content.

A leaflet drafted at Oxford gave discussion points for a forum to be held over the Easter period in London. Topics would include the following:

1. The people of every country must demand that their country unilaterally withdraw from every nuclear alliance, at once.
2. That CND call on the peace movements of all other countries to draw people into unilateralist opposition to their own governments military policies.
3. In Britain CND must campaign more clearly and uncompromisingly for our immediate withdrawal from NATO and must organize real opposition to the Polaris bases.
4. We must be ready to meet any attempts to reintroduce conscription with solid, practical opposition and not just verbal protests.
5. We want to find out why little has been done to implement the more radical resolutions of CND Annual Conference. eg Those on Industrial Action and Schools for Nonviolence.

The relationship between CND structure and its policy eg 'Steps Towards Peace'. Organizing a pressure group network; and a small group at the 'centre' issuing this policy 'Steps', was also discussed! Concern was expressed at the unwieldy and undemocratic apparatus and its resemblance to the State and political parties producing the bomb.



creative TOYS

Abbatt

One of the main factors which emerges from a brief survey of toy manufacturers who do not sell military toys is the emphasis which they place upon creative play. Toys designed with this in mind are sold to the exclusion of those which rely mainly on an indiscriminate appeal to adult values. Whether war toys are excluded by design or accident (because they are so badly made in some cases) this type of shop is much too rare. Those which did discover in London tended to have similar shop layout and included extensive displays of wooden toys. About the most well known among them is the Abbott toy shop in Wimpole Street, which has been going since 1932. Run by Paul and Majorie Abbot, it specialised in large bricks; still I think the most exciting line, which were made for them by their own

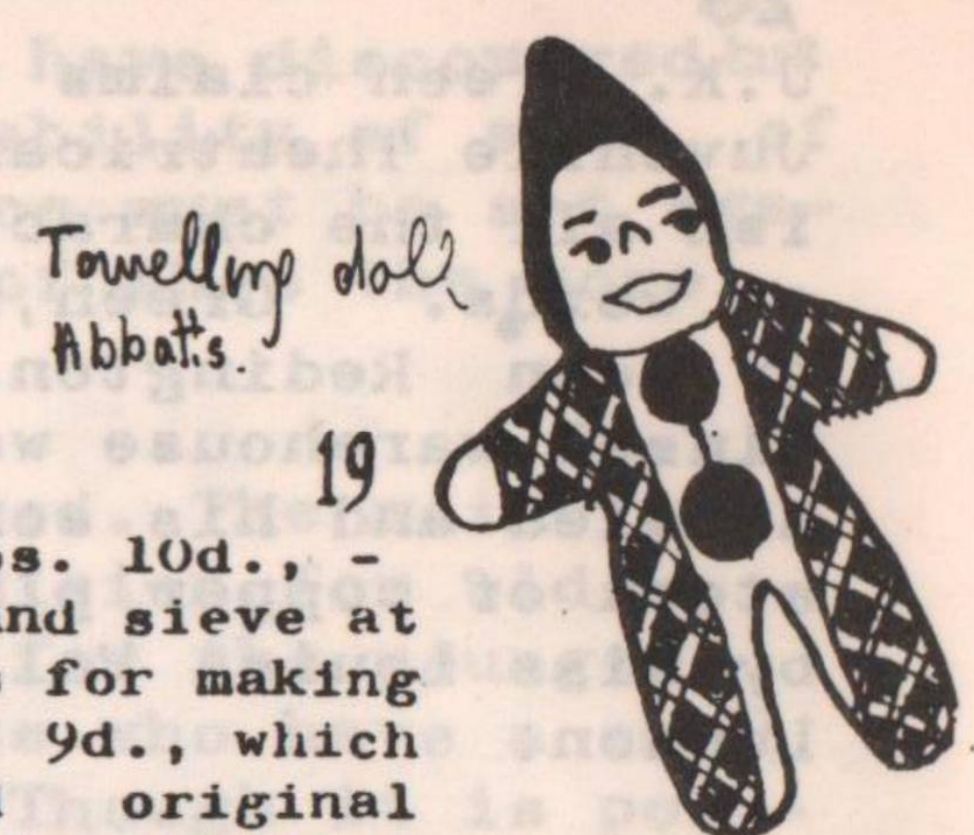
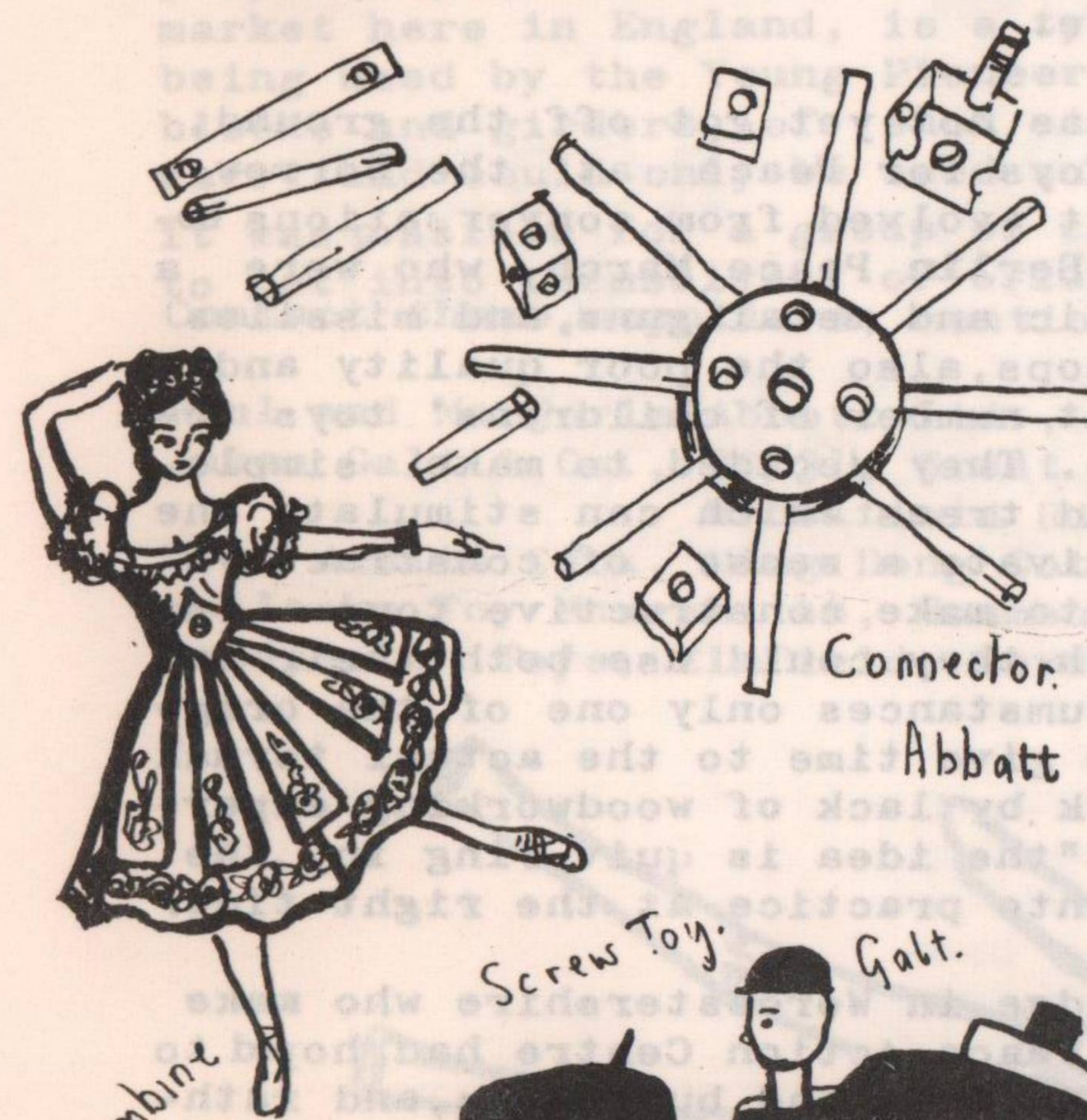
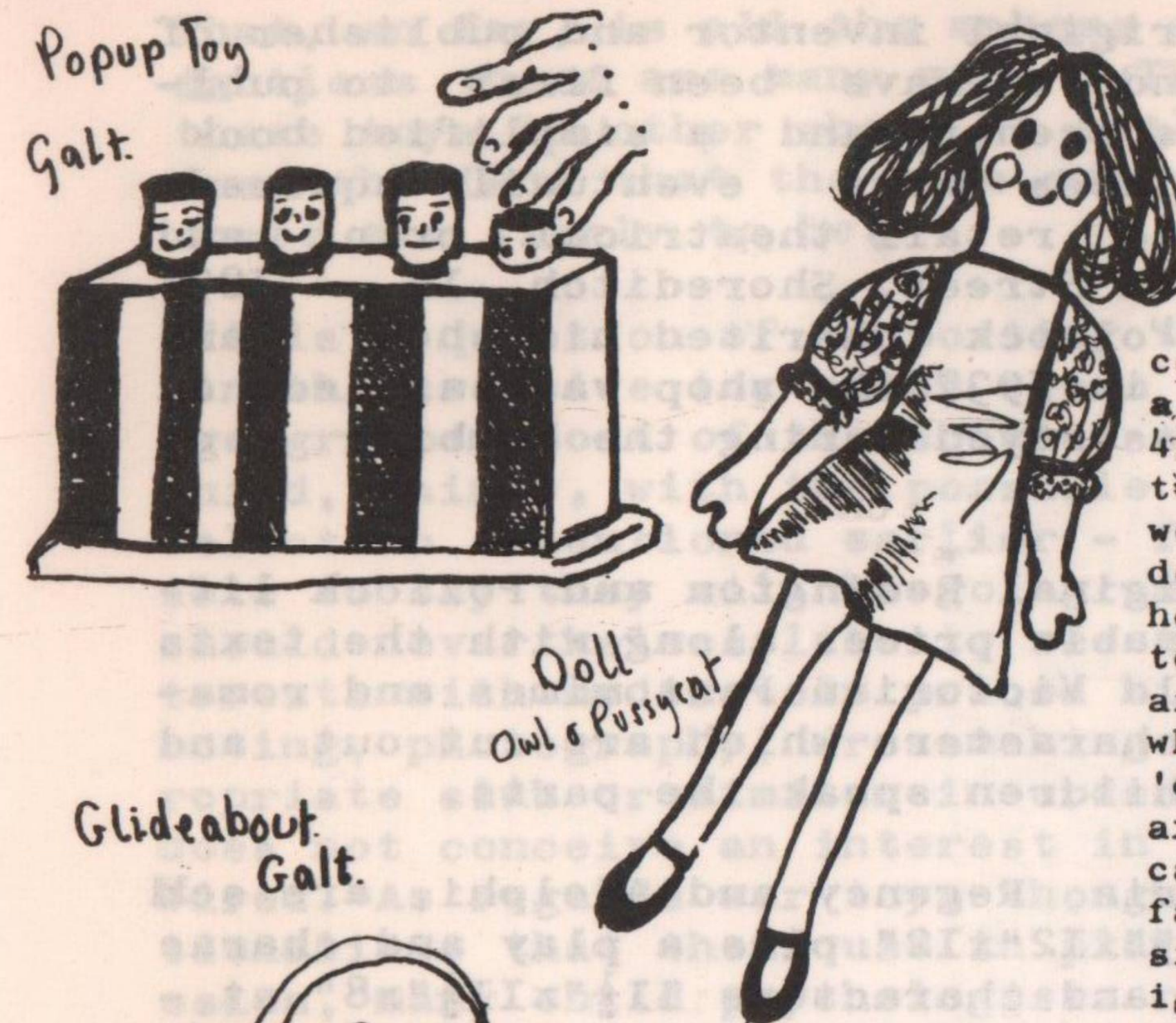
carpenters. These were sold as the tools of creative play, theories of which the Abbotts had spent a year on the continent studying, and which they are still evolving through a body called Childrens Play Activities, set up by them 10 years ago to study current play problems.

Their catalogue is interesting in itself as it contains 20 pages of type on child developement and appropriate toys for each age, plus the illustrated catalogue proper. Prices are rather high and the shop not easy to find, (one suspects that the people who need it most never find it). One of the best buys for younger children is I think the little woodenwheel toys for the toddler to pull along at 4/1ld, 6/1ld and 7/1ld. They are strong, simple and well designed. The little towelling people at 12/6d though highly desireable, are very easy to make at home- (I made one for 2/11). It would be impossible to mention all the worthwhile toys available in this shop, but apart from the various large bricks and wooden roads, houses, flyovers, farms etc. There are many lovely constructional-toys not seen in most toyshops like the Danish "Connector" which can be added to merely by getting more rods and blocks.

I have seen a whole nursery school class absorbed in Abbott toys, both the large outdoor ones like slides, barrows, jungle gyms, big wood en engines and carts and the indoor toys like easy early puzzles and farms. Their constant use in a nursery school is a good indication of their sturdyness. All the toys are constructed with special reference to safety and lastingness. For older children small wooden tools, chess sets, draught sets, a small loom, radio transistor set for self assembly and equipment for building a microscope with all accessories including a book describing 220 experiments. An extensive range of educational games and a chemistry set are obtainable. One range of toys which struck me as less useful were the raffia mats kits 15s. 6d., or little florist (little flower pot and wooden sticks and beads to push on as flowers 10s. 6d.) hot by virtue of their function, but because a thoughtful parent could assemble and box the materials contained at half the price. In more usual toys shops this applys to most knitting and sewing toys - to say nothing of ready-made dolls' clothes.

Similar to Abbotts in layout and selection is the firm of James Galt in Great Marlborough Street, School suppliers since 1836, they refer to themselves as a specialist shop; which they are, and have a similar shop in Cheadle, Chesire, situated above their factory a section of which is visible from the shop. No war toys in evidence but a letter to ask about the ideas behind the shop and the toys they sell elicited the reply that as their sales manager was away until March they could not possibly tell me; however - a toy available which I have not seen anywhere else is glide about (52/6) which is a large wooden duck that can be sat upon by a child who can then go forwards, backwards or sideways at will as it is mounted on casters. Also a new pop up toy (15/-) with figures which can be pushed down and pop up again or lifted right out by the child. Galts also carry the same range of wooden screw toys (they come with a wooden screw driver) which can be taken to pieces and reassembled by the child, an excellent introduction to mechanics. Galts have a kite for 27/6 but ex-Government surplus box kites can usually be got much cheaper at Headquarter and General Supplies Ltd., in HqIborn.

Two pages of the Galt catalogue are comprised of stocking fillers and party presents that are all cheap in price and at the same time valuable in play. I particularly liked the kaleidoscope at 2s. 1ld. As a child I had one which was old fashioned, a constant source of new magic - the



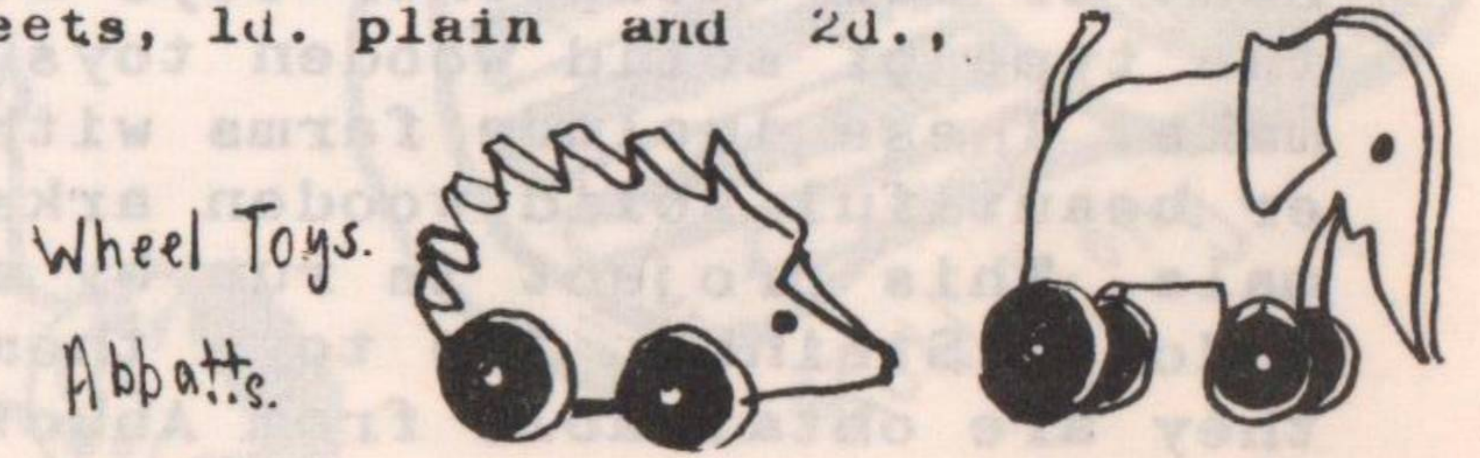
coloured brick set at 5s. 10d., - a solid fork, trowel and sieve at 4s. 1ld. and instructions for making two raffia dolls at 6s. 9d., which were of interesting and original design when made up. There is less here for the older child but the toys designed for the younger child are, wether made the Galt factory - where great attention is paid to 'dovetailed joints, strong metal axels and robust wheels; as the catalogue states; or by other manufacturers where Galts insist on similar standards, thoughtfully designed.

Recently opened in Hampstead "The Owl and the Pussy Cat" carries well made imaginative and again rather expensive toys. There are no war toys to be seen, because the proprietors say - 'they are so badly designed'. They would stock well designed toy soldiers if available, but not specifically put war toys into the hands of a child. In this toyshop are dolls made by the Australian designer Annette Shelley which are a far better bargain and offer far greater scope for creative play than the more usual walking, talking, etc., dolls which are often both over sophisticated and grotesque.

One other toy shop which does not appear to stock war toys but which I have been unable to visit is John Dobbie of Wimbledon.

Finally in London - the Pollock toy shop and museum in Monmouth Street, running parallel with Charing Cross Road, Nothing to do with war or non war toys, though there are none of the former in the shop, it is a magic shop which could help to fill the gap left in creative toys available for older age groups. Apart from the toy museum which fills several upper floors, the front shop specialises in Benjamin Pollock's toy theatres. These, originally known as 'Skelts Juvenile Dramas', were changed through the years to Park, Webb, Redingtons and finally Pollocks.

They began in Regency days as a kind of theatrical souvenir - and were sold in sheets, 1d. plain and 2d.,



Pantaloo.
Pollocks printed sheets.

J.K. Green claims to have been the original inventor and publisher of Juvenile Theatrical Prints in 1808 and to have been first to publish all the characters in a play plus scenery and a simplified book of words. Green's engraved copper plates were eventually acquired by John Redington, whose wholesale and retail theatrical print and tinsel warehouse was situated in Hoxton Street, Shoreditch. In 1876 he died and his son in law, Benjamin Pollock inherited his shop and stock of copper plates. On his death in 1937 the shop was carried on by Miss Louisa Pollock until it was destroyed during the bombing of London.

The cardboard theatres, mostly from original Redington and Pollock lithographs, are now sold at very reasonable prices along with the texts of specially simplified versions of old Victorian Pantomimes and romantic dramas - and appropriate scenery, characters which are cut out and enter and exit on wire slides while children speak the parts.

The theatres with such names as Victoria, Regency and Adelphi, are sold in plywood and plastic at 45/- Size 15"x12"x12" plus a play and characters, or cardboard complete with play and characters 11½"x11½"x8" at 7/6d. Also miniature lighting sets at 4/- or orchestra strings at 7/-. These last are printed and hand coloured. Antique hand made dutch peg dolls are also sold here, dressed or undressed, and a host of other fascinating and unusual toys for the older child.

Ding Dong Toys in Penzance began production after failure to find a plain wooden rattle for their youngest baby. After friends had expressed similar difficulties they decided that there would be a market for plain, solid, wooden baby toys. Mrs. Judith Cook - who runs Ding Dong is a busy house-wife - says that they had strong feelings on toys sent out containing nails, pins, wires etc. Last year samples were sent, of Ding Dong Toys, to the Council of Industrial Design and consequently exhibited at the Design Centre. They now have a range of baby rattles in a beech and sycamore, also a push-along toy for a toddler, and a hobby horse. These are all washable and glued with waterproof glue. The question of war toys hardly enters into the production of baby toys, but Judith Cook is against them in principle.

One other project that unfortunately has not yet got off the ground, for lack of a skilled woodworker, is Toys for Peace at the Borrowdale Peace Action Centre. The idea first evolved from conversations between three young men on the Vancouver-Berlin Peace March, who were a little disturbed by the number of plastic and metal guns, and missiles etc. which are available in most toy shops, also the poor quality and lack of thought which go to make a great number of children's toys today; together with their low play value. They decided to make simple wooden toys - mainly houses, animals and trees which can stimulate the creative instincts of children and cultivate a sense of constructive and artistic pleasure. They also hoped to make constructive toys for mentally handicapped children with which they could use both their hands and minds; but due to force of circumstances only one of the original three, Harry Catterall, was able to give time to the actual toymaking, and he has been seriously held back by lack of woodworking experience and tools. He feels however that "the idea is quivering in the air and can easily be grasped and put into practice at the right time"

Last of all Woodpecker Toys at Stourbridge in Worcestershire who make the type of solid wooden toys that the Peace Action Centre had hoped to make. These include farms with people, animals and buildings, and rather beautiful solid wooden arks complete with Mr. Noah and sets of animals. This project is run by a group of 'Anthroposophs' - followers of Rudolph Steiner. The toys themselves are solid and well designed. Also they are obtainable from Abbotts in London.

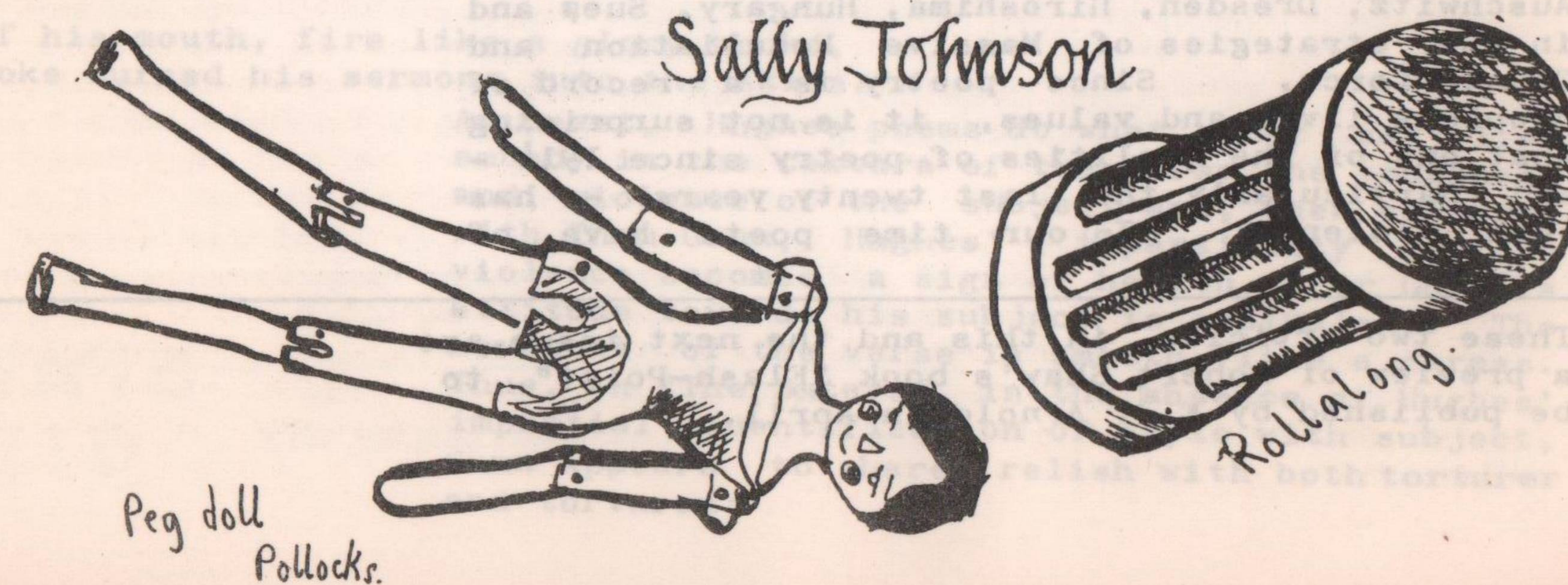
That, so far, is all the makers of this sort that I have discovered but doubtless there are many more? The occasional availability of some of these toys in other shops at a slightly cheaper price must be set against the fact that the more one supports this type of shop the more there are likely to be.

It is a question of supporting the principle involved. The main lack in the creative toy shops seems to me to be in provision for older age groups, most of the special shops seem to cater for the younger child, mainly, with the possible exception of Abbotts who have a small selection - mentioned earlier - for older children. Though it is possible to say they will be going on to adult interests at this stage I should nevertheless like to see a shop devoted to older children's interests with moderately priced kits etc., on such things as stamp collecting, photography, dressmaking and details of where to join the appropriate club or similar in order to learn more about it, a child often does not conceive an interest in something until his imagination is fired. As regards war toys though I have often heard it said by educationalists that their use in play siphons off a child's natural aggression, many child psychologists regard play as a substitute for adult life, and a rehearsal for adult responsibilities; and there is much talk in sociological and psychological literature of channeling off a feeling of aggression into other activities. So why not start at the beginning, and channel these aggressive tendencies into less anti-social and more constructive activities by allowing them to be worked off on other types of toys. In general toy shops there is a sad lack of "doing" toys, there are far too many passive toys; and over-decorated mechanical junk which may break, or bore a child, causing endless frustration. American and Japanese toys are amongst the worst of these.

Toys to help develop physical powers are well catered for in the special shops. Wood is used extensively, but it would be interesting to see fuller use made of plastics, which are mainly used at present for mediocre toys. A good deal of idea picking can be done by the impoverished but resourceful parent in the special toy shops. One final piece of play equipment that it would be worthwhile for some toy manufacturer to market here in England, is a type of constructional toy seen in Moscow being used by the Young Pioneers, which consisted of huge light wooden blocks and girders, of such size that they took more than one child to carry and could only be used successfully as a group activity. With them it was possible for a group of children to build a structure large enough to get into themselves, or bridges that would bear their weight. Contact these suppliers, mentioning REASON, for details and catalogues:

Paul and Marjorie Abbott Ltd., 94 Wimpole Street, London, W.1.
James Galt & Co., 30/31, Great Marlborough Street, London, W.1.
Brookfield Rd., Cheshire.

Mrs. Judith Cook, Ding Dong Cottage, Newmill, Penzance, Cornwall.
Pollocks Toy Museum, 44, Monmouth Street, Cambridge Circus, London, WC.2
Woodpecker Toys, Elmfield, Love Lane, Stourbridge, Worcs.



22 **More than monuments,
More than governments**

"I also wanted to discuss not only Sorel and Lenin, but also Picasso and Joyce. But no one saw the connection...that it was the same force that was transforming the whole of reality." Not even the receipt of a Knighthood should allow us to deny the continued relevance today of Herbert Read's complaint in "Poetry and Anarchism," given perhaps a change in the names. There are exceptions, of course. Drama and the novel come off moderately well in radical political circles. For example, Colin MacInnes and Alan Sillitoe have been discussed intelligently - as well as unintelligently i.e. their social 'philosophy' abstracted from its dismembered literary context. But even here the record is not completely satisfactory. Thus, there was far too much glib acceptance of the value as demolition workers, of the Angies and Lucky Jims of the novels and plays of the years immediately following Hungary and Suez, when (what I hope to show later when dealing with their poetic equivalents) an eratz and essentially conservative 'rebellion', manufactured by the organs of literary big business and the literary editor of 'The Spectator', was swallowed whole. But poetry has been treated with much greater indifference and it is with this that I propose to deal now to suggest the relationship between the two 'prongs' of N.V. revolutionary politics and revolutionary poetry.

With the outbreak of World War 1 European civilization became 'a preying upon others' and Wilfred Owen's prophecy of the pollution of our entire tradition:

"Now men will go content with what we spoiled
Or, discontent, boil bloody, and be spilled.
They will be swift with swiftness of the tigress,
None will break ranks, though nations trek from progress."
(*"Strange Meeting"*)

was fulfilled in the Fascist and Communist totalitarian states of the 1930's, and later at Auschwitz, Dresden, Hiroshima, Hungary, Suez and in the strategies of Massive Retaliation and Counterforce. Since poetry is a record of people's lives and values, it is not surprising that one of the qualities of poetry since 1914 - and particularly the last twenty years - has been violence. In our time poets have, of

These two articles, in this and the next issue, are a preview of Robert Shaw's book "Flash-Point", to be published by E.J. Arnold in April.

**ROBERT
SHAW**

course, reacted variously enough to this threat. In some, like the novelist-poets Kingsley Amis and Philip Larkin, violence has been conspicuous by its absence, by the intensity with which they burrowed into domestic warrens. "They haven't been able to stand the sight of the horror and misery and doubt all around them, and so they have turned inwards," Christopher Logue has said of them. Poets like Donald Davie, Charles Tomlinson and Richard Kell have gone further and fled into the deep fall-out shelters of "The New Aestheticism", whose poetry is to be judged by its artistic power rather than its moral ideas or social reality - one "recollects....in a state of alert mental tranquility, even if bombs are dropping round him!" (Kell). The work of others like Thom Gunn, John Wain, and Ted Hughes frequently exhibits a concern with violence and power but rarely in its contemporary political context. (The poets in the first and third groups given above - the "New Aestheticism" is more recent - are the poetic equivalents of and, in the case of Amis and Wain, the same people as the creators of the Angry Young Man's and Lucky Jims of the theatre and novels of 1957, with whom they share a veneration of rebelliousness: a political and cultural disillusionment - especially with the Welfare State and orthodox left, which was essentially the cry of a shabby impoverished middle class without any recognition of the need for radical alternatives. Amis is positively hostile to nuclear disarmers and other radical minorities: while none of these when interviewed in 1957 by 'The London Magazine' for a symposium on "commitment" considered political issues important for Gunn, 'the agony of the time is that there is no agony'. Hughes offers violence in isolation from time, motive, and effect, and the main images of violence are drawn from nature or pre Nuclear war. Violence is sometimes seen as the solution to modern man's disquiet about identity: the burned airman of "The Casualty", for example,

"Bulks closer greater flesh and blood than their own"

While in "The Martyrdom of Bishop Farrar",

"Out of his mouth, fire like a glory broke,
And smoke burned his sermons into the skies."

At least, Hughes poems do what they say i.e. embody in the texture of the verse the toughness and violence of the subject and, when compared with Thom Gunn, Hughes' impartiality before violence becomes a sign of health. For Gunn's attitude towards his subject is ambivalent. The movement of the verse is smooth, like a caress. Thus, in "The Beaters", in the absence of Hughes' impartial identification of style with subject, Gunn appears to share relish with both torturer and tortured:

"Whip, cords, and strap and toiling towards despair
Can feel the pain sweet, tranquil, in his blood....."

and

"The lips that meet the wound can finally
Justify nothing - neither pain nor care;
Tender upon the shoulders ripe with blood".

"Innocence", the title of another poem, is attributed to a young Nazi thug watching a Russian partisan burn alive (the colours are pretty). Gunn, like Hughes, tries to avoid moral judgements about violence: but, by contrast with Hughes, the discrepancy between style and content makes him seem to be partial to violence. The two virtues he offers us are toughness and restlessness. Peter Porter, I think, goes one better with:

"A man eating his dressing in the hospital
Is lied to by his stomach. It's a final feast to him
Of beef, blood pudding and black cloud."

But we must, as Trotsky somewhere warns us, distinguish between the false and the true revolutionary. Placing cruelty in mere historical or psychological context as these have to mistake this reflection of social reality for transforming it would be to mistake "The Avengers" for Gandhi.

Implicit in the work of the 1914-18 War Poets, in their recording of violence, was resistance not only to the war but also to the State. Owen, Rosenberg and Sassoon were as politically subversive as Shelley. Owen* distinguishing the profit motive in war ("I wish the Boche would.. make a clean sweep of the pleasure boats....and all the stinking Leeds and Bradford war-profit-eers....on Scarborough Sands".) and the resistance of organized religion to non-violence ("Passivity at any price! Suffer dishonour and disgrace, be killed; but never kill...pulpit professionals are ignoring it....."); Rosenberg rejecting the traditional Jewish role of acquiescence and its malevolent deity and demanding a realignment of man's potential in place of exploitation; and Sassoon throwing away his M.C. and enduring confinement as mentally sick. Their successors today, then, are not Gunn and Company, but poets of resistance like Jon Silkin, James Kirkup, Christopher Logue, Alex Comfort, Ewart Milne ("Elegy for Lost Submarine"), Geoffrey Hill, Adrian Mitchell, (Lrd Home....), Alan Brownjohn, ("William Empson at Aldermaston") and Emanuel Litvinoff.

Robert Shaw's second article will discuss the poetry of John Silkin, James Kirkup and Christopher Logue, and the role of the poet in our society.

*his letters, which will reputedly embarrass the Establishment have been withheld from publication by his executor.

The Perfumed Allotment 25

Once upon a time there was a man who wore regal head dress. Because of his standing in the ears of the land he was obeyed. When he said sex was sinful there was a joyous nodding of heads, since most of the people taking heed of the man in regal dress had been kept free from sexual knowledge; until they were so old that all they could do was to approve anyone at all who condemned sexual relationships. But after many, many generations of so strict parents the young people became even more restless than young people are wont to do, and they went out into the night and played like lovers do until all the elders became even more restless and frustrated. In the many many generations that followed there was greater restlessness than ever a person in the whole land could recall; and every young person was wont to go his and her own way into the allotment at the bottom of the garden and there break rules of censorship and fear "The chief contribution of the church in the matter of sex concerns the supernatural power which Christianity offers for the control and right direction of our natural powers and instincts." - from the Bishop of Rochester's contribution to 'Sex and Its Problems' published in the Practitioner of April 1954. "Moralists are too apt to generalize and they forget that the strength of sexuality varies so widely in different men and women that what is true of one individual is not true of another." ...from Sex and Society by Kenneth Walker and Peter Fletcher. Penguin.

In 1964 there can be no young person, even in this country, who is unaware of his own or her own potential for loving others both sexually and in the spirit. There can never have been a more enlightened time for young, curious adolescents who previously were left footloose to find out about sex the furtive way, via illicit touches, caresses and kisses. But today these same young people will be aware of sexual relationships and the more eager to love, and be allowed to love others. The recent publications of Fanny Hill and the Kama Sutra; Towards a Quaker View of Sex and The Perfumed Garden are aids to understanding sex within a human society composed so very obviously of men and women. Of course Friends, called Quakers, would not be pleased in the main to be grouped with Fanny Hill (a sinner?) in a sexual field so to speak: but the fact remains that both publications can only have aided commonsense and enjoyment, plus healthy respect for even greater understanding of individual sexual needs and desires.

As Oswald Schwarz says: "One is almost led to the conclusion that it is fear that made men surround love and sex with sorts of vetoes and regulations. How disgraceful is the word 'illicit' love; why does one need a licence to enjoy the greatest happiness an otherwise parsimonious fate has granted men." from The Psychology of Sex. Penguin.

In the same book in the chapter 'Towards Maturity' there is evidence given to justify the reasons for sexual intercourse between free individuals - unmarried lovers. ... "There are numerous peoples among whom premarital intercourse is very rare... But among many other races the unmarried girl may have sexual intercourse with young men - provided she takes only one lover at a time and is careful not to have a child... In countries as far distant from each other as South America and Lapland, or among the hill tribes in North Arakan and many others, chastity is a disadvantage rather than an asset, as far as the girl's getting married are concerned, because it casts a slur on her sexual desirability."

But this writer can hear the cries of 'Hill tribes in North Arakan. Is he comparing us, civilized people to such tribes?' YES. For as Schwarz concludes:

**DENNIS
GOULD**

Thus we find free premarital intercourse, affairs in our sense, as a widespread form of sex relationship among peoples whose sexual morality we have no right to put on a lower level than ours. "



HANGING

You probably read the details in the press at the time, so I won't go into the background, but just tell you how it affected a few people.

I met Bridgitte outside the Home Office on Monday afternoon. A small group walked up and down with posters, she stood against the railings with her suit-case. She had heard that a protest was being made in London, and had come up to join it, bringing with her the petition she had helped take round the small towns and villages in Cornwall. A few photographers, a few passers by, a very minor affair.

At 3 she went inside with the deputation, they were told that no, Mr. Brooke was not at home, no-one knew where he was, an under-underling would convey the message. They left, apart from Chris Cowley, who was soon dragged out and deposited in the gutter. The next move was to the House of Commons, where he interrupted a financial debate that night to remind the drowsing members of their responsibility.

Several of the press, sensing the main human interest, tried to share our taxi to Waterloo, and minutes were lost extricating them. If we lost the 3.30 train, we could not beat the deadline of 5.30 imposed by the Governor, when he unwillingly agreed to a visit.

"What will you tell him, Bridgitte?", "Surely you wont tell him there's no hope?", "Why not let us take you?", "Could you just smile for us?" We dodged them at the station, and settled into a crowded compartment. Not much privacy, and ears were soon cocked behind newspapers. In the circumstances, what do you talk about? The weather. Jobs. How no-one would give you one, if your name was Bridgitte Hamilton. If Brooke wanted could he still....? Films. Jobs. Weather. Dennis.

Basingstoke. Was it better to say, "Of course there's hope"? or "Its no good thinking there's a chance". What use a few peoples fiery words and deeds, when no-one else bothered. What was one man hanging, when scores would soon die on the roads, in the Christmas booze-up. A hundred or so people had applauded at a meeting the night before, but there was the Christmas shopping to do, and lots of other good excuses.

In Bristol it was rather better, but there they had a bishop, and it was really quite respectable. And its always more fun being associated with a big demonstration, full of togetherness. "Of course, if it had been bigger, we would have made an effort to come". Bridgitte agreed not to say anything to Dennis about our protests, in case it gave him false hope. We chewed our cold Wimpeys, the passengers peered sideways, and the train rolled on to Winchester. She really seemed to think that the mass of militant anti-hanging opinion would do something, or perhaps she was too polite to say we had failed her.

We dodged the press again, and taxied to the prison. I've been in jail and I've visited prisoners, but this was different. We sat in a waiting room, while friendly Hampshire voices talked next door to their friend about his release, and what they would do and drink. No-ones eyes met. Warders clattering off-duty outside the window gossiped the situation. Mr. Stuart was already in, and had tested the drop. Just eyeing him up now.



Perhaps that was why we had to wait so long.

The Chief Officer arrived a big, fatherly man. Brought us tea and biscuits and jollied Bridgett. Did I want to see Whitty, as well? No. He hushed a careless screw outside, talking about the last time. The "last time" in Winchester was more than ten years ago, and the then Governor went sick for the period.

She soon came back. She had only been allowed to speak to the man she would have married through wired glass. "I have'nt touched him since the Police came for him." And now she never would. She wore his parting gift, a signet ring. He still expected his father to come, but he never arrived.

The Chief ushered us out through the vast barred cage, and the little door in the big gates. Somehow his forced cheer made it possible for us to keep up the pretence that it was just a routine visit, and just a temporary misunderstanding was involved. As we stepped from the noisey brightly lit, green and polished brass entrance gateway into the darkness the press pounced, and this time they held on. The range of probing and twisting questions was worse than usual, and the determination to get an answer and a picture.

Escape was physically impossible. We finally accepted the offer of a local reporter, and let him drive us to his house accompanied by only his more restrained colleagues. Sitting in his front room while his children peeped round the door and his wife fussed with tea, we

held a macabre conference. The questions were just as probing, and the sad details of their parting squeezed for sensation, but they were also in some ways kind, and left a lot unsaid. Our host gave Bridgitt a tumbler of rum, which she drained. He also guided the interview along lines that gave a good sympathetic story for Tuesday morning's papers.

Some people thought that those of us who helped her were fooled; we had no illusions, it just did not matter. The ones with illusions were the "moralist" anti-hangers who would not support this campaign, as public opinion was not sympathetic to the two men. Better to wait for an appealing murderer, and then take a high principled stand. A girl of 19 who could talk of violence and death as easily as she did to me that night is a terrible indictment of any society. It poured out in a pub opposite the prison, where we tried to drink her into forgetting, because we could not face keeping her company all night. At last we persuaded her to retire to a small, friendly hotel, where the owner agreed not to wake her until it was too late.

While this went on, Tim Fox had been frantically trying to rally local support, but it seemed to be non-existent, so we waited alone outside the gates. In the small hours, we walked round the walls, past the warders houses with their Christmas trees and decorations. Behind the prison, building was in progress, and from the scaffolding it was easy to reach the prison yard. Should we? We went back.

Gradually, support arrived, and when the day shift of warders trooped in about twenty people watched them. "Vultures" they called us, and perhaps we were. The forced joviality, "A topping morning" fooled no-one. It's not easy to do society's dirty work, and then be despised for it.

The tension increased. If we could have torn the walls down with our hands we would have done. There must be something. Delay the chaplain, stop the sheriff. Break in over that scaffold. Only the thought that he might hear us coming, and then know we had failed stopped us.

As 8 approached, the photographers outnumbered us, and a hush fell, broken only by two reporters shouting curses over some old dispute. At two minutes to eight, they had an unexpected offering. Bridgitt came slowly up the hill, and reached us before being recognised. As 8 struck, she sheltered behind a banner, which was at once dragged aside to provide the vital 8 o'clock shot. She held my arm, very tightly, as the city clocks struck. We got her into a car as quickly as they let us.

I've seen some of their pictures. A few scruffy young men in duffle coats a few respectable local Friends with home-made placards. Not much fuss, when a few yards away a man is being hanged by the neck until dead.

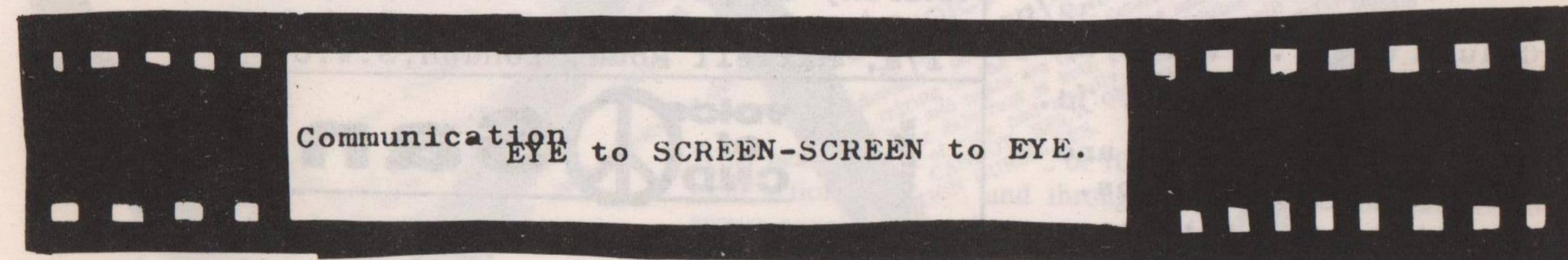
After criticizing the press, I still feel that these pictures should appear. It is with Bridgette's permission. Some feel that just as hanging is carried out in private, under a cloak of euphemisms, so the suffering entailed should be passed over. Bridgette is on my conscience and I want her on yours. We all failed her. I saw her off on the train back to her neighbours, surrounded by her face in syrupy front pages, but there will be others. As I write Christopher Simcox awaits Mr. Stuart or his bretheren. It's we, as well as Brooke, who are murderers.

Contact Paul Winacour, 38, Fembriidge Villas, W.11., for details of current protest. Badges... HANGING IS MURDER... 9d post free.

future issues of REASON will include:

- Full news coverage. Readers letters. More poetry. Reviews.
- An analysis of Easter Peace Rites.
- Childrens War Games: Good or Bad? - by Dr R.A. Parker.
- The Poor Man's Guardian. In the early 19th Century the Stamp Act stopped large scale sales of working class journals. The Poor Man's Guardian was published to defy this act. Over 500 people were arrested and jailed but the act fell. Illustrations from the original paper. By Colin Griffen.
- Rebellion and Child Care. Based on a talk given to a UNESCO Group. The author of 'They Steal For Love' and 'Schools for Nonviolence!' - Anthony Weaver
- Workers Control: the First Steps. A look at contemporary experiments in factory organization. The use of the 'gang contract' systems of work. This was kindly contributed by the busy editor of Anarchy - Colin Ward.
- Frustrated Violence and the Bomb. I. "the basic common problem is that people do not know how to effect change, or how to preserve the things which they value, without violence." writes Philip Seed. Author of the Quaker pamphlet: The Undefended, contributor to Peace News and supporter of the Welsh Committee of IOO.

If any readers can contribute photographs or articles we shall be very pleased to consider them for publication. Altogether we shall have an outlay of £100 on the first issue. We can only cover this - and so produce a second issue with your help in distribution, and perhaps money?



Two films worth seeing out of a long and valuable catalogue are The Walk and Everyman I. These films from the Concord Film Council's collection are vivid portrayals of nonviolent action. The Walk describes the San Francisco to Moscow March organized by CNVA - Committee for Nonviolent Action - Everyman I the efforts of three men to sail a small craft into the Pacific nuclear testing grounds, Concord also have a comprehensive collection of films on the tragedies and inadequacies of apartheid, hatred and war on want. A few titles will not do justice, but may induce the eye to follow the address and write to Corbyn Street: I have found these films of note: Language of Faces; We Are the Lambeth Boys; March to Aldermaston; The Toymaker; Rocket Site Story; walk in at Swaffham Thor missile base; All Quiet on the Western Front; Deadly the Harvest; It's A Grand Life: to name a few. Good films attract people because of their visual excitement - much more so than because they portray a special theme; so it makes it even more important that they are given an opportunity to see these films. Eric Walker, honorary secretary of Concord, or Lydia his wife, are very helpful and will give any advice on programmes, costs and arrangements - should you want to show films to your friends or to any organizations that you support. Concord Film Council's office is a little inaccessible off the Hornsey Road in North London. But by ringing ARC. 7200 you will be put in immediate contact. CONCORD FILM COUNCIL, 154, Corbyn Street, London, N4.

So Hugh Brock is to leave Peace News. One wonders who will take his place. Those of us familiar with the rarified air of university know that it can be a poor substitute for experience in the day-to-day struggle of life, and especially, in this case, of the grass-roots peace movement.

Where most journals are concerned, the readers are hardly in a position to criticise, they just stop reading. But Peace News is its readers, without their contributions, financial aid, and, above all, their selling it cannot exist. They ask, in return, that it serves their needs as well as increasing their knowledge.

Few readers would deny that over the last year or so it has become a better, more polished production, and a series of scoops has brought it to the attention of a far wider public, but in the same period circulation has fallen away from its peak, and is now only a quarter of Sanity's, despite its apparent wider appeal.

Hugh Brock has twice been jailed for his activities for peace, and risked it many times more, not just for minor sins like saying "Warren Row" in print, but for issues like the Swaffham time number, it's whole front page a map showing all planned rocket bases, a disclosure far more damaging than the R.S.G. document.

Finding a man of his stature will not be easy, one hopes that he will not be chosen to fit the new mould, ready to jettison the bundle orders in order to woo the academic trade.

ADVERTISING RATES.

Whole page..... £5.
Half page..... £3.
Quarter page..... 32/6.
Column inch..... 8/-.

Small ads.....word.. 3d.

Send for full rates and details of paste-ups.

+++++ Reason, (Circulation), 4, Benhams Place
London, NW 3. Phone SW15 3878.
Please send... copies for... months.
Postal rates.. 1 copy..1/3 (25c)
Year 15/-(£3) Bulk 10/-doz.
Name.....
Address.....

ADVERTISEMENTS.

Anarchy-37 a symposium on 'Why I Don't Vote'
Anarchy is published monthly by Freedom Press
at 2/-. From Freedom Press Bookshop,
17a, Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.



For all the news and comment
on the anti-bomb movement.

SANITY, CND, 2 CARTHUSIAN ST., LONDON, E.C.1 (Dept. R)

Please supply me with SANITY for one year, starting with the next issue.

NAME

ADDRESS

IN THIS ELECTION YEAR YOU MUST READ..

Socialist Leader

Now eight pages every week.
NEW READERS. 22 weeks for 10/-.
from: 197, Kings Cross Road, London WC 1.

Large graphic featuring a peace symbol with '100' inside. Text includes: 'NON-VIOLENT ACTION', 'EATER', 'MARCH ON RUSSIA', 'RESISTANCE', '6d', 'PLEASE HELPT LEBEN ZU R...', 'NO CHOICE', 'What next...', 'The London Committee of 100: Nathan Adler, Peter Allen, Pat Arrowsmith, Angela Aspinwall, Dudley Barker, Manny Blankett, Nick Bohm, John Brailey, Doug Brewood Jr., Wendy Butlin, Jane Buxton, George Cabutti, Terry Chandler, Chris Cowley, Robin Davis, Rosemary Dean, Peggy Penny, Ian Dixon, Janice Edmunds, Roger Etherington, Kathleen Farr, Tommy Farr, Peter Fenbow, John French, Wyn Gardner, Adam Gielgud, Roland Gummer, Richard Harvey, Richard Headicar, Bill Holdsworth, Ian Hutchinson, Bertram Iszatt, Jimmy Jewers, Brunda Jordan, Brian McGee, Hazel McGee, Fred Morel, Peter Moule, Tony Murphy, Mark Newnes, Jay Nightingale, Pat O'Connell, Inge Oscarsson, Andrew Papworth, John Papworth, Shirley Parsons, John Pugh, Jim Radford, Nick Ralph, Inez vorth, Ernest Rodker, Sydney Roper, Michael Scott, Colin Seal, Diana Shelley, Barbara Smoker, Tony Smythe, Brenda Stanway, Charles Stimpson, Cynthia Taylor, David Thomas, Harvey Tripp, Peter Turner, Jan Vink, Nick Walter, Ruth Walter, Ken Weller.'

please return to
RESISTANCE 13 Goodwin Street LONDON N 4
Please send me a 6 months subscription
to RESISTANCE. I enclose...d for sub.
and donation towards the Committee's work

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

I would like the following pamphlets:
.I enclose £...d to cover costs + post.
Spies for Peace reprint.RSG 6. 1/-.
Silent Death: a summary of germ warfare.1/-
Against the Law?C of 100 Legalhandbook.1/-
Nonviolent Resistance: Men Against War.1/6.

the London Committee of 100, 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4.
LONDON
Committee of 100
for **Non Violent Action**