

In this Issue
Anthology for
Election Time - p. 2
German Libertarians
and Unity - p. 3
The Anarchist
Personality - p. 4

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Party was never meant for Democracy, will not work with Democracy, and all attempts to yoke the two together must end in disappointment and disaster."
 —T. E. KEBBEL

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Threepence

YOUR PARTY NEEDS YOU

DON'T THINK-VOTE!

A WRITER in last Sunday's *Observer*, pointed out that a British election "is not and should not be, an occasion when the electorate makes a series of specific policy decisions". A British election is therefore

rather an occasion when the voters decide which of several rival political teams should assume office and make political decisions on behalf of the whole community. Hence the preoccupation with "party images", based on the records over time of the rival teams, the qualifications of the national leaders, and their general political orientation, rather than with specific items in the rival electoral programmes.

This is a far cry from the government of-for-and-by-the-people which we have always understood to be the basis of true democracy, for what we have in fact is the contrary of democracy, with the government telling the people what they should do and not the other way round. The role of the people at election time is quite a simple one, "of choosing between rival teams of de-

cision-makers" and not that of forming an opinion on a number of major political, social and economic questions and casting their vote accordingly. Of course a lively, informed and real democracy would not tolerate for one moment a system in which the people are consulted once every five years or whenever the leader of the government considers it expedient to do so. Neither would it tolerate the farce of the past year in which everyone engaged in speculations as to when the general elections would take place. That the date is as closely a guarded secret as the budget proposals is only understandable to those who view elections not as a welcome opportunity for the people to express themselves, but as part of a personal struggle between politicians for the plums and privileges of office. Hence those in office in choosing the date for a general election will take into account all the factors which they hope will have the effect of winning votes for them, or at least, of losing votes for their political rivals.

class distinctions in society, politicians will thrive and there will be no democracy.

The failure of democracy, of government of-for-and-by-the-people, hinges on this basic fact: that democracy cannot thrive in a society divided into haves and have nots, into privileged and underprivileged, into masters and servants, into employers and workers. For democracy to function democratically implies a basic social equality between all men because only then will they be united in pursuing common interests which will benefit all alike. To-day on the contrary, because society is split from top to bottom there can be no common interests.

Is it not obvious that there will never be a communion of ideas between an employer and his employees, between the pleasure-seeking rich and those who are employed to gratify their smallest whim? They may arrive at a *modus vivendi*; society may provide those few opportunities whereby the underprivileged can, through lotteries, football pools and the rest, buy themselves a place among the privileged; but for the vast majority there is no escaping, their lot is determined for them at birth, just as some are born with a silver spoon in their mouth!

TO imagine that privilege can be abolished by legislation is to assume that politicians, who are among the privileged members of society themselves, will have the strength of character to legislate themselves out of their key positions as well as the courage to challenge that not insignificant minority who have a stake in the unequal society. No government could afford, assuming it had the wish, to change the basic set-up and organisation of society. For whatever government is in office, power is in the hands of those who own and operate the means of production.

So long as the workers express their discontent through the ballot boxes and the machinery of government they will never challenge the authority of the privileged group in society. At most they will be offered a few scraps and titbits to keep them quiet. But the workers will only challenge privilege when they under-

BUT all the secrecy in naming the day, all the tons of leaflets and pamphlets which are beginning to pour from the Party offices, the mud slinging and the smear campaigns, the promises and the lies and half-truths, the whitewashing and the false indignation to which we shall be subjected until October 8, are in fact directed to a very small minority of the electors (8 per cent. in the 1955 elections) who had not already made up their minds as to the way they would vote before the campaign started. This phenomenon, of anything from two thirds to three quarters of the voters having always supported the same party is not only an indication of the political apathy of most people ("Most of these party supporters take no active part in politics apart from casting their ballot") but also of a class-divided society seeking some kind of class expression through the two major political parties. There is little to choose between the policies and methods of the major parties and before many years have passed there will be little to choose between the class background of the leadership of the rival parties. (As it is, in the *Observer's* presentation of the "rival teams", Labour's leading ten include only two "working-class" members, and they, Aneurin Bevan, and James Griffiths have been M.P.s for 30 years and 23 years respectively as well as Union officials before that!).

But nevertheless the Labour Party is still, in the eyes of millions of workers, the "workers' party" whatever its failure when in office to implement more than a few of its election promises. Similarly for other millions of people the Conservative Party is the bastion against the "Reds" of the Labour Party and the blackmailing Trades Unions, as well as against the liquidators of the Empire.

The fact that neither Party lives up to its name does not prevent the politicians from deriving what advantages they can from the perpetuation of the myth and the class basis of society. For so long as there are

Too Much for the Vatican

Worker Priests Banned

SO the 'Worker-Priest' movement in France has proved too much for the Vatican after all! It seems that far from having any influence on the working class, the working class was having too much influence on the priests.

Clearly, the individuals who took up this work in the first place must have been exceptional members of the Church—not content to remain cut off from the day-to-day struggles of the common people—and thus perhaps more open to influence by economic and realist arguments.

Rather than allow any of its flock to serve society except through its own prescribed channels, the Vatican has put a ban on the worker-priest movement. Rather than risk the loss of any of its servants, the Church is prepared to let the working class go to damnation its own way, without benefit of clergy.

A Reuter report from Paris says:

An experiment tried over fifteen years and aimed at spreading religion among the French working classes has ended with a Vatican ban on the "worker-priests" movement. A directive from the Pope has been circulated to French bishops, forbidding priests from working fulltime outside the Church and asking that other means of spreading religion among the workers shall be sought.

The "worker-priest" experiment,

which started during the war, saw some priests take off their robes and put on workmen's overalls to work in factories and live among the workers in order to understand the problems and try to spread religion. The movement spread through France and at one time there were over a hundred "worker-priests", but at the time of the ban there were only about 25.

Opposition grew in the church and there were complaints that some priests had become local officials in communist-dominated unions and had taken part in economic and political strikes. Last spring, the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Feltrin, reported to the Vatican on the experiment and asked for instructions.

MUGGERIDGE ON GOVERNMENT

Whatever the Conservatives may say, they are instinctively and traditionally on the side of the rich.

True, the Conservatives have maintained and upheld the Welfare State. In doing so, they have thrown a bone to a dog otherwise capable of biting them.

The Labour Party, on the other hand, with all its confusions and inadequacies, has always been, and remains, on the side of the poor. Its orientation is towards the humble and meek rather than towards the mighty in their seats, and the capital gains that keep them there.

This, to me, is a decisive argument in favour of the Labour Party.

Honesty compels me to admit, also, that I am temperamentally against ANY government.

Democracy, it seems to me, requires such an attitude. All good men and true must hate their government. Only so can the pretensions of authority be undermined, and its constant turnover be assured.

Power, like the Crazy Gang, must change its bill from time to time.

MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE in "the Sunday Pictorial, 13/9/59.

NOW, HERE'S A NEW ANGLE!

From a "Bookseller" Advertisement, August 22nd:

"This book deserves a place of its own in the literature of Nazi horrors, as it deals with these events from an unusual aspect—the effect of them upon the victims themselves."

LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL (Author of *The Scourge of the Swastika, etc.*)

FIVE ACRES ON THE MOON!

SHOULD Mr. Krushchev be passing through Baltimore during his U.S. trip, he had better have a word with Mr. James Margaritis, of Calvert Bar and Grill there.

According to the *Guardian* (14/9/59), Mr. Margaritis has long been something of a lunar visionary; he used to be ahead of his time; and now that the Soviet scientists have begun to realise his dream of exploration and development of the moon he must be anxiously poised, impatient to demand Mr. Krushchev's assurance that the moon will remain open to capitalist as well as Communist settlers.

A Londoner who used to live in Baltimore vividly remembers the day in 1955 when Mr. Margaritis, wearing a plastic helmet equipped with two-way radio, was received at Baltimore City Hall by Mayor D'Alesandro and presented him with the deeds to five acres on the scenic south-west Copernicus, and "beach rights to, and right of access to, the Sea of Tranquillity, the right to fish, dredge and clam in, upon and under the Sea of Nector, and the right to engage in winter sports in the Lunar Alps."



'Ar! It be foine sport—but there baint much taste in 'em!

Ideal Cities - 2

THE CITY OF EFFICIENT CONSUMPTION

FOR the reader whose interest is social rather than purely architectural, Dr. Helen Rosenau's *The Ideal City*, which was discussed in last week's FREEDOM, is a depressing volume. The planners of ideal cities throughout history seemed to regard the inhabitants merely as an adjunct, imprisoned in geometry. A much more stimulating discussion of ideal types, or "paradigms" as they call them, in which attention is paid to the kind of lives which people may like to live, is to be found in a most inventive and thoughtful book, now unfortunately out of print, *Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life*, by Percival and Paul Goodman (University of Chicago Press, 1947). Percival Goodman is an architect and town-planner; his brother Paul is a writer and social critic with anarchist affinities.

They see a 'community plan' not as a layout of streets and houses, but as the external form of the activity going on. "It is more like a choreography of society in motion and in rest, an arrangement for society to live out its habits and ideals and do its work, directing itself or being directed. There is a variety of town schemes: gridirons, radiations, ribbons, satellites, or vast concentrations; what is important is the activity going on, how it is influenced by the scheme and how it transforms any scheme, and uses or abuses any site, to its own work and values." They examine in turn the three main types of plans which have emerged in the last hundred years, grouping them into three classes:—

A. THE GREEN BELT: Garden Cities, Satellite Towns, Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse*, neighbourhood housing.

B. INDUSTRIAL PLANS: The Plan for Moscow (as debated in Russia in 1935), the Lineal City of Soria y Mata, Buckminster Fuller's 'Dymaxion'.

C. INTEGRATED PLANS: Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacres, Ralph Borsodi's Homestead, the Kolkhoz, the Kvutza, the T.V.A.

Having discussed this miscellany of modern plans, the Goodmans turn to their own, and they state their approach in these terms:

"Our concerns in this book centre around the following conviction: that the multiplication of commodities and the false standard of living, on the one hand, the complication of the economic and technical structure in which one can work at a job, on the other hand, and the lack of direct relationship between

these two have by now made a great part of external life morally meaningless. Economic plans to avoid unemployment, to raise the standard of living, to develop backward regions—these are useful, but they do not touch the essentially modern problems: the selective use of machine technology, the use of an available surplus, and the distance between means and ends. The concrete solutions of these problems are community plans. Our concerns are how to make the multitude of goods good for something, how to integrate the work and culture, and how to keep an integrated community plan from becoming a plan for complete slavery . . ."

Emphasising one aspect after another, they arrived at three completely different community formulas, communities for

- Efficient Consumption.
- The Elimination of the Difference between Production and Consumption.
- Planned Security with Minimum Regulation.

These three are presented as regional schemes, but they are not meant to be taken as concrete plans at all.

"In the first place, there is no planning without a physical site and a particular history and population. In the second place, our formulas are extremes and abstractions, but there is no particular place without a mixture . . . Speaking very broadly we should say that the first formula is especially applicable to highly industrialised and populous places; the second, to places of sparse settlement, new industry, and new culture; the third, to old and populous countries, with ancient cultures but relatively little modern technology."

★

THE City of Efficient Consumption is presented as the logical environment of a consumer-centred culture. Its preliminary conditions, they conclude are that

A population of several millions is the least economic unit. (Because the combination of mass production and variety of choice are required, and concentration of the market is the efficient solution to the problems of distribution and servicing under conditions of mass production).

Work and life centre around the market.

The moral drives are limitation and emulation.

The decoration is display.

Close by is the open country, for full flight.

The centre of the City is developed as one large air-conditioned cylinder:

"In existing great cities, which have large buildings and congested downtown centres, there are always three simultaneous systems of streets: the through highways, the old city streets proper, and the corridors of large buildings. It is the through highways, coming more and more to be elevated or depressed or otherwise isolated, which carry the main stream of traffic between the city and places outside the city. And it is wrongly thought that by increasing these highways and facilitating entrance to and egress from the centre the congestion of the centre will be thinned out. But in the end all the highways must pour their motorcars into the city streets; for it is the city streets that join building to building; and it is at a particular building, and not at downtown as a whole, that the motorist wants to arrive. But once he has arrived at the building, he is

willing to leave his car, go indoors, and use the corridors and elevators of the building to bring him to the office or department of a store where he has business.

Now it can be seen at once that the city streets, under conditions of motor traffic, on the one hand, and of increasingly large buildings, on the other, are more and more becoming intermediaries, useless for travelling and also unfit for walking and window-shopping. At the same time they cover 35 per cent. of the ground space and are the subject of perhaps the most costly and elaborate of the city services: paving, traffic problems, cleaning, snow removal, etc. For servicing, they are neither properly in the open (so that snow, for instance, could be simply pushed aside) nor yet indoors (protected). These streets serve as the perfect example of the non-productive, non-consumptive services which waste away the social wealth and health."

Consequently, in the City of Efficient Consumption, the bull is taken by the horns, in making the city centre one immense container, in which (1) the intermediary streets vanish, (2) "the through driveways now carry out their function to the end, bringing passengers and goods directly to stations in the container, without two speeds and without double-loading for trucks and trains", and (3) "the corridors are transfigured, assuming the functions of promenade and display which the streets performed so badly. The city has become spacious, with the spaciousness of a great department store."

Outside the centre is the second ring

of buildings, the university, theatres, museums and libraries, the "region of the things which have been created and discovered but are not consumed in the enjoyment", and beyond is the residential zone? The roles of the neighbourhood in this paradigm is already well-known:

"In the city of efficient consumption, the neighbourhood is the unit of emulation and invidious imputation. This is demonstrated as follows: It is in the end unsatisfactory and indelicate to emulate or to impute economic inferiority to one's family and friends; on the other hand, to do so with total strangers is pointless. Therefore, at least for domestic display, the unit of emulation, etc., must be the neighbourhood. The residents of the neighbourhood take notice; and they are not so well known that one is embarrassed, or too transparent to be effective."

On the question of houses or flats, the authors observe that

"The idea that 'a man's house is his castle' refers primarily to the situation in which the house and its land maintain a productive relation of comparative self-sufficiency. Once the land is diminished, the idea is already seriously weakened. Now, as community domestic services, such as light, gas, and water, begin to invade the home, the reason for its architectural identity begins to vanish. Lastly, when these conveniences multiply, they can be provided efficiently only if the isolated unit vanishes and the services are provided for a block of units, an apartment house. These units are more and more mass-produced and larger and larger."

Continued on p. 4

A Little Anthology for Election Time

The Superstition of Parliament

"The great political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings. The great political superstition of the present is the divine right of parliament. The oil of anointing seems unawares to have dropped from the head of the one on to the heads of the many, and given sacredness to them also and to their decrees."

HERBERT SPENCER,

"THE MAN VERSUS THE STATE".

The Member of Parliament

"... A veritable Proteus, omniscient and omnipotent, today a soldier and tomorrow a pig-man, successively a banker, an academician, a street-sweeper, doctor, astronomer, drug-manufacturer, tanner, or contractor, according to the orders of the day in Parliament, he never knows a moment's hesitation. Accustomed in his capacity as lawyer, journalist, or public orator, to speak of things he knows nothing of, he votes for all these and other questions as well with only this difference: while in the newspapers he merely amused with his gossip, and in the courtroom his voice only awoke the sleeping judges, in Parliament his will make laws for thirty or forty million inhabitants."

PETER KROPOTKIN,

"PAROLES D'UN REVOLTE".

The Ballot

"What is the ballot? It is neither more nor less than a paper representative of the bayonet, the billy, and the bullet. It is a labour-saving device for ascertaining on which side force lies and bowing to the inevitable. The voice of the majority saves bloodshed, but it is no less the arbitrament of force than is the decree of the most absolute of despots backed by the most powerful of armies."

BENJAMIN R. TUCKER,

Quoted in "LIBERTY AND THE GREAT LIBERTARIANS".

The Right to Vote

"(The) right of voting is properly a political right; nor does it bear any resemblance to the exercise of sovereignty. The possession of this right enables a voter to influence the formation of the sovereign body; but a voter never has any part of the governing power, nor does he wield a power which in any way resembles

the authority of government, except that the decisions of those who really wield that authority may be influenced by his vote . . . His power, conferred by right, is strictly limited, and is confined to one point, namely, the contributing to the choice of the supreme legislative body. There is no question of public policy—no matter of legislation, in the decision of which he has directly any voice."

SIR GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS,

"THE USE AND ABUSE OF POLITICAL TERMS".

The Sovereignty of the People

"The truth is that sovereignty, which what—according to democratic principle—ought to be possessed by the mass, cannot be delegated. In making a decision, no one can represent the sovereign, because to be sovereign means to make one's own decisions. The one thing a sovereign cannot possibly delegate is its own sovereignty; that would be self-contradictory, and would simply mean that sovereignty had shifted hands."

JAMES BURNHAM,

"THE MACHIAVELLIANS".

"At the moment when a people sets up representatives, it is no longer free, it no longer exists."

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

Anarchists, Political Action and Government

"Anarchists reject governmentalism because they find no ethical warrant and no practical necessity for it. It appears to them self-evident that society, or the community, can have no greater claims upon the individual than the component members of it have. The metaphysical and misleading analogies between society and organism, upon which is usually founded the governmentalist's theory of the prerogatives of the state, anarchists reject with undisguised contempt. 'The community', or 'the state', is an abstraction, and an abstraction has neither rights nor duties. Individuals, and individuals only, have rights. This proposition is the cornerstone of the anarchistic doctrine, and those who accept it are bound to go the full length of anarchism. For if the community cannot rightfully compel a man to do or refrain from doing that which private and individual members thereof cannot legitimately force him to do or fore-

go, then compulsory taxation and compulsory co-operation for any purpose whatever are wrong in principle, and government is merely another name for aggression. It will not be pretended that one private individual has the right to tax another private individual without his consent; how, then, does the majority of the members of a community obtain the right to tax the minority without its consent? . . . Majorities, minorities, and any other combination of individuals, are entitled to insist on respect of their rights, but not on violating the rights of others. There is one ethical standard, not two; and it cannot be right for government to do that which would be criminal or immoral when committed by individuals.

"... To enter into the political arena is to recognize, by implication, the principle of government. To vote is to coerce or threaten coercion. Behind the ballot is the bullet of the soldier, ready to force the defeated minority into submission. The voter does not merely assert his right to self-government; he sets up a claim to govern others. The anarchist cannot employ a method which would put him in such a false light."

VICTOR S. YARROS,

In "THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM".

★

"... The anarchist . . . is an opponent of every government, regardless of the form it takes. His aim is not the conquest, but the abolition of governmental power. He cannot, therefore, be an agent or representative of governmental power, a wheel in the State chariot. Anarchism bases all its teachings on the free personality and the tactical expression of this teaching is individual initiative and direct action. The forms of anarchist tactics may vary according to the circumstances and the tactics of our enemies, but the struggle itself will always be a direct one.

"As anarchists we know that modern parliamentarianism, the so-called representative system, is only a new form of the old State principle. The place of the dictator is taken by the deputies. The results are the same. It is immaterial if the laws are made and imposed by the will of one hundred, five hundred

or a thousand persons. Experience demonstrates that legislation of parliamentary majorities can sometimes be more despotic than that of a personal dictator. If the people in lands ruled by parliaments enjoy more rights and freedoms than in despotic lands, it is not because the government is better, but because the rulers were forced to adapt themselves to the demands of the masses. As soon as the masses become indifferent to the rights which they or their forefathers won through direct action, then even the most democratic government exposes the essentially despotic and reactionary nature common to all governments. It makes little difference who determines the fate of a nation, whether it is an absolute king or a number of deputies. Proudhon was correct when he stated: "Parliament is nothing more than a king with 600 heads." The anarchists want to make it impossible for one, ten, or a hundred people to rule and tyrannize over their subjects and control their thoughts.

"In working for the realization of these ideals we must never forget wherein is found, the life source of every authoritarian power. The foundation of every government is not the police, army and other power institutions which protect the state system, but the ignorance, superstition and respect of the masses for these institutions. There attitudes must be changed. If we ourselves participate in legislative or executive functions and become part of the mechanics of government, this work will be impossible."

RUDOLF ROCKER,

"ANARCHISM AND POLITICAL ACTION."

ELECTION GUYED

The Anarchist Anti-Election leaflet will be available next week.

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Opinion

Theory and Reality of Government

IN several countries the fiction of representative legislation is the screen behind which is concealed an absolute "by the grace of God" monarchy. In those nations in which it is an actual reality, where the representative body really reigns and governs, it amounts to nothing but a dictatorship of certain persons who in turn obtain control of the supreme power. Theoretically representative legislation ensures the fulfilment of the will of the majority; in reality it only carries out the will of half-a-dozen party leaders, their advisers and standard bearers. Theoretically the opinions of the representatives should be formed or influenced by the arguments advanced in the parliamentary debates; in reality they are not influenced by them in the slightest, but depend entirely upon the party leader or upon private interests. Theoretically the representatives should have only the good of the commonwealth before their eyes; in reality their only thought is how to advance their private interests and those of their friends at the expense of the commonwealth. Theoretically the representatives are supposed to be the best and wisest of the citizens; in reality they are the most ambitious, the most pushing, and the coarsest. Theoretically the meaning of a vote deposited in favour of a candidate is that he is known and trusted by the elector; in reality the elector knows nothing whatever about him except that a set of ranting speech-makers have been deafening him for weeks with the candidate's name and placarding it before his eyes.

The forces which theoretically keep the parliamentary machine in motion, are experience, foresight and abnegation of self; in reality they are strength of will, egotism, and fluency of speech. Culture, intelligence, and noble sentiments are defeated by noisy eloquence and indomitable audacity, and the halls of legislature are ruled, not by true wisdom but by individual, obstinate wills.

Not an atom of the right of representative legislation supposed to be gained by universal suffrage, fall to the individual average citizen. Now as much as ever before is my poor Hans obliged to pay taxes and to obey the authorities, bruising his elbows again and again, by coming into contact with the thousand absurd restrictions which hem him in on every side. All the share he has in the whole business of representative legislation with all its fuss and ceremonies, is his fatigue on election days, in walking to the polls, and his dissatisfaction that more entertaining and profitable reading matter is crowded out of the newspapers to make room for the uninteresting, interminable parliamentary debates.

MAX NORDAU.

Narcotics

THE recent deaths of Billie Holiday, the blues singer in America and of Brenda Dean Paul here throw a vivid light on the official approach to drug addiction practised in Britain and in the U.S.A.

In the U.S.A. the possession of marijuana and heroin are (as in this country) punishable offences but there is no means of treating addicts except by committal to prison with its consequent deprivation. In this country possession is also a crime but addicts may receive treatment.

As Judge Murtagh says in a recent book it is as absurd to try to cure addiction by threats of imprisonment as it is to whip a child for catching mumps or to flagellate the victims of arthritis. Nevertheless, harsher and harsher laws are being enacted of which Billy Holiday, Gerry Mulligan and Robert Mitchum, to mention some of the most well-known, have been victims.

In the *New Leader* for July 6th, an article by William Sparks gives a more extreme view which would lend support to the anarchistic view that it is law

MOST comrades of various countries who were familiar with the "anti-authoritarian" circles in the Germany of the Weimar Republic, between 1923-33, retain a striking impression of a very high cultural level, of an almost excessive seriousness in devotion to this or that formula of organisation, but also of an ideological sectarianism which pretty well paralysed their work. Separated as they were by problems of personalities masking infinitesimal theoretical divergencies these revolutionary groupings which were more or less independent of Leninist Marxism and social democracy, opposed each other with a bunch of tendencies (*Richtungen*), each crystallised in its ideological purity, but isolated from the desolate realities of the growth of Hitlerism.

Later, under Nazi rule or in exile, conditions were less propitious than ever for friendly and fraternal co-operation, and the divisions subsisted to the same degree that the movement survived. After twelve years of an often heroic struggle against the bourgeois counter-revolution, and twelve of tragic resistance against the racist terror, the few survivors of the current which had been relatively powerful round 1920 found themselves in the worst possible conditions for re-starting their activities. Bloody, totally devastated, amputated of various provinces from which flowed in a floating, stateless population; divided into four impenetrable sectors of military occupation, Germany was reduced to the state of a political and economic no-man's land, and threatened with social disintegration. The militants were in disagreement even on their attitude towards this problem; some were inspired by circumstantial gradualism, others by a fruitless revolutionary fervour. Despite all this, groups were reformed, periodicals began to re-appear, contacts were established abroad thanks to the internationalism of prisoners of war, neutrals, occupiers and refugees. Various German-speaking elements were present at the European anarchist conferences between 1946 and 1949.

Something which has always characterised the German comrades has been their will to conquer material difficulties. Gradually (thanks partly to the impartial mediation of the CRIA) the groups emerged from their isolation, at times from their defiance. And after the period of waiting, from 1949-59, there is a happy surprise. Instead of falling back into doctrinal rigour and formalism, the libertarian nuclei in Hamburg, Berlin, Munich, the Ruhr and other regions have been collaborating, in an increasingly open and frank way, first with the anarchist international which does not adopt any exclusive tendency, then later among themselves, and thus overcoming rather more than an unfavourable prejudice rooted in their tradition.

One may certainly regret the passing of the time when ten or a dozen diverse bulletins published in Austria, Switzerland, Holland, England, France and Sweden joined together in discussing the problems of the moment in the German language. But this excessive multiplicity was weakening and inefficient: it threatened shortly to lead to a general decomposition. Three periodicals have come safely through the storms, published respectively in Wasserkante, West

which makes the criminal. Sparks is of the opinion (which would probably need substantiation) that the effects of marijuana, morphine, opium and heroin are exaggerated and that tobacco is more harmful than marijuana, and alcohol is the most important addicting drug in the United States. He charges that the chief evils arising from drug addiction lie in the underground drug-traffic which provides huge profits to the dealers who in many cases are the same bootleggers who waxed fat on the 'Noble Experiment' of Prohibition.

Sparks points out that there are approximately one million alcoholics in America which is accepted as a medical and psychological problem and there are 60,000 narcotics who, being treated as criminals, tend to produce the same results—intensified craving, gang-warfare, police corruption, etc.—as did the Prohibition Era.

"The crime and degradation associated with narcotics are not caused by the drugs, but, ironically, by their very scarcity. Our laws have never been able to prevent people from becoming addic-

German Libertarians Move Towards Unity

Berlin and Rhénanie. Today the question concerning us is the gradual fusion of these publications with small circulations, and the launching in January 1960 of a printed organ, probably a monthly review, common to all the anarchist and libertarian socialist tendencies of the German-speaking world. This proposition, which presumes a union of effort, that is to say "unity within regional and affinitive diversity", seems a very good road to take, judging by a recent circular, and it is a salutary and inspiring example to comrades in France and elsewhere. Perhaps we may now give several long extracts:

Constitution of a Federation on the National Level

For months and even years, comrades of all ideological nuances—supporters and opponents of the class struggle, of violence, of revolutionary councils—have got into the habit of reading the same bulletins, collaborating freely, whoever were the animators and editors, of sustaining them almost without distinction, and of practising among themselves and with the victims of the Eastern dictatorship, a great deal of solidarity. This has made it possible to place at the top of the agenda of a conference, planned well in advance, and held in the region of Wuppertal on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of August, a discussion on the constitution of a League or Federation of Libertarian Socialists and Anarchists.

The conference opened punctually at 10 a.m. on the 1st August, in the rooms of the Silvio Gesell Society, a sympathetic organisation, situated in the same urban conglomeration as Wuppertal-Barmen-

JUST SQUARE-BASHING TO COP-BASHING

The view that National Service must take a share of the blame for juvenile delinquency is held in a leading article in the "Medical Press" this week. The article says:

"Formerly, a lad left school and soon began to settle down to learning the job which he was going to make his career. Recently, he has known that real settling down could not begin until he was 20, and the years from 15 to 18 have been years of marking time and waiting.

"Worse still, though the Services have done some young men a power of good, it has been all too easy for the unsocial types to spend their National Service time learning how to dodge responsibility rather than how to accept it."

Guardian 2/9/59.

"Everyone is by nature constituted to be his or her own government, his own law, his own church—each individual is a system within himself; and the great problem must be solved with the broadest admission of the right of individuality which forbids any attempt to govern each other, and confines all our legislation to the adjustment and regulation of our intercourse or commerce with each other."

—JOSIAH WARREN.

ted to narcotics, but are quite effective at driving addicts into crime as they desperately seek funds to buy from the underworld what they cannot legally obtain."

Judge Murtagh reinforces this in his book *Who Live in Shadow* by quoting Dr. Anslinger (who is the U.S. Commissioner of Narcotics) as saying that addicts are "immoral, vicious social lepers" and Murtagh concludes that "our present drug laws are immoral in principle and ineffectual in operation" and that "No other country in the world has been so sadistic in dealing with addicts."

The last word on this subject was given by August Vollmer, professor of criminology at the University of California, founder of Berkeley Police Department when (Sparks quotes) he said twenty years ago

"Stringent laws, spectacular police drives, vigorous prosecution, and imprisonment of addicts and peddlers have proved not only useless and enormously expensive as a means of correcting this evil, but they are also unjustifiably and unbelievably cruel in their application to the unfortunate drug victims."

J.R.

Iserlohn in Névigés. In view of the numbers and the unanimity of the participants it became the foundation congress for the national federation. Actually, two days were enough for agreement to be reached on all points, the ground having been prepared beforehand and by the exchange of detailed reports for examination among the groups.

The official name of the new federation is the "Bund Freier Sozialisten und Anarchisten" and its secretary is Walter Stöhr, Ekhostrasse 18, Hamburg 22, Federal Germany. We do not doubt that this decision will be favourably received by all groups of anarchists and anti-authoritarians in other countries, and these may make their greetings known to Comrade Stöhr, and if they desire to correspond with him the address of the comrade responsible for that task. I personally cannot but rejoice at the success which has crowned the efforts towards unity of our comrades Huppertz, Oestreich, Rejmers and many others, not forgetting the indefatigable pillar of our CRIA in Germany, Willy Fritzenkötter.

The 'New Beginnings' of the Wide Circulation Press

Made prudent by the previous setbacks of "Neue Generation" in Austria and "Freie Gesellschaft" in Germany, our comrades resolved to leave nothing to chance. Before abandoning the duplicated bulletins appearing in Hamburg and Berlin (which replaced Mülheim) the material and abstract aspects of a printed review, entitled "Recommencements" and capable of wide circulation, were examined and prepared in very great detail. Two comrades, one in Hamburg and one in Munich, studied together the possibility of a date of departure fixed in principle for January 1960. Until this, the existing organs will carry on, with a maximum of convergence in their orientation and special functions, as will the bulletin *CIA Kurznachrichten*, the successor to the Bulletin of the CRIA which is devoted to international liaison. Any suggestions concerning the new wide circulation organ of our brother movement in Germany should be sent to comrade Hans Weigl, 36 Donnersbergerstrasse, Munich 19, Federal Germany.

Each his Own Declaration of Principles

It is customary for organisations, at their foundation, to collectively affirm a series of doctrinal principles, without being too particular as to whether these coincide with the effective thoughts of their members. The comrades meeting at Névigés broke with this time-honoured custom and at the suggestion of a Munich comrade, followed a more sensible procedure. Each comrade agreed, between now and the end of the year, to formulate in writing a personal expression of his attitude, and his commitment towards the movement and of himself. In this way he will be judged by the extent to which his conduct agrees with

the norms which he has himself formulated, at the same time as their compatibility with those of other comrades are assessed. Thus there will be no abstract definition of orthodoxy, but a confluence of original personal definitions, which one can attempt to synthesise.

Regional Organisation of Propaganda

The congress formulated its position on the following point: "We cannot win more friends to our point of view, unless we address ourselves to the people of today in the framework of their situation and their concrete problems, and presenting them with possibilities for immediate realisations in an anarchist sense". Propaganda then cannot be considered other than as exemplary activity in given surroundings. Three working groups were founded in this spirit, one at Berlin, the second at Munich and the third in the Ruhr. Various more or less isolated elements throughout the country can attach themselves to one of these so as to create poles of attraction and radiation in the areas chosen for concentrated anarchist activity.

There again, the practical approach of our German comrades is very fresh, and deserves the attention of the international movement.

International Work and Solidarity

The decisions of the international congress in London conceived the organisation as a group of European collaborators around the new international secretariat. One of these liaison men was to be nominated by the Spanish movement in exile, one by the Italian movement, another by the Belgian comrades, and another by the German comrades when they had overcome their divisions. The League of Anarchists and Libertarian Socialists has filled an important gap in the international organism by nominating as its delegate for relations with London, a comrade in Hamburg who is able to travel should the need arise. He will be assisted by a comrade in Essen for correspondence in French, and by a comrade in Wuppertal in English, both translating into German for the bulletin *CIA Nachrichten*. To sustain such international activities, the German comrades have imposed a special monthly subscription of two marks, beginning from September. Each quarter, a detailed *compte-rendu* of income and expenditure will be given in *CIA Nachrichten*.

On the subject of international funds for solidarity (the fund for extreme urgency) the German comrades insisted that it should be consigned to England. This seems to me to be an error. The German and Austrian comrades are well placed for work benefitting persecuted victims of the neo-Stalinist terror, and the Latin countries are covered by the SIA. England remains, in the matter of political persecution, an oasis: even more reason for not installing an organism that will be rendered unusable by British insularity.

ANDRÉ PRUNIER.

(Translated by P.H.)

IN BRIEF

GAMBLING WITH GOD

The Reverend P. E. Blagdon-Gamlen, Vicar of St. Bartholomew's Derby, suggests that the Church of England should consider encouraging football pools, to make money for church funds. A football pool run by his own church, raises between £3 and £4 each week, Mr. Blagdon-Gamlen said:

"I think the Church of England is missing the bus. A church ought to consider running pools . . . Our pool is doing pretty well but there is a lot of competition; the Roman Catholics, in their pools, offer such fantastic prizes . . . I find people enjoy entering our pools and they think it a good thing that the Church is moving with the times. It is up to the people who do not like the idea of church football pools to give money directly to the church. Then there would be no need for the pools."

Social Disadvantages of Competition

A warning about slow progress in raising standards of citizenship to meet the challenge of increased leisure and a freer society was given by Sir John Hunt at Oxford on Saturday.

He told members of the Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools that there was a case for playing up those pastimes, both cultural and physical, which were individual and non-competitive in character, and for playing down the tradition of competitive games. Competition gave prominence to the naturally gifted performer and a sense of inferiority to the weak performer.

Guardian.

JUST ONE OF THOSE THINGS

Mme. Shidzue Kato, the Leader of the Opposition in the Japanese Parliament, said at London Airport yesterday that she had come to make a formal apology to Britain for Japan's part in the Second World War. "This is an action," she added, "which should have been done earlier."

Mme. Kato, accompanied by Japanese parliamentarians, is visiting Socialist leaders in Europe after a Moral Rearmament conference in America. She will make the apology to Mr. Hugh Gaitskell.

Guardian 27/8/59.

Speed, and yet more Speed

A JET service between London and Australia, to be run jointly by the British Overseas Airways Corporation and Qantas Empire Airways, was announced by the companies yesterday. Qantas Boeing 707s will start flying from Australia to London on October 15, and the first B.O.A.C. Comet 4s will leave London for Sydney on November 1. The joint fleets will provide eight services a week, and are expected to reduce the journey to about 33 hours.

★ THE prospect of flying between Los Angeles and London in 40 minutes by 1975 was advanced in London yesterday by Mr. Darrell C. Romick, manager of the astronautics engineering section of the Goodyear Aircraft Corporation, Ohio.

Mr. Romick, who is here to attend the annual congress of the International Astronautical Federation in London, said that his company has been working on plans for an earth orbital vehicle since 1950. "We have evolved a three-stage vehicle, about 140ft. long, consisting of a passenger compartment and two separate boosters," he said.

When the 40-minute flight became a reality, the world's capitals and major cities would be only minutes away from London by aerial transports, employing the principles used to fly into an orbit around the earth, visit a space station, or take a trip to the moon.

Giving details of his vehicle, Mr. Romick said that the 24 or so passengers would lie supine in the rocket-shaped plane and, in a matter of minutes, would be shot 35 miles up into the sky and would be travelling at about 12,000 m.p.h. This peak altitude would be attained about four hundred miles after take-off.

The power would be stopped at that point and the vehicle would then glide to its destination. Near the landing point, it would have descended to an altitude of 50,000 or 60,000 feet and slowed to a low supersonic speed. At about 400 m.p.h. turbo-jet engines would cut in and a normal landing would be made.

★ BRITAIN'S first high-speed motor-coach is capable of speeds of up to 85 miles an hour with a full load. It has been developed by the Midland Red Bus Company for express services from Birmingham to London on the new motorway. It will cut the travelling time between the two cities from 5hrs. 20mins. to 3hrs. 25 mins.

Ten of the coaches are now being built at the company's workshops at Edgbaston. They will have a super-charger, overdrive gear-box, disc brakes, and independent rubber suspension. Tests have been carried out on the Motor Industry Research Association's track at Nuneaton and have included four hours' continuous running at 75 miles an hour and reaching 70 miles an hour in 70 seconds.

... at a Price

A BIG increase in traffic on main roads in July, compared with the same month last year, was accompanied by a further sharp rise in road casualties. The Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation said yesterday that 588 people were killed, an increase of 80, and 7,879 seriously injured, an increase of 1,374. There were 24,705 casualties involving slight injury, making a total of 33,172, which was 3,084 more than in July, 1958. Traffic on main roads was estimated to be 14 per cent. heavier than a year ago.

The most serious increase was once more in casualties to riders of motor-cycles, including motor-scooters, and their passengers. These totalled 10,513, an increase of 2,450 and included more than 200 deaths. *Guardian.*

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 37

Deficit on Freedom £740
Contributions received £632
DEFICIT £108

September 4 to September 10

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The Anarchist Personality

AN INTERIM REPORT

SOME months ago a notice appeared in FREEDOM suggesting a research into the personality of anarchists. The question of "the anarchist personality" has long been debated in libertarian circles, but apart from conflicting opinions being aired, little has been done to substantiate any of the various claims made. The idea which was proposed was that individual anarchists should take a battery of personality tests of various kinds in a psychological laboratory. The important questions to be answered are concerned with any main differences in personality which exist (a) between individual anarchists, and (b) between anarchists and non-anarchists.

To date, 27 people have volunteered for this investigation. Of these, two failed to keep the appointments they made and offered no explanation later, and one person more or less fled from the field in the middle of a testing session and declined further contact. These behavioural manifestations are interesting indicators of personality but rather vague. Of the 24 people who really did

co-operate in the research, final results are not yet complete for all of them, as the test battery had to be expanded during the course of the investigation, so a few people still have incomplete test records. With these limitations, however, the results obtained so far are of considerable interest, and some of the hypotheses which were originally entertained by the experimenter have been invalidated.

It was evident from the start, of course, that the investigation would not be of anarchists-in-general but of a biased sample of anarchists-who-are-prepared-to-be-investigated. It is of interest in itself how this bias has operated. The majority of people who have volunteered are what may be called "activists", that is they are writers, speakers and organizers in the anarchist movement. Not all live in London; a few have come up to London specially for the investigation. There are, however, certain broad divisions of personality type which cut across the somewhat arbitrary division between "activists" and "non-activists". This research can be carried on until

data are obtained on a much larger number of people. Only by expanding the total number of the group can biases be minimized and general conclusions be drawn. When a group of adequate size has been tested, details of the test and the general results will be published in FREEDOM together with some attempt to interpret these results in an orderly manner. Different people will of course put somewhat different interpretations on the results presented. The identity of the individuals who take part in this investigation is confidential.

It was hoped at first that a testing session of 1½ hours would suffice for each individual. However, this has proved inadequate and some testing sessions have lasted as long as three hours. In the case of people who came into the investigation early on, I have had to chase them by post for the completion of certain questionnaires.

In presenting this brief interim report I am asking for more volunteers. Any one who considers himself or herself to be an anarchist is eligible. There are many types of anarchist and all are wel-

Ideal Cities - 2

Continued from p. 2

"But we must establish also a contrary movement, to restore domestic freedom under the new architectural conditions. This can be done if we restrict the architectural imposition to its minimum function; namely, the provision of an efficient system of services. What must be provided for the family is an empty shell without partitions and (under luxury conditions) two stories high, completely serviced with light, heat, water, etc., through the columns of the building, as in a skyscraper. The uniform architectural practice has hitherto been to provide not only such services but also a standardised imitation of a house, with layout and fundamental decoration complete: partitions, panelling, and balcony, etc. But it is just these parts, which having no structural necessity, belong most to private taste, or caprice, that need not be imposed according to a standard."

And beyond the residential zone is the open country, which is "vacationland" where "there is exchanged for the existence where everything is done for one, the existence where nothing is done for one", and beyond this, because these conditions are too hard for the cityfolk, they are finally moderated (after fifty miles, which is to say, three-quarters of an hour by car on the super-highway or fifteen minutes by helicopter on the beam) into the imitation wilderness of state parks and the bathos of adult camps."

★

THE Goodmans account of the City of Efficient Consumption is concluded with a description of the season of carnival, a Saturnalia of wild destruction, fornication and the remittance of instalment debts, whose principles

"would be simply the satisfaction in the negation of all of the schedules and careful zoning that are so full of satisfaction in their affirmation; just as no one can resist a thrill of satisfaction when a blizzard piles up in our streets and everything comes to a standstill."

The social function of the carnival is of course to get rid of last year's goods, wipe out last year's debts to permit new borrowing, and to engender children.

But before leaving the City of Efficient Consumption something has to be said of its politics. The people, explain the Goodman brothers, exercise no direct political initiative at all:

"Try as one will, it is impossible to discover in an immense and immensely expanding industrialism a loophole where the ordinary man can intervene directly to determine his specific work on the shape of his community life; that is, to decide these matters directly on the basis of his own knowledge and power. The reason is that such an expanding economy exists more and more in its interrelationships; and individual knowledge and, especially, power are less and less adequate. What the people en masse can do is to exercise a general control such as to determine the trend of their standard of living, up or down; and in the republican form this is done by periodic votes rather than periodic rebellions. But the political scientists as initiators must be technologists and merchandisers and a kind of economists as directors; although the actually elected representatives will forever be experts in more popular arts.

"Now an existence of this kind, apparently so repugnant to craftsmen, farmers, artists, and any others who want a say in what they lend their hands to, is nevertheless the existence that is satisfactory to the mass of our countrymen;

and therefore it must express deep and universal impulses. These probably centre around what Morris Cohen used to call the first principle of politics—inertia; that is, the fact that people do not want to take the trouble to rule and decide, because, presumably, they have more important things to do."

The City of Efficient Consumption is presented half sardonically, half seriously. If you really want a society in which consumer values are supreme, they say, this is what it should be like. David Riesman remarked of their treatment of the theme,

"the moral of the plan comes through without ambiguity: it is a criticism of popular culture, with its drive for less work, more pay and more play; it is also an effort to reveal certain hidden elements of moral worth in modern capitalism. The criticism—the air-conditioned nightmare theme—is familiar enough among radical writers, who sometimes tend to attack with equal fervour the worst abuses, such as lynching and the most venal foibles, such as radio commercials. But the implicit ethical defence of capitalism on the ground of its provision of bounteous consumption is seldom found outside Chamber of Commerce circles."

In a number of their points about a society in which productive capacity is enormously greater than the rate of consumption, they anticipate some of the observations of J. K. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society*, in others, their fantasies anticipate the actual planning problems of America in the nineteen-fifties. For, in the absence of cities of Efficient Consumption whose centres are one vast vehicleless departmental store, the new American institution of the out-of-town Supermarket has developed, and has become a new focal centre for the residential belt, while the property-owners and Chambers of Commerce in the old city centres made unuseable for efficient consumption by the volume of traffic, have sponsored projects like that prepared for Fort Worth, Texas by Victor Gruen (described in "The Motor Age—4", FREEDOM 12/4/58), for a motorless city centre. Like the Goodmans, Mr. Gruen points out that

"The land thus reclaimed for productive purposes would represent a value of about forty million dollars which would lower the cost of the underground service road system."

Such "downtown revitalisation projects" bear a marked resemblance to the City of Efficient Consumption, even though they are not followed through with the same utopian logic.

The Goodmans' model is a fascinating mixture of satire and sensible suggestion. The notion which I have quoted of the basic apartments in which the tenant can arrange for himself the internal partitioning and fittings, which they reach through following out the idea of consumer sovereignty, has very much to be said for it. Open plan, or a series of rooms, balcony or more space inside: these questions which are determined by the whims of housing committees or architects are much better decided by individual occupants. (Something similar is in fact being done in Italy today, simply for economic reasons).

But the authors' own real preferences are evidently not for the City of Efficient Consumption, but for their second model, the New Commune, which will be described next week. C.W.

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