

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"The fearful Unbelief is unbelief in yourself."

—THOMAS CARLYLE

Reflections on the Sterile Debates on Unilateral Nuclear Disarmament

WAR OR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE?

IN a page-long article in last Sunday's *Observer*, Mr. John Strachey, War Minister in the last Labour Government, attempts to analyse and demolish the arguments put forward by the various campaigners for British unilateral nuclear disarmament, presumably in order to justify the retention of these weapons by this country. It is of course not difficult to pick holes in their arguments. It is obvious that only multilateral disarmament, of conventional as well as nuclear weapons, will remove the threat of annihilation if a war between the major power blocs were to be launched. And if we have understood anything about the nature of government it is that it cannot function without force as its principal argument, any more than the Christian Church could survive without "sinners". From a practical point of view then, the various approaches to the problem of unilateral nuclear disarmament, whatever else they may achieve, will certainly do very little to remove the threat of annihilation; and it was to remove this threat that an organisation such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was created.

But if Mr. Strachey succeeds in pointing to the muddled thinking of the unilateral disarmers his own arguments are far from convincing or clear. In the opening sentence of his article he maintains that

Full scale nuclear war is the worst threat to which the human race has ever been exposed.

Five columns later arguing that unilateral disarmament is in fact military surrender he opposes such

a course for

Surrender is surrender and it is merely pathetic to pretend that it is anything else. If the West, led by America (or conversely if the East, led by Russia) surrendered as wholes, that might well prevent nuclear war. But the price would be total submission—not merely military submission—to the will of the surviving alliance.

Surely Mr. Strachey, whose whole approach in politics is that of choosing the lesser evil, should not hesitate to accept surrender, submission in return for the removal of the threat of nuclear war, for in his own words the latter is "the worst threat to which the human race has ever been exposed". If he means what he writes then nothing mankind could experience could be as horrible as full-scale nuclear war. Therefore he should argue that anything, any alternative, is preferable; even world domination by Russia or by America.

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MR. STRACHEY supports the Labour Party's Statement, which proposes that Britain should abandon the independent deterrent while remaining a member of NATO; should depend on America for nuclear weapons while specialising in conventional weapons as her contribution to the Western alliance. He has come to see that there are important advantages in such a policy.

They are not so much moral, as advantages in negotiating with other countries. For it may help to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and to confine their possession to Russia and America. I have always considered this an important objective.

If the possession of nuclear weapons by two powers is to be preferred to their possession by one—for that, according to Mr. Strachey, would mean "total submission" etc.—then why not encourage all countries to possess the nuclear deterrent? Are we to believe that Mr. Strachey considers Russia and America more responsible than say Switzerland or Sweden? If so, then what's all this pother about 4-minute

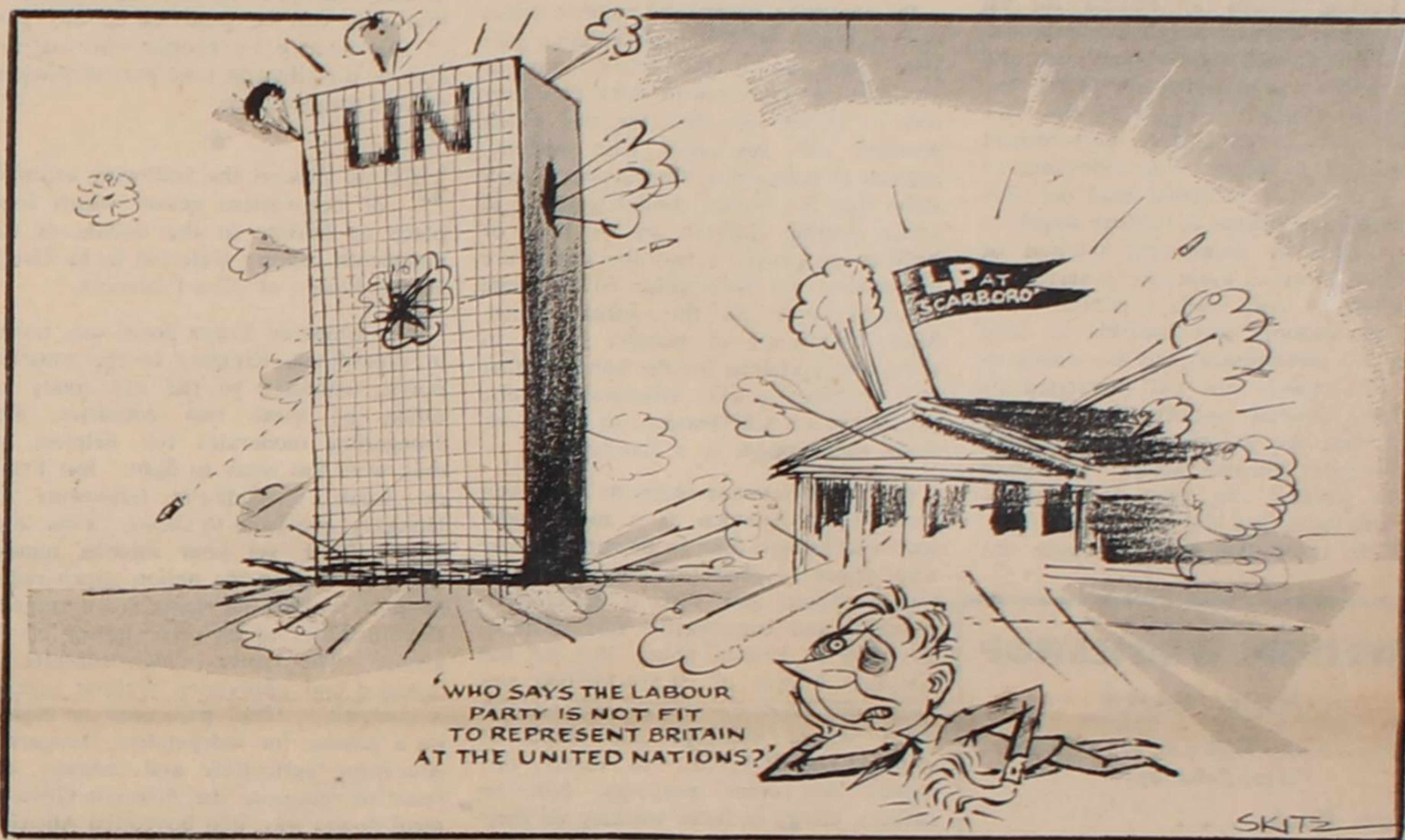
warnings and the latest American proposal for a permanent alert force in the air?

While agreeing with Mr. Strachey that it would be an unhappy prospect for the world to have to bow the knee to Russia or America, which might, for a time at least, be the case if one of these powers were alone to possess the "ultimate" weapons of destruction, the prospect of a world divided into two camps

dominated by Russia and America respectively is hardly more inviting especially when one considers that the price one pays for there being two masters in the world is the threat that nuclear warfare might be unleashed at any moment. But what Mr. Strachey has in the back of his mind is revealed in the last paragraph of his article in which he declares that

In my humble opinion the crux of the matter is that one, instead of two, or several, world authorities must sooner or later be established if we are to prevent nuclear war in the long run. There is not the slightest prospect of either of the alliances surrendering to the other.

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Still Talking at United Nations

The Political Word Hoaxers

WITHOUT going too deeply into the separate nature of the processes of thinking and living emphasised by Herbert Read in his essay on *Revolution and Reason*, it seems to us that a similar distinction between what is said and consequent action could be appropriately inscribed in the politician's manual as an essential part of the mental equipment for power-seeking politicians.

This is the age of the word hoax; the more literate the population becomes the greater the need for deception. Thus governments have devised ways of hoodwinking the people—among the most successful, the cunning use of words.

Over the past three weeks we have been following the speeches made at the United Nations gathering in New York by the leaders of the member nations. The fifteenth Assembly has been described as the most crucial in history, but its importance to us has been the justification of our disbelief in governments, states and political leaders as the means by which people

throughout the world will achieve international harmony and co-operation.

If, however, we judged the leaders merely by what they said hopes for global peace would be high and our traditional view of the politician might have to be "re-appraised". But we cannot take seriously the utterances of men who talk peace and prepare for war, who deplore the ideological differences which divide nations yet align themselves into separate powerful blocs backed by the strength of arms.

We have already discussed some of the points from the speeches made by Krushchev and Eisenhower. Both have made a plea for an end to the arms race with the "safety" clause slipped in which clearly means to us that neither will destroy the weapons they have accumulated or demolish the means of delivering them.

Every man, woman and child, according to Krushchev has the right to be free and to have access to the material means of life. This is what he says while he heads a political party which disposes of its opponents by imprisonment or death and enforces economic policies which deprives the people of the material wealth which is their right.

There are many ways of dealing with political undesirables. Eisenhower passionately defended the right of the individual to freedom of expression and material well-being, but he heads a political sys-

tem which deprives a man of his job if he is known to have the "wrong" kind of sympathies; which stifles the free expression of ideas by the threat of social or financial ostracism, and sometimes imprisonment.

Leaving aside the lack of political freedom, the minority groups packed into filthy tenements in the large American cities and the aged poor are proof in themselves that Krushchev is not the only habitual liar.

Since last week's *FREEDOM* was published the British Prime Minister has addressed the Assembly.

Taking over easily the solemn role of mediator, Mr. Macmillan, according to a respectful *Guardian* correspondent, did not make a speech

... of theatrical gestures of world-shaking propositions. It was the speech of a civilised cultivated gentleman, honourably reflecting the aspirations of decent people everywhere. . . .

We do not acknowledge any essential difference between the Eton and soil bred politician; the belch which is concealed by a polite hand begins at the same source as the noisy emission. There is no evidence that the British Prime Minister means what he says about world survival through nuclear disarmament and the destruction of weapons. On the contrary his actual support for American military policy and the nuclear plans of his own cabinet make it clear "which side

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The French 'Treason' Trial

Intellectuals for Resistance to Algerian War

(From a correspondent)

THE trial of 19 French men and women and 6 Algerians accused of carrying funds and documents for the Algerian FLN (National Liberation Front) and sheltering Algerians wanted by the police, ended last week-end with 13 sentences of ten years' hard labour and fines of £5,000, followed by five years' assigned residence and loss of all civil rights. Four of the accused included the alleged leader, Professor Jeanson were tried in their absence, as they had fled the country.

The writer Jean-Paul Sartre, on his way back from Brazil to France, sent a letter to the court declaring his support for the accused, a gesture which is regarded as an invitation of arrest.

Sartre was also one of the signatories of the declaration defending "the refusal to take up arms against the Algerian people", originally signed by 121 authors, artists and teachers, which included such names as Simone de Beauvoir, Françoise Sagan, Simone Signoret, and Florence Malraux, daughter of the Minister of Culture, Danielle Delorme, and Alain Resnais. The number of signatories has since risen to almost 200.

The government's reaction to this declaration was swift. On Sept. 28th, a cabinet communiqué announced the determination of the

Prime Minister, M. Debré to strengthen the state's disciplinary powers over "the few agents who favour refusal of military service or desertion", and forbade the signatories from appearing on State-controlled radio and television services or in State-subsidised theatres. A further decree promised action against officials, professors, teachers and public or municipal servants among the signatories. A 3-day strike of television actors was called as a protest against "the denial of the freedom to work guaranteed by the constitution", and over last week-end there was a series of police raids on the offices of newspapers and publishers, including those of *France-Observateur*, *L'Express*, *Les Temps Modernes*, *Verité et Liberté*, and the Catholic monthly *Esprit*, and five journalists were arrested.

The manifesto of the intellectuals declared:

"We respect and consider justified the refusal to take up arms against the Algerian people. We respect and consider justified the conduct of Frenchmen who deem it their duty to help and protect Algerians oppressed in the name of the French people. The cause of the Algerian people, which is contributing decisively to the ruin of the colonial system, is the cause of all free men."

Dead or Alive

Mr. Andy Soteriades, a former Eoka underground district leader, has been appointed the Cyprus Republic's first Ambassador to London. Two years ago, Britain offered £5,000 for the capture "dead or alive" of the 36-year-old Greek-Cypriot lawyer who is expected to leave for London later this month.

Evening News 3/10/60.

EXPERIMENTS IN RESISTANCE

We reproduce below extracts from the chapter on Non-Violent Resistance in a new pamphlet *War Outmoded* by Anthony Weaver, published by Housmans at 2s. 6d. and obtainable from Freedom Bookshop.

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ALL those agitating for nuclear disarmament are going to be bitterly disillusioned, and then to lose their strength, if they pin their hopes exclusively on influencing Parliament, or similarly if they use direct action primarily for political ends. We should remember that the rise of the Labour movement in the 19th century shows a regular—and very interesting—alternation of political and industrial action.

We have only to remind ourselves of the recent ink strike which nearly brought newspapers and other printing to a standstill, or the 1958 London bus strike, to see at once that combined stoppages in themselves could effectively paralyse the life of the country.

Usually the purpose of a strike organised by a Trade Union is to obtain higher wages for the workers who are striking, and it is carried through at great inconvenience to the public. On the other hand in August 1920 the Council of Action warned the government that if it persisted in its scheme of sending troops to Poland for an attack upon the new Soviet Union labour would refuse to transport munitions and men, and a complete boycott of the war would be declared. Faced by this ultimatum the Lloyd George Government abandoned its plans. The relevance of this is four fold: a strike need not only be used as a means of raising wages; it is a legitimate democratic method of bringing pressure upon the government; strike action may settle a conflict without Parliament; and fourthly it need bring no inconvenience to the public at all! If strikers are not motivated by sectional interests merely, they will see to it that the inconvenience is caused in the most effective places. The Paris Metro workers one year continued to run the trains but did not charge fares, with the result that their grievance was

very quickly met. Similarly the black market in France grew up primarily as a form of resistance to the Petain regime, and at the same time as a means of supplying the people. In an occupied country a well organised underground movement can make inoperative the decrees of the government. This concerns food and industrial production, transport, communication as well as the welfare services such as hospitals and schools. But it does imply an autonomy of management. This is of very great importance not only as a means of combating an emergency, but as a more enlightened way of working which gives to the ordinary person the satisfaction of responsibility and excitement that, as we have already observed, he sometimes feels only war can provide.

Banded together, individual people can take more radical action which is not only dramatic in itself, on account of its element of self-sacrifice, but which on a large scale would paralyse the military industries.

By accepting arrest and imprisonment demonstrators on civil disobedience projects (such as at the rocket sites at Swaffham or Harrington) show that they obey a higher law than the one which protects and surrounds with secrecy, engines of unheard-of destruction. They show that the police, though genuine in kindly patting children on the head or helping old people across the street, are not neutral but accomplices in the same immoral work as the military men. Many thousands of people, sitting in shifts and prepared for the hardship that this entails, could effectively block access, say to Aldermaston, so that work there was brought to a standstill.

Refusal of revenue seems to have been practised in America as a more widespread campaign than in Britain by those who object to their tax being used for war purposes, and wish it directed to peaceful and constructive uses instead. (In 1959 in Britain about 30% of the National budget of £1,514,130,000 was spent on defence). It is difficult for those whose earnings are taxed at source, i.e. P.A.Y.E., to divert this money for other purposes. Not so authors, clergy or those working on their own account, assessed under Schedule D.

The story comes from Edinburgh of a Quaker who has consistently refused to pay a proportion of her tax (under Schedule D). For four years Inland Revenue threatened to take some of her

furniture and sell it. She kept two articles of furniture labelled in the hall, but the bailiffs never came. Now Inland Revenue simply cover themselves by sending her a receipt in a way that covers them for past years: e.g., if her 1959 tax demand was for £30 and she paid £25, and the same happened in 1960, then in 1960 Inland Revenue send a receipt for £5 for 1959 (to cover the £5 unpaid) and for £20 for 1960—leaving a theoretical £10 to be paid in 1960. She thinks Inland Revenue are very unwilling to draw attention to her case by making a public fuss.

Any property owner, or tenant who pays on his behalf, can refuse Schedule A. This causes some nuisance to the Tax Office, and is a means of publicising one's objection to nuclear weapon expenditure until the Collector finds the way to make the deduction from some other part of the person's assessment.

Savings in Government Bonds, or investments in firms contributing to the war machine can be withdrawn. Constitutionally a Bill could be introduced into Parliament allowing conscientious objectors to be exempt from that portion of their tax that goes on defence. One of the significant points about the several methods of revenue refusal is that they can be practised in any part of the country by people who are unable or unwilling to take part in projects of civil disobedience.

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LET us look at the following example of non-violent action which took place in Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century (referred to by Gregg in the *Power of Non-Violence*).

The Emperor Franz Josef was trying to subordinate Hungary to the Austrian power, contrary to the old treaty of union of these two countries. The Hungarian moderates felt helpless, as they were too weak to fight. But Francis Deak, a Catholic landowner of Hungary, protested to them—"Your laws are violated, yet your mouths remain closed! Woe to the nation which raises no protest when its rights are outraged! It contributes to its own slavery by its silence. The nation which submits to injustice and oppression without protest is doomed." Deak proceeded to organise a scheme for independent Hungarian education, agriculture and industry, refused to recognise the Austrian Government in any way, and boycotted Austrian goods. He advised the people not to be betrayed into acts of violence, nor to abandon the ground of legality. "This is the safe ground," he said, "on which, unarmed ourselves, we can hold our own against armed force. If suffering must be necessary, suffer with dignity." This

FOLK SONG

THE EVERLASTING CIRCLE
Edited by James Reeves,
Heinemann, 25s.

IT is an intellectually difficult task to review a volume of folk song, as it must be to edit one. The moment the songs get into respectable print, and become objects of analysis they lose some of their folk character. The act of studying what now appears as an interesting social phenomenon, takes away from one's freedom to enjoy it uncritically.

James Reeves' work, which has already produced *The Idiom of the People* has consisted in making editions from the manuscripts of collectors, who fifty years ago were unwilling or unable to publish the texts of their songs unexpurgated. As he points out: "Some who were brought up in the atmosphere of the 'revived' folk song of Cecil Sharp and his contemporaries have been tempted to think that sex does not appear in folk song except in the most idyllic and innocent form; those who have become acquainted at first hand; or through MS. or other inaccessible sources, with the genuine thing may be tempted to think there is nothing but sex in folk song".

Reeves tackles this problem in a very interesting introduction, which greatly adds to the value of the book. His argument is based on the idea that in an agricultural society love was part of fertility, whereas now it is simply sex. In fact, in a large number of the songs where love is the theme, the result is a child conceived. In some cases the lover makes the maid his lawful wife;

advice was obeyed throughout Hungary.

When the Austrian tax collector came the people did not beat him nor even hoot him—they merely declined to pay. The Austrian police then seized their goods, but no Hungarian auctioneer would sell them. When an Austrian auctioneer was brought, he found he would have to bring bidders from Austria to buy the goods. The Government soon discovered that it was costing more to distraint the property than the tax was worth.

The Austrians attempted to billet their soldiers upon the Hungarians. The Hungarians did not actively resist the order, but the Austrian soldiers, after trying to live in houses where everyone despised them, protested strongly against it. The Austrian Government declared the boycott of Austrian goods illegal, but the Hungarians defied the decree. The jails were filled to overflowing. No representative from Hungary would sit in the Imperial Parliament.

The Austrians then tried conciliations. The prisoners were released and partial self-government given. But Hungary insisted upon its full claims. In reply Emperor Franz Josef decreed compulsory military service. The Hungarians answered that they would refuse to obey it. Finally, on 18 February, 1867, the Emperor capitulated and gave Hungary her constitution. The retort of some historians that the Austrians gave in because they were distracted by other pressing matters does nothing to invalidate the success of Deak's method. The story also usefully shows that non-violent resistance is not exclusively an Asiatic method.

Let us assume that Britain as a whole has adopted a policy of non-violence, that is to say, has scrapped the army, navy and air force as such. A neutral country—a small island in the North Sea—is more likely to be left unmolested than one of the belligerents, and

BOOK REVIEWS

INDIA SINCE GANDHI

INDIA TODAY, Frank Moraes,
Macmillan, 10s. 6d.

THIS is a good general study of Indian history, dealing mainly with the last twelve years. India is to some extent, in the minds of Western intellectuals at least, what one might call a "left-wing country", like Israel and Ghana, and Russia in the early days of its revolution. That is to say, it is a country which, despite much that is reactionary, still creates a favourable image in the minds of the "progressive", in a way that America and Britain quite definitely do not. Gandhi and Nehru, the makers of modern India, belong "on the side of the angels". There is also a tendency to idealise the Gandhian movement, saying that "Gandhi got the British out of India without firing a shot", and concluding from this that there were no other factors involved.

In fact, to a large extent, Gandhi failed.

"With the coming of partition Gandhi must have realised that his life's mission had very largely failed. He had laboured for the unity of India and for peace and concord between its many races and religions—most of all, since it was a symbol of his cherished faith for Hindu-Muslim unity. He had called on his people to shed fear and hate. Freedom had come, but it had come in a bath of blood with partition born of fear and hate. . . ."

The British had played the Moslem and Hindu against each other, according to the old Roman dictum, "divide and rule". Many English people, as I have heard and seen myself, greeted these massacres with a cynical grin, since it proved, according to them, that Indians were not ready for self-government. They, or their country's government, were as much to blame as the Indians for these disasters.

For all that, Western ways continue to conquer India.

Politically Gandhi's "ideal was the Indian village-state with each of India's 750,000 villages 'organised according to the will of its citizens, all of them voting'. He had envisaged the pyramid of his country's political structure as broad-based on the villages, with a grass-roots foundation far removed from Western parliamentary forms and the 'evils' of urban industrialism. But industrialism abounded, and India appeared to have plumped for Western political institutions. The fashion for being English-educated, far from subsiding, threatened to grow, and the mounting indiscipline of India's youth,

certainly is not an immediate target as at present. A disarmed Britain—a disarmed N.A.T.O.—could not constitute a military threat against which the members of the Warsaw Powers are at present armed to the teeth. These are very strong arguments which become cumulatively stronger and infectious the more they are tried. Though their realisation could only come by stages, its effect both economically and politically, would be tremendous.

But in a sense they are negative. How should we act if the country were occupied? (Though the Danes, for example, had been neutral when they were invaded in 1940, they had not abandoned their armed forces, which is a very different matter.) There is a serious discussion of the training of the nation for this in *Defence in the Nuclear Age* by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall and in the *Alternative to War* by R. G. Bell.

The sceptic laughs at the thought that Russian tanks, or whoever is the enemy for the moment, would hesitate to roll over unarmed resisters lying in the way. Governments are ruthless in the use of their powers. This is the very thing we have to find a way of ending. We cannot forget Hitler's gas chambers nor can we forget the case of eleven men beaten to death by British guards in the camp at Holo.

The effective answer to this governmental ruthlessness lies in non-violent resistance on a gigantic scale. Aldous Huxley in *Ends & Means* wrote: "Confronted by huge masses determined not to co-operate and equally determined not to use violence, even the most ruthless dictatorship is nonplussed. Moreover, even the most ruthless dictatorship needs the support of public opinion, and no government which massacres or imprisons large numbers of systematically non-violent individuals can hope to retain such support." A case in point is

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for which his own policy of associating the young with political demonstrations and movements was largely to blame, must have saddened him. India, he also realised, had not spun its way to swaraj through the charkha (spinning wheel) and kadi (hand-woven cloth), though the cult for both had spread. India had achieved freedom, but it was not the independent India of his dreams, plans and hopes. . . ."

Nehru stands for the modern world. He is attracted by much that Gandhi found repellent. The trend of events is undoubtedly on his side rather than on Gandhi's, but neither Gandhi nor Nehru envisaged the kind of society that most libertarian people would like to live in, though Gandhi's ideal comes closer to it.

Freedom, in the sense of the individual's right to be his own lord and sovereign, has rarely been known in India, any more than anywhere else in the world. The barriers of caste and sex are being broken down, but on the other hand there is an increasing government control over all spheres of human life, even the most private. Frank Moraes tells us.

Indeed, it is not so much a question as to whether the Chinese will try to seize India, or parts of it, as a question whether, without any aid from the contemptible Indian Communist Party, the country will on its own evolve a modern technocratic bureaucracy indistinguishable from a totalitarian state.

"As the old core of administrators and civil servants shrinks, the new and monstrous regiments of officials, less well paid than they were and drawn from a strata which no longer represents the cream of the country's intelligentsia, swings into action much like the *kanpus* of Communist China, and always aware, like them, of the eyes of their taskmasters, political and administrative. Initiative has small scope in such surroundings, nor has intellectual integrity. Increasingly the country finds itself enmeshed in a gargantuan net of rules and regulations in which both bureaucracy and the politicians, even as they flounder in it, seem to delight. Over all reigns the new class of Congress rulers who in turn take their cue from a single, omnipotent individual."

There does not appear at the present time to be any country in the world, of any importance or size, in which the trend is not towards some form of totalitarian regime, bureaucratic, technocratic or oligarchic, with a veneer of democratic forms.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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War or Civil Disobedience?

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and so giving us the other possible short cut to one world authority. But that the ultimate salvation of humanity lies in the evolution of such a single, unchallengeable world authority, I have come profoundly to believe.

It is significant that the writer spent some 7 columns demolishing the arguments of the unilateral disarmers and only a short paragraph to state that there is only one way out, and that it lies in the establishment of a world authority, "single, unchallengeable". This is all very fine, but how does he propose to go about it. To suggest that nations will renounce their sovereignty in favour of a world authority is no less "utopian" than the anarchist idea that human beings can live without authority from above. But its achievement is much less practical than that of an anarchist world, for whereas the anarchist appeal is directed to the oppressed of the world to shake off the parasites who feed on their labour and who seek to control every minute of their lives, the "world authoritarians" look to the politicians of all countries to abdicate their power and privileges to a supra-national body, just as if politicians were in the business for the good of mankind! We cannot repeat too often that the tensions, the crises, the misery and the strife in the world today are created by a section of society for their own personal ends. They strive on a divided, hostile mankind and it is therefore too much to expect that they should be willing to legislate for their own removal from the seats of power. World authority such as Mr. Strachey seems to envisage it will only be possible when national frontiers will have ceased to exist and class barriers—social and economic—will have been abolished. And by that time the need for a world authority will not longer exist

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It would seem that at least a partial awareness of the arguments we have put forward above is penetrating some circles of the unilateral disarmament movement in this country. The leakage to the *Evening Standard* some ten days ago of the plan for a campaign of civil disobedience in this country, sponsored by Bertrand Russell and Michael Scott, revealed that some people within the C.N.D. have become aware of the futility of seeking to bring about radical changes through the so-called normal channels of Parliament. The "Committee of 100" for non-violent resistance to nuclear war can be considered revolutionary in the methods it proposes to adopt to "appeal to the conscience and intelligence of our fellow men". But the fact that it concerns itself with the problem of "nuclear war" only, leads one to assume that it will not allow itself to look upon the threat of war as part of the much bigger social problem. And we imagine too that the "Committee of 100" will limit itself to "warning mankind" of the dangers of nuclear war without encouraging "mankind" to dispense with the services of their politicians and take affairs into their own hands. We should be glad to be proved wrong. But certainly the idea of a large Committee with no office-holders, and the proposal that "no demonstration or other action will be undertaken without a minimum number of 2000 supporting volunteers", promise something more than token gestures of civil disobedience.

The Strange Case of Professor Gluckman

MAX GLUCKMAN is professor of social anthropology at Manchester University, and went to Australia at the invitation of the National University to confer on the anthropological field-work undertaken by the University in the Trust Territory of New Guinea and to train students for this work. He made the routine application for permission to visit the territory and, after four months, learned that he had been refused a permit, "on security grounds". Questioned in the Australian House of Representatives, the Minister for Territories, Mr. Hasluck, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, declined to reveal the reasons for the decision or to reconsider the case.

The National University Staff Association issued a statement criticising the government's action, and suggesting the establishment of a tribunal to hear appeals against administrative decisions barring entry to New Guinea and other territories, but the Minister for Territories reminded them that the policy of requiring certain qualifications for entry to the territory had been recognised by the staff association which had written to him on the subject that "We appreciate fully that the Administration in Papua and New Guinea has a difficult task and that your department has a responsibility in excluding undesirables from the territory and in protecting the indigenous people from trouble makers".

Then the Netherlands Embassy in Canberra recommended that Professor Gluckman be issued with a visa for Dutch New Guinea, but the Professor withdrew his application "because the Australian Government had reacted with surprising strength to the willingness of the Netherlands Government", declaring that "It has been very embarrassing for me to have been the centre of a national debate and my embarrassment would only be increased if I were to remain the subject of international controversy."

Letters were published in the press here and in Australia from the leaders of Professor Gluckman's profession, protesting at his treatment, and there the

matter dropped. But two interesting questions remain. One is that of who tipped off the Australians that the professor was an undesirable, and the other is that of this particular aspect of academic freedom in general.

On the first question, Prof. W. R. Geddes, writing from Sidney to the *Guardian*, made the pertinent comment:

"While congratulating you on your stand regarding the exclusion of Professor Gluckman from New Guinea, I wish to say that it is not enough for you merely to ridicule the Australian Government for its action. You should also attack the trouble at its source—which is the action of agencies of the British Government in sending ridiculous reports on British citizens to Australia". For it appears to be our old friends the Special Branch who are behind the story. Professor Gluckman is not a Communist, although his wife once was; but he is a citizen of South Africa, and is a supporter of the movement against Apartheid. So with the instinctive solidarity of policemen all the world over, the word went around: the man's a trouble maker.

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LAST week the Gluckman case came up again in the House of Representatives in Canberra, when the Leader of the Opposition pointed out that Professor Federov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences had been given a permit to visit Papua and New Guinea, although he did not in fact attend the Unesco conference in the territory. The Prime Minister answered that the case was entirely different from that of Professor Gluckman:

"The Russian professor's visa was granted as part of the Unesco exercise. It would be extremely difficult for a member of the United Nations to exclude a member of a United Nations agency from its territories. This is entirely distinct from the case of a private citizen who wished to go there for unofficial reasons."

Now one of the letters to the press

about the Gluckman case came from Dr. Peter Worsley, lecturer in Sociology at the University of Hull, who revealed that he had been subjected to the same kind of treatment in 1952. Dr. Worsley was a Communist—he belongs to the post-Hungary *New Reasoner* batch of ex-members of the party. He is also the author of the only book available to the general reader on the millenary movements which flourish in New Guinea and Papua, the 'Cargo' cults, (*The Trumpet Shall Sound*), a book of great scholarship, which, like the two other recent books which break new ground in the study of millenary movements, Norman Cohn's *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, and Eric Hobsbawm's *Primitive Rebels*, acknowledges its indebtedness to Max Gluckman. It would thus be perfectly feasible to construct a slightly paranoid argument that the Australian government was anxious to prevent the scientific study of the local Messianic cults which have given the administration so much trouble in the Melanesian Islands. It is extremely doubtful if its reasons are anything like so subtle, but the issue is by no means academic.

Take the case of the Mau Mau movement in Kenya, a movement which seems to have certain aspects in common with the 'Cargo' cults. When, several years after the events, the Corfield report was published by the Stationery Office in June this year, there was much disappointment that, as Christopher Hollis put it in the *Daily Telegraph* "some vital questions find only incomplete answers", or that as Donald Harris remarked in *The Guardian*, the report was merely a "propaganda travesty" of history. *The Guardian* commented acidly in a leading article that "the Kenya Government—when it feels the time has come for a definitive history of Mau Mau—will perhaps turn to an historian rather than an administrator". One might add that, to adapt the phrase of Mr. Menzies, the historian should be a private citizen who wished to go there for unofficial reasons.

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Experiments in Resistance

Continued from p. 2

the immediately adverse world reaction to the South African government after the Sharpeville shooting and arrests.

Little attempt was made inside Germany to combat Hitler by this method. Where it was attempted outside Germany, in Norway, it achieved significant successes. (See *New Way in Norway*, A. K. Jameson, 1948, and *Tyranny could not quell them*, how Norway's teachers defeated Quisling, Gene Sharp, 1959, both published by *Peace News*.)

The method implies non-co-operation and fraternisation. Both involve much activity and imagination—far from the docility of lambs led to the slaughter.

By fraternisation we mean demonstrating our friendship with the individual persons, soldiers, police or officials, of the occupying power. We have no quarrel with them. By non-violent resistance we shall gain the sympathy of the Pasternaks among them. Through our non-violence we strengthen the hands of people of like mind within the enemy country and help them to rid themselves of their own tyranny. The occupation forces will be affected by contact with a people whose spirit is not broken and who are determined to uphold a way of life in which human beings are respected. To answer by counter attack in the military sense naturally provides a genuine physical menace against which the members of the opposite side must defend themselves.

★

AT this stage in the argument it is sometimes pointed out that in Hungary in 1956 some of the first batch of Russian troops showed sympathy with the revolutionary cause, some even transferring their allegiance and fighting with the revolutionaries. Thereupon the Russian Government sent in tough Mongolian troops who did what they were told and had no scruples about being brutal. Does this simply mean that non-violent resistance would never work because as soon as the occupying government noticed that its troops were being disaffected they would instead call up others from more remote areas and immune from such sympathies? Rather the opposite. People who assert that it would never be possible to change the mind or

allegiance of a Russian soldier now freely admit that some Russian soldiers' minds were so changed. The argument has shifted. It is now only the Mongolian Russians who cannot be influenced. Furthermore it should be noted that the Hungarians were not making an organised attempt by non-violent means to change the minds of their enemies and to win them over. Had they done this, it would have been difficult or unwise for the Russian leaders, who on Mr. Krushchev's admission were divided on this issue in the Kremlin, to crush the revolt forcefully, for fear of losing the support of their own people.

The practice of fraternization and non-co-operation simultaneously is by no means easy. Great strength is needed not to become, or to be suspected of becoming, a quisling. On the one hand there must be steadfastness over fundamentals, on the other flexibility in negotiation.

An example of the former is given by R. G. Bell (*Alternative to War*):

"During the occupation of France by Germany after 1940 a French pastor befriended Jews and gave them shelter in his own home. The secret police found out what he was doing, arrested him and took him to Gestapo headquarters in Paris. Asked why he befriended Jews when he knew that to do so was contrary to the law of the occupying power, the pastor replied that he did not recognise this law but obeyed another law which told him to do good to his neighbour. Whereupon the Gestapo officer asked him to come for a walk in the garden. The pastor wondered what was going to happen. Would they beat him up, would they shoot him, was he on his way to a concentration camp? Instead of any of these things, when they arrived at the end of the garden the Gestapo officer opened a door leading to a back lane and said 'Get out. You remind me that I was baptised a Christian'."

Bell adds that all that is needed to make that one man's method effective is a sufficient number of other men to help, and the welding of them together into a disciplined active non-violent resistance army, well prepared and well led. Haphazard martyrdom even in large numbers is not by itself a guaran-

tee of victory.

As much as possible should be practised in detail on a nation-wide, and international scale. This should be the function of the Civil Defence Units* which we are asked to join now, not to try to constitute a fourth arm of the military and merely lull people into a false sense of security from H-bomb attack. Similarly the police trained in non-violent methods could use its highly efficient organisation on the one hand to prevent potential hostility from developing, and on the other to set a lead to the people both in non co-operation and in fraternisation.

The two books by Aldous Huxley and Richard Gregg both written in the 1930s, give some treatment in terms of Western ideology of the philosophy and practice of non-violence.

A third book very much worth noticing is *Conquest of Violence* by Barthelme de Ligt.

This is a classic text-book of applied pacifism, in which the technique—and some of its history since Roman times—of non-violent activity is described with a sober precision of language by a writer in Holland.

An important aspect of it is de Ligt's analysis of the folly of revolutionary violence. "The more violence the less revolution," he says.

Throughout the book a wealth of reference and quotation shows that non-violent methods of struggle are not bound up with the person of Gandhi in particular, nor with any special form of religion. For example:

According to Thoreau, "Every responsible citizen should utterly ignore the public authorities, laws and institutions, when a truly human interest requires it, and so prevent his Government from committing crimes in critical moments. Co-operation with all people and institutions which lean towards the good, non-co-operation the minute there is a question of promoting the bad."

Bellagarrigue spread the idea of a *refusal of assistance*, which is identified with the principle of non-co-operation and civil disobedience. He developed a

*This proposition is seriously discussed by Stephen King Hall in *Common Sense in Defence*.

OR take a case geographically nearer to New Guinea. I well remember sitting down one night (and I find with a shock it was 13 years ago) trying to make sense of the newspaper reports of an uprising in the Solomon Islands in order to write a coherent account of it for *FREEDOM (Revolt in Solomons: What is the Truth 4/10/47)*. "One of the biggest factors" I wrote, "in the maintenance of public ignorance is the unreliability of the news we do get". For most of the papers simply treated the rising (which several naval vessels had been sent to quell) as a comic item, while the "serious" press was full of discrepancies. *The Guardian* said that the naval officers who went ashore found the inhabitants standing round a mast from which was flying a yellow flag with black stripes "which they said was Martin Lo, the flag of freedom", while in the *Daily Telegraph's* account Martin Lo became Marxian Law, while the uprising became the result of "Communist propaganda after the American occupation". (What it actually was, was Marching Rule, a typical Cargo cult, which became a political movement, and, after the usual arrests and sentences, gained political concessions). Now unless you happen to be a reader of the *Pacific Islands Monthly*, the only factual account of this movement that you can find is in Dr. Worsley's book, and yet it was in your name as citizens of the colonising power that the members of this movement were arrested, tried and convicted in 1947 and 1951. Questions of colonial administration are only one of the fields in which we depend for information, unless we are to be fed with official hand-outs, on private citizens who wish to go there for unofficial reasons.

The strange case of Professor Gluckman is thus not only a ludicrous example of backwoods security mania, an attack on his professional integrity, and on academic freedom; it is yet another example of the prevention of the free flow of public information.

C.W.

whole "theory of calm" which opens up possibilities of overcoming even the most powerful regime "by abstention and inertia".

"Everything must succumb to the power of Abstention: social privileges, unjust taxes, spy systems, military hierarchies, must all give way before it, when the masses withdraw their support from the regime of violence and concentrate on their own moral force."

Other authors who have emphasised this principle were Benjamin Tucker who in *Individual Liberty*, said:

"There is not a tyrant in the civilised world today who would not rather do anything in his power to precipitate a bloody revolution rather than see himself confronted by any large fraction of his subjects determined not to obey. For nothing is easier for modern Governments than to crush revolutionary violence. Neither the ballot nor the bayonet is to play any great part in the coming struggle; passive resistance is the instrument by which the revolutionary force is destined to secure in the last great conflict the people's rights forever."

John Ruskin wrote: "It may be that you will have to die—well, men have died for their country often, yet doing her no good; be ready to die for her in doing her assured good: her, and all other countries with her. Mind your own business with absolute heart and soul; but see that it is a good business first. That it is corn and sweet peas you are producing — not gunpowder and arsenic. And be sure of this literally: you must simply die rather than make any destroying mechanism or compound."

Whilst Clara Meher-Wichmann declared: "A real revolutionary can never be an enemy to his enemies nor a criminal to criminals, the more so as criminals are in the first place victims of society. The revolution demands not only the renunciation of all violence in regard to nations and classes, but also to individuals. Complete antimilitarism transforms itself in this way into a new individual and social education which, combining with modern psychological knowledge and psychotherapy at last renders the barracks as unnecessary as the prisons."

ANTHONY WEAVER.

Zen & Psychoanalysis

ARTHUR ULOTH, reviewing *Zen Buddhism & Psychoanalysis* (FREEDOM 17/9/60) quotes Fromm in his diagnosis of the *maladie du siècle* of the majority of patients consulting the psychoanalysts today as being "the alienation from oneself, from one's fellow man, and from nature". It is difficult to see how this could be tested empirically, and it is clear that many simpler hypotheses might be tried before we resort to such complicated explanations. It might be the case, for instance, that this "inner deadness" is a contemporary form of indigestion precipitated by the modern processing of food, or simply the depression which follows the stimulant drugs we all rely on daily.

Occam's Razor might also be successfully applied to what he says about Zen and psychoanalysis commonly seeking "to bring man into contact with his unconscious". Before attempting this, it would be as well to ensure that man has an unconscious to be brought into contact with. This controversial issue is largely about whether a word like "unconscious" refers to an entity or describes certain sorts of behaviour. It is not troublesome so long as we use it to refer to behaviour which is casually dependent upon non-conscious factors, for then it functions as a useful label, and has value in science where shorthand symbols facilitate communication and development. But when it is taken as indicating an entity, something which could be existentially predicted (a tendency, unhappily, not without precedent in the history of science) then it is possible that an invention rather than a discovery has taken place.

There is, of course, nothing wrong with fantasy as such; the difficulties arise when we regard the fantasy as reality and make inferences from it to other matters of fact. And this process is infinite in its potential and dangerous in its effects. For although the "reality" of non-existent entities may be supported by carefully selected evidence, their non-existence can never be demonstrated by evidence. The unreality of unreal things cannot be shown by real things. If the original premise is irrefutable, then endless non-disprovable derivations may be made from it, each made plausible by a selection of evidence, each irrefutable. The dangers of losing the ability to distinguish between fact and fantasy are obvious. To prevent this, and ensure that hypotheses are indeed empirical, they must possess the characteristics of all empirical knowledge: the double possibility of demonstration and error. We must be able to produce evidence for the hypothesis and indicate the sort of evidence that would refute it, if it were supplied. I cannot see how any evidence could ever demonstrate that "the conscious" did not exist.

One consequence of assuming unquestionably that "it" does are the wild, groundless assertions and howling nonsense that A.U. quotes from Fromm or makes on his behalf. The mythology that is being incubated around this word may prove to be as evil in its consequences as the frightful maelstroms that have resulted from gods, souls, spirits, etc. That sort of historical horror is one result of failing to curb pathological

emotional impulses with a rational principle. (In those sort of cases, that entities should not be multiplied beyond necessity). Until mankind can achieve social health, the only safeguard we have against these pathological impulses is reason. Fromm seems to belong to that murky band of irrationalists who point to the failure of the mechanical model as a means of explanation in the social sciences, gesticulate towards the darkness of recent history and contemporary environment as the products of reason, and call for a renunciation of its discipline in the name of freedom, and a retreat into gnosticism, mystical explanation or "just feeling". But unreasoned emotion produced the horror, not reason; and reason, not emotion, is our only safe guide away from it. Gathering knowledge is one thing, the applications to which it is put is something different, and the ability to perceive what the gathering and application ultimately and validly entail is different again. If we value freedom from coercion, we might

LETTERS

well condemn the methods of the first or the activities of the second, but not the penetration of the third.

Indeed, the concepts of freedom and reason are mutually dependent. Without each other, they become, in a colloquial sense, self-contradictory. As Alisdar MacIntyre has recently put it: "Without freedom, reason beyond operates only within limits, and so its constructions, however intricate, remain beyond those limits uncriticised, and in so far as uncriticised, irrational. Without reason, freedom becomes merely a lack of constraint, which leaves the individual the plaything of all the forces which impinge upon and influence him, but of which he remains unconscious." In short: Without freedom, reason is irrational. Without reason, freedom is slavery.

JOHN ARCHER,

Muswell Hill, N.10, Sept. 29.

The Beatniks

SOME of us who are neither outright squares like living in Suburbia nor complete failures, misfits or improvisers, who work for wages, support families and belong to organizations, such as unions, are not as enthusiastic as is Uloth for the beatniks. We are caught up in a rat race, yes, but not that of getting ahead or of buying a newer car than the neighbour; we got to pay the rent, raise the kids and hunt up a job when lay-off time comes. Our alternatives are not between scrubbing floors or taking a job in advertising; we work at our trade, truck driving, factory, or maybe it's construction and between times we're on unemployment compensation. That is, if we can't find a janitor job to tide us over. The routine is a bind and probably is less rewarding and less interesting than the daily round of the beat, but we stick at it because poetry and jazz, like advertising, is beyond us. Some of us would like to improve our lot and to relate in some way or other to the larger problems, and we do this in the only way we know how, by working in our unions, supporting the sit-in movement, demonstrating in peace talks and participating in political discussion groups. Support for such activities, in this area at least, comes from students and from those people politically and religiously motivated. These people, by beat standards, are square because they do view with alarm, take a position, make judgments and generally operate in a biased manner. Our experience has been that the beat element doesn't come out on these demonstrations; it seems that anything less than actually living one's protest, as Uloth corroborates, is, for the beat, square.

This may seem admirable, but for those of us who are congenitally or environmentally limited to incomplete awareness and who therefore attempt to persuade and to influence others in our efforts to realize ourselves as human beings, the beat phenomenon looks like something that ultimately will be lined up against us. Holiness be it barbarian or Xtian seems like a pretension of some kind. Everybody wants to act on and

participate in their society. Do the beats who have withdrawn into voluntary poverty and who have turned down big jobs in advertising actually think they're out of it? Because of their talents and intellectual background they can do no other than play the role of intellectual élite. And, since western society is in the process of becoming more and more totalitarian the influence of this alienated group is more likely to accelerate the process than to divert it. Divorced as they are from all intentional organizations and all traditional values the general success they are enjoying lends itself to the formulation of a new mass spirit, a spirit unconnected to any concrete social objectives. Keroac's and Ginsberg's flaunting of extreme attitudes towards dope and homosexuality may seem liberating, but it remains to be seen how the elements in our mass society will interpret the message. As Hanna Arendt observed apropos an ironic play by B. Brecht, "The mob applauded because it took the statement literally; the bourgeoisie applauded because it had been fooled by its own hypocrisy for so long that it had grown tired of the tension and found deep wisdom in the expression of the banality by which it lived; the élite applauded because the unveiling of hypocrisy was such superior and wonderful fun".

Thus far our "infra groupings" haven't been strengthened by any new blood from the beats. Everything still depends upon the eager students, the hacks and the committed.

Minneapolis, U.S.A., Sept. 25. C.C.

The Political Word Hoaxers

Continued from p. 1

he is on" and to what purpose. His hypocritical denunciation of obsessive ideologies will please the people who share his own convictions about the rightness of competitive capitalism and the Christian way of life, without recognising the contradictions in condemning ideologies in general while clinging to one in particular.

The following extract from Macmillan's speech could have been made by an anarchist, and the logical next step of the Prime Minister should be into the Anarchist Movement!

At any given moment in the world's history we tend, all of us, to be obsessed by our own ideologies. We may thus become prisoners of our own arguments. The great division in the world must be seen in a wide, historical perspective. What a strange contrast it is between the dramatic achievements of modern science and the melancholy failures of modern statesmanship. We throw instruments into distant space which circle the earth. We put hardly any limit to the ambitions of discovery. We expect soon to visit the moon.

Yet if there are inhabitants in any other planets looking down on us, how strange they must think the antics of humanity. With all this immense knowledge, the results of thousands of years of effort, emerging from savagery and superstition to the most sophisticated techniques, how strange it must seem to see human beings fighting and quarrelling, attacking not the real problems that confront us—economic, social, medical, agricultural—but each other, and perhaps even risking their mutual destruction through the accident of nuclear war.

But while their leaders are engaged in quarrelling there has never been a time when ordinary folk, if they were only let alone, were more agreed as to their requirements and aspirations.

"If only ordinary folk were let alone . . . while their leaders are engaged in quarrelling . . . the melancholy failures of modern statesmen . . . obsessed by our ideologies . . . attacking not the real problems—economic, social, medical . . ."

True words which will doubtless be warmly supported by the Primrose League, but we hope that "ordinary folk" will not be taken in.

The test of a politician's serious intentions is how he acts not what he says; when all politicians from East and West join the nuclear disarmers and give up their conflicting ideologies in the interests of the humanity they have talked so much about in the past three weeks we will accord them a dignified hearing.

We opened with a quotation from Herbert Read and end with another from the same source:

"A fanatic might be defined as a person . . . who tries to make the pattern of life conform strictly to the pattern of thought."

Some of us think it is more civilised to "be fanatical" than political. R.M.

CORRECTION FOR THE RECORDS

A typesetting error (FREEDOM 24/9/60 "The Political Circus") made the Gallup poll 75%. This should read 57%. Line 18, column 2, page 1.

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MARCHING

MAY I use your columns to point out to all the Direct Action Group, all marchers and all pacifists, that no matter how valiant and self-sacrificing their actions are, they are not directed against the real enemy.

The real enemy is our particular type of civilizations, based upon competitive commercialism, competitive nationalism, and competitive power blocks.

I find that many supporters of Direct Action, many marchers and many pacifists, have no desire whatsoever to change the structure of our society.

They have a fervent desire to get rid of War and the weapons of war, at the same time giving all their sanction and support, to the very structure and system, which produces war and the weapons of war.

They are in fact trying to isolate and cure, symptoms of the disease, without attacking the disease itself, and as fast as we rid ourselves of one symptom, the disease will manifest itself in some other symptom, perhaps even more horrible than rockets and H-Bombs.

ELLEN A. REES.

Herne Hill, S.E.24, Sept. 28.

SAM WALSH

MANY readers will be saddened to learn of the death of Sam Walsh a fortnight ago at the age of 62. Sam, who "strode eagerly to enlist in the Army at the Town Hall when 18, and rode royally in a bathchair from the infirmary home on my twenty-first birthday", lost an arm and a leg in the First World War, and was active for the rest of his life in anti-war movements. He was for many years a subscriber and contributor to this paper, and during the recent war in Cyprus visited the island and wrote some very informative articles for FREEDOM on the country's problems and potentialities. He never allowed his disabilities to prevent him from getting about, and his calm, handsome face and genial manner will be missed in a good many places.

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