FREEDOM

JANUARY 6 1962 Vol 23 No 1

INQUEST ON THE SIT-DOWN-3

THE policy of the Committee of 100 has all along been one of non-violence and openness. We want to discuss this week the question of openness versus secrecy in the light of the Committee's activities and experience in the past year. In general we would say that where it is possible to carry on one's propaganda freely, then secrecy is an unnecessary hindrance, and that the more openly one acts, the greater is the chance of reaching the maximum number of people. At the initial stages of its existence the Committee of 100 depended for its success on its plans for civil disobedient action receiving a maximum of advance publicity; the organs of mass communications were its principal means for reaching the sympathetic minority among the public who would join them in their activities. The question now is whether a point has been reached where a policy of complete openness, so far as action, as distinct from day to day propaganda, is concerned, can only result in one costly "defeat" after another which could in a short time lead to the disintegration of the movement through disillusionment, by the feeling that the odds against which we were pitting our forces were overwhelming. A year ago when the Committee of 100 was formed and its campaign of civil disobedience announced, its potentialities could not be accurately assessed by the authorities. Indeed it will be recalled that at the first sit-down when more than 4,000 people including the "big names", took part, the forces of law and order contented themselves with playing the role of onlookers; it is true that they were also faced with an accommodating assembly which packed itself on the pavement and not in the road, around the Ministry of Defence, but they closed an eye to the "obstruction" and there were no arrests. When the second sitdown took place there were as many police as demonstrators, and the arrests started in earnest, and those not arrested were all dragged from the road and dumped on the pavements. By the time the Trafalgar Square demonstration took place the authorities were taking the movement seriously, and operated according to a plan. The demonstrators' chances of achieving their immediate objectives receded into the background. By the time the December demonstration took place not only were the authorities ready to deal with the optimistic plans of the Committee, but they had taken a number of measures such as raiding the offices of the Committee as well as the homes of some of its mem-



'There is nothing inherently sacred about moral codes. Like the wooden idols of long ago, they are all the work of human hands, and what man has made, man can destroy.

-RAGNAR REDBEARD

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

closely related to totalitarian and racist policies; they are also closely connected with preparations for and the waging of war. Elaborate "security" arrangements foster use of underhand devices to weed out spies and enemies of the state. The degree to which any society condones either police violence or the use of political police is symptomatic of the lack of liberty in that society. Political police methods are one of the things we are

which are "totalitarian" or "racial" or which are "preparing for or waging war". They are part and parcel of every State, every nation, in which the many are ruled by the few; in which the latter enjoy privileges connected with power and/or wealth; in which the many depend on the few, whether they call themselves the employers or the State, for their means of livelihood. Police brutality and political police exist in direct ratio to the opposition which the ruling class encounters from those who challenge its authority. Let us be quite clear. The opposition represented by the Labour Party does not threaten the ruling class, the status quo. The revolutionary workers' movement in Spain in February 1936, in spite of the victory of the Popular Front parties, did. And for that reason when, only six months later, the military rising was launched, there were as many revolutionary workers in prison under the Popular Front Government as had been liberated in the flush of the Popular Front victory in February! All political parties aspire to the armchairs of government; none challenge the foundations of a society which is maintained by the threat, or use, of force. Indeed, they, when in office, use the

bers; calling on the printers of the Committee's leaflets, arresting five members of the Committee and charging them under the Official Secrets Act; warning the public that by participating in demonstrations directed at military establishments they were making themselves liable to arrest under these Acts, which carry heavy penalties. And of course these measures were given a maximum of publicity by the very organs of mass communications which the Committee had been depending on to get a maximum number of supporters.

By December 9 then, what free publicity the Committee of 100 had received from the organs of mass communications by its policy of openness on the one hand, can only be properly estimated by considering on the other hand what harmful the counter-measures of effect searches, arrests and intimidation by the police which, of course, were given maximum publicity in the Press, had on many people who were sufficiently sympathetic to the cause but deterred by the barrage of threats by the authorities. And not only were the authorities able to use the weapon of intimidationthrough-the-application-of - the - law (even though it is highly questionable whether they will proceed with the charges under the Official Secrets Act, or, if they do, succeed). But by being told beforehand-not to mention the fact that plain-clothes Special Branch officers attend all the meetings of the Committee of 100 where they can not only note the discussions that take place, but single out each individual and form an impression of his views and role in the movement and thus build up a dossier which would be invaluable if and when it was decided by the authorities that the time had come to attempt to destroy this movement -we were saying, that by being told beforehand, the military and civil authorities between them, were able to take all the steps necessary to meet the challenge threatened for

We anarchists would have been most surprised and even disappointed had the authorities acted otherwise. Yes, disappointed because it would have meant that they felt so strong as to be able to ignore the movement of the Committee of 100 completely. The fact that they cannot write-off the movement is the measure of its success after one year of activity. But just because the authorities take the movement seriously it is doubly necessary that the movement should take the authorities seriously! And so far this does not seem to us to be the case.

IN a front page editorial in Peace News Dec. 1) on the police raids on the Committee of 100's offices we read:

Police brutality and political police are

fighting against.

We believe use of violence and the use of spies, telephone tapping, questioning neighbours (or printers) would all be wrong if used against members of a violent and secret political organisation; but at least in this instance they would have some kind of justification. But in the case of the Committee of 100, which has always publicised the names of its members, broadcast its plans to the world and been quite open about its aims and activities, there is no shred of justification.

It is with regret that we find our selves disagreeing with almost every word of the foregoing paragraphs, especially since Peace News is now controlled by the militant elements in the Committee of 100 and not muzzled by a moribund P.P.U., which values respectability and political orthodoxy as being more important than militancy.

"Police brutality" and "political police" are not phenomena only of those countries pursuing policies

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Continued on page 3

ISAY, CHARLES, WHO IS THIS YOUTH BEARING A BANNER WITH A STRANGE DEVICE? ELECTRI SKITZ WHO SHOULD RUN THE POST OFFICE? ADDRESSING 6,000 members of down are being adhered to. Most communications cannot be operated the Union of Post Office work- of these rules have been made by by a centralised bureaucracy, which the employers, a few, such as the in order to maintain its control inmaximum loads to be carried by a variably has to make so many rules, postman, have been forced upon the which if applied, must result in the employers by the workers' Union. paralysis of the service? This is The employers' rules are presumwhat the postal workers are proposably intended to safeguard the pubing to show the public by their "work to rule" campaign. We hope lic's interests (letters to be delivered to the recipient personally and so they win their demands, and if they do, we would also wish that they on) as well as the employers'. But the fact remains that in running the started thinking beyond the quesservice, as opposed to laying down tion of pay claims to that of who should run the postal service. Many the rules, it is only by ignoring the rules that the service will work! years ago, their journal the Post was engaged in a campaign for workers' And the employers presumably only apply the rules when it is a question control (it was at the time when Allen Skinner was on the editorial of fixing responsibility on a rule-For instance, the first question staff). Surely it is now time to rebreaker; but in normal circumstances they condone the breaking vive this campaign. that working to rule will, if it lasts of the rules since to be otherwise can only result in a breakdown of The lessons to be learned from mail, of phone calls, etc., which will the Post Office workers' campaign the service. virtually paralyse the service? As are too clear to need underlining. If only the working people of this Is it not clear that a service as vital to the community as that of country would take them to heart!

Contributors to ANARCHY 11 include A. S. NEILL PAUL GOODMAN HAROLD DRASDO

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the 9th December.

To tell the authorities beforehand that not only are you courting mass arrests, but that those who are arrested have been advised to refuse to give their names because in doing so the machinery of the courts, the prisons, etc., will break down, is a warning as well as an invitation to the authorities to take steps beforehand to deal with such a situation. Which is what they did. Not only were the barbed wire fences enclosing the air bases strengthened, and patrolled on the ground as well as from the air, but schools were taken over to be used as emergency courts; police were drafted from all parts and the whole operation was carried out with the kind of thoroughness and lack of concern for "expense" which one expects from the authorities when it is a question of defending the sacred "principle" of Authority!

ers on the eve of their "work to rule" campaign for increased wages, Mr. George Woodcock, TUC General Secretary told them "It is a serious think you are engaged on. hope you realise that, but I can assure you the whole of the working people of the country understand the provocation under which you have suffered and realise that on this occasion your fight is theirs". We too hope that the seriousness of their action will make many among the postal workers think beyond the immediate implications.

that comes to mind is: Why is it a few weeks, result in a pile-up of has been pointed out, "working to rule" does not mean going slow; it simply means that the rules laid

TOMO KENYATTA'S book, Facing Mount Kenya, was first published in 1938. That it should be re-issued in paper back form (Mercury Books, 12/6) twenty-three years later is tribute to its lasting value and interest, though probably the publishers were spurred most by the timeliness of a reprint in the light of the shifting balances of power in East Africa and the release of the author hmself from confinement. His release is of course symbolic of the shifts in power now taking place.

Apart from topicality, I can think of two good reasons for reading this book. First, for its value as a comprehensive and perceptive monograph on Kikuyu life and culture (Kenyatta, be it noted, renders the name of his people "Gikuyu"; I use the more familiar, but phonemically less accurate "Kikuyu"). Secondly, because the author is, more than any other of his people, identified in our minds with African freedom in Kenya. Kenyatta's qualifications for writing are also twofold. As he relates in the preface, he had the usual training of a tribal Kikuyu; this knowledge was reinforced and crystallized when he represented his people before several land commissions. And for several years he was out of Kenya, travelling in Europe and studying social anthropology at London University.



owski and the Australian-born A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. It is the influence of the former that is apparent in Jomo Kenvatta's book, though, in the years since, Radcliffe-Brown's concepts have tended to submerge Malinowski's. Thus, in each chapter, a systematic account is given of one of the major aspects of Kikuyu culture. The function of the various beliefs and practices is puzzled out, and the origin-myths, by which the Kikuyu validate their institutions are frequently stated (in Malinowski's conceptual framework, origin-myths functioned as the charters for institutions). The master's influence can also be detected, I think, in the impatience Kenyatta displays for the notion that land is communally owned among his people. This question touches on the wider question of primitive communism, a concept to which Malinowski was hostile and about which there has been far too much confused thinking (I am hoping to explore the problem in FREEDOM sometime). In one instance the pupil was more consistent than his teacher in applying functionalism. The Kikuyu practise clitoridectomy or, as it is sometimes inaccurately called, female circumcision as part of their female initiation rites. Malinowski, noted though he was for insisting on the functional significance of all the elements in any system of culture, could not completely overcome the European repugnance for this particular custom; the difference of opinion, or rather of sentiment, between the two men is reflected in a catlike touch by Malinowski

on p. xi of his introduction, and in the space Kenyatta gives to a discussion of the practice.

The Kikuyu are one of the stateless societies so common in Africa, and the account Kenyatta gives of their social system is therefore likely to be of the most theoretical interest to anarchists; thus in his article in ANARCHY 3, Jeremy Westall noted the Kikuyu as an example "where we have already the basis for a fundamentally decentralist society". Vertically, Kikuyu society is bisected by family and clan groupings, the former being segments of the latter. Every Kikuyu is affiliated, through the accident of birth, to social units of each of these two kinds. But the system is also divided horizontally by social units of a third kind, the age-grades, to which all Kikuyu affiliate according to the time of their initiation. Each age-grade unites all those Kikuyu males or females who are initiated at the same time; in this way the tendency toward separatism inherent in the family and clan groupings is arrested, and a basis laid for collective action on a tribal level. Government, or administration, reposed in a series of councils at village, district and national levels. The members of the first two kinds of council were the elders of the village and district respectively; the third kind was composed of the senior elders from the district councils. This egalitarian system, in which there were no inheritable positions, was the target of the British administrators, who imposed a system of appointed chiefs. The Kikuyu

do not respect these "chiefs", and pay little regard to them.

The imposition of "chiefs" is only one of the ways in which the administration showed its contempt and cynical disregard for the Kikuyu people. The confiscation of large areas of the best land is even more glaring. Throughout the book there are telling insights given into the colonisation process, though it is primarily an anthropological monograph. Thus at p.86: "It is worth our while here to note that the Kenya Government has put a ban on the Africans carrying dangerous weapons, namely, spears, swords, and bows and arrows. At the same time the Europeans move freely in town and in country carrying all sorts of fire-arms. The Africans, seeing these, marvel at the European conception of 'dangerous weapons'." could cite quite a few such comments. More pregnant with meaning, however, is Kenyatta's evaluation of what is good in European culture: "There certainly are some progressive ideas among the Europeans. They include the ideas of material prosperity, of medicine, and hygiene, and literacy which enables people to take part in world culture" (p.317). European ideas of religion and social organisation are significantly unmentioned. When Jomo Kenyatta wrote his book, he dedicated it to "Moigoi and Wamboi and all the dispossessed youth of Africa: for perpetuation of communion with ancestral spirits through the fight for African Freedom, and in the firm faith

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that the dead, the living, and the unborn will unite to rebuild the destroyed shrines." His faith, though firm, must have seemed hopeless in those days before the war, But now, twenty-three years later, the anti-colonial tide is flooding the Europeans out of Africa, as it has already swept them out of nearly all Asia. The long agony of the Kikuyu is practically ended.

It seems a pity that the editor of the Mercury Book series did not bring Facing Mount Kenya up to date with a new preface by the author or a new introduction by a social anthropologist experienced in East Africa or both. K.J.M.

The Missionaries

NTOT that this book* was the first I had read of this chap's, young as he is, nor even that its style was completely strange to me on account I had already enjoyed reading The Teachers, but that having a short memory it came fresh or something.

The Missionaries tells how a Nobel Prizewinning physicist who turned missionary and set himself up to become a legendary Great White Doctor of black Africa, succeeded in his efforts until, by all accounts except the right one, he was foully murdered by his black medicineboy. Another missionary doctor who had reluctantly gone out to understudy the G.W.D. did not share the civilised world's admiration for his self-imposed and self-opinionated state-and got himself two years' imprisonment and the reputation of a traitor who had gone over to Mau Mau. The truth of the matter comes out through a young married couple who take the young doctor in after his release from prison and shelter him from his hostile and self-righteous fellow men. Truth is fiction in this case but strange enough at that since the time, the place and the people strike a familiar note. The young married couple also hear a few home truths about missions in general and Catholic missions in particular: "Too busy with stained-glass windows and things of wood and stone-vestments of fine gold over corruption and spiritual hollowness." Faults on both sides are exposed and individuals on both sides are turned inside out. And the moral? I would say; don't believe or disbelieve what people tell you, especially powerful people-and you have to be prepared to go down to others chaps' level if you really want to help him. E.C.

At the time of the studies which were to result in Facing Mount Kenya, there were two main trends in "British" social anthropology, stemming respectively from the Polish-born Bronislaw Malin-

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EFT-WING thought has long been obsessed with the idea of a leisure society. Paul Lafargue (Marx's son-inlaw), wrote a book entitled The Right To Be Lazy and the value of 'right to work', as a doctrine has long been questioned by such thinkers as Bonar Thompson,

Sociologists have a wonderful time with work. They can study it for hours,

getting bored and hence, less productive. This is known as "job enlargement", a particularly atrocious example of the jargon that sociologists suffer from, This, it is claimed "has been accompanied by a decrease in the absentee rate and a rise in productivity".

Friedmann, and industrial experts of his well-meaning type are in danger of falling into the same trap as F. W. motive to increase production.

The idea of varying the type of work is taken even farther by Peter Kropotkin. Logically extended; with its aim being the welfare of the worker, the idea will destroy the gigantic conveyor belt altogether and break up the huge factory concentration. This cannot be done, despits the well-meaning sociologist without changing the whole outlook of society.

However, Mr. Friedmann's book is a further confirmation of the growth of JACK ROBINSON.

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and write massive polysyllabic volumes about it. The Anatomy of Work by Georges Friedmann is in danger of being one of these but in spite of himself Mr. Friedmann writes an interesting and to those who never thought of the contradictions and dangers in massproduction and time-and-motion study, a thought-provoking book.

Friedmann quotes Camus in the introduction "without work all life goes rotten. But when work is soulless life stifles and dies". The author examines the effects of the introduction of specialization on the conveyor belt and cites as typical an incident when he saw a man punching holes in watch-plates and his companion said "Here the man is bigger than his job".

The Taylor system of division of labour and specialization has meant that "repetitive and fragmentary operations of all kinds, performed in factories, in mines, steel works and shipyards, as well as in offices, shops and distribution centres: jobs which lack variety, initiative and responsibility, and all sense of belonging-to a whole-which are in fact devoid of any real meaning at all. These occupations, unlike those in which the worker can find ever-renewed interest, as well as intrinsic satisfactions which in privileged cases may even amount to real enjoyment, consist in cycles of movements of short duration, lasting occasionally no more than a few seconds, which only call for short-term motivations".

Taylor, the production engineer who impotence of decentralist ideas, pioneered work-study in order to make the worker's task lighter, his pay higher, and his hours shorter, only to find that his ideas were used purely for the profit

"THE ANATOMY OF WORK", by Georges Friedmann, Heinemann, 25/-.

*THE MISSIONARIES, by G. W. Target. Duckworth, 16s.

knowledge that they are still part of the living fabric of our time.

After months of threats one new gallery has finally opened and it is the St. Martin's Gallery at 11, St. Martin's Court, W.C.2. Opened under the patronage of an art-dabbling American, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Hayden and under the management of Signor Vincent, they are at the moment pushing Italian painting that is technically efficient if unexciting in its conclusion.

It is not to denigrate this work to say that it is on a par with that sold at the art department of Liberty's in Regent Street, and for the buyers, the choice between the two places can only be a matter of price. This is an odd gallery in that it is almost impossible to find it and those who wish to visit it, and I advise them to, should seek out Barry Duncan's overcrowded theatrical antiquarian shop at the same address and head straight down to the basement. And if you have money to spend for a memento of the theatre, then climb upstairs to Barry Duncan's crowded rooms. There, among the mountainous piles of old theatre programmes, posters, cards and catalogues prowls this seventy-yearold man. A recognised figure in Soho for the last thirty years this thin, whitehaired and soft spoken man has played his part in the drama of our time. He has marched with the hunger marchers and carried a banner in many a pre-war demonstration. Expelled from the Communist Party in the early 'thirties as a Trotskyist heretic, he found himself still on the Party's black list when he applied for re-admission in the Fashionable 'Forties. But now, he claims to be nonpolitical and there among these crowded rooms studded with his garish paintings of Dylan Thomas, Stalin and all those others who by personal contact or by the power of their pen have marked his memory, he works on his monumental book on "St. James' Theatre". A quiet man, who has finally turned his back upon the world, and found his retreat in the visible past and who among us, shall protest his choice.



THERE is no Season among the Bond Street galleries for while the Common man and his breathless wife search the West End shops for the mythical bargain the Bond Street boys close their galleries once more for re-decoration, and once more re-check their sucker list for the coming year, and wonder if the press invitations that they send to me are worth the income tax rebates that they claim under expenses. For the art racket is a world of ninety per cent spivvery, when no dealer dare trust another dealer or even the artists in their own stable, when critics in the art rags temper their reviews to the size of the paid advert and a cynicism flowers under a mask of public well-being. An established dealer of many years summed it up to me a week ago when I asked him why he did not advertise, for he said, "Why should I advertise? I sell pictures and if I advertise I simply get a lot of bloody students and such-like hanging around the place and who wants to be pestered with people like them?" Who indeed! Yet walk into that gallery with an open cheque book and the soul of an empty beer barrel and that same dealer would blind his audience with his love of the beautiful. While there is a profit to be made out of the artist it will, as it always has, attract the element who are on the look-out for the big money, by sponging upon another man's creative work, but spares us the hypocrites who do it for love and at the same time freeze out of their galleries the man with the seat out of his trousers or the hole in his pocket. A minor mystery that has been intriguing the Town for some weeks was who was writing the anonymous art reviews for the right-wing weekly Topic. Various names were thrown about but a more than full page plug for the Institute of Contemporary Art in Number 8 narrowed the field. It was such a fulsome article over such a minor event,

the £15 a time touch for a chance in their yearly raffle for some rather thirdrate paintings, that it could only read as a friend at court. Lawrence Alloway, who was for longer than many care to remember, the guiding light of this wealthy clique has left for one of our ex-colonies, and the anonymous critic has written of Alloway, "The ICA is recovering from this apocalyptic experience slowly by certainly . . . " etc. My guess for what it is worth, plus the reading of some microscopic print under the heading of associate editors, is that the slim fingers of Toni Del Renzio are now typing Art Anonym for the art-loving Tories.

Del Renzio has for long years been an inhabitant of the ICA, doing his stint as corner man at their aesthetic quiz shows, but he has always had to walk in the shadow of the pushing Alloway. That the ICA has long been regarded as a funnel for the big money in the art world is probably undeniable, for it was in their cosy bar that so many contacts were made and so many Old Pals found their soul-mates.

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A manager of a British motor-car factory is quoted as having said: "We try to reduce skill to a minimum". This statement is looked at from two points of view in left-wing movements. The first is that this reduction of skill means more leisure and one is left freer to exercise "the right to be lazy", the second viewpoint is that this reduction of skilled workers means that the workers become more and more moronic power becomes more centralized in the hands of fewer managerial, technological types.

Friedmann sees this dilemma and his suggestion of a solution (that has been ventured upon), is that the worker on the assembly line should be given knowledge of the whole process and should be given a frequent change of job. This has been found to be desirable in some plants because the workers have been

No one will deny Del Renzio his weekly stint for Topic but his great days are behind him for this slim, pleasant and diffident man was, in the 'thirties, an associate of men like Philip Sansom, Herbert Read, Melville and the rest, when contemporary British art meant a genuine ferment of excitement, married to a social conscience and not the present day bickering about who first dropped the first blob of paint upon a horizontal canvas and is you-know-who truly an Hard Edge painter, or a naughty old renegade from the Abstractionist crowd? But the paths of these men have over the years diverged too much ever to merge again in a common cause and each man is left with his dreams. For too many the silence of minor financial success, but for a very few the

ARTHUR MOYSE.



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OPENNESS OR SECRECY ?

Continued from page I

same machine to maintain "law and order". Have the editors of Peace News read nothing of police brutality in India since independence? Or of the Belgian police during the strikes of last year? to mention only two examples of countries which can hardly be called "totalitarian", "racist" or bent on "waging war".

With this view we anarchists disagree profoundly. We seek to change society not for the sake of change, but because we believe that the whole edifice of society has been built on wrong foundations. For us it is a question of building on new foundations and for this very reason we do not expect to receive, nor do we ask for, the co-operation of those who are directly engaged in defend-

ing violence, or even procedure. They are the "pillars" of law and order; we must insist that they be the first to observe the rules! (Note: the Post Office workers to press their wage demands have not bothered to go on strike. As we write, they are proposing to work to rule. They are not going slow: they are simply carrying out their duties as laid down in the book of words. And just by doing this they will virtually paralyse the postal services. If the public were to demand that the police carry out their duties according to rule the already "undermanned" police force could be made to be even less "efficient"or should one say "effective?"-than it is at present. Not only would the police be hamstrung, but probably half the population would be on some charge or other and the courts and prisons woulld certainly be unable to cope with the "criminals".)

*

authority. But for a movement at present rooted in the coming generation rather than in a section of the working class movement, to our minds, lack of numbers must perforce be counterbalanced by the element of surprise; hence, at this stage the question of secrecy or openness is one of vital importance.

We do not hesitate in advocating that the Committee of 100, as a movement of civil disobedience, should drop its "openness" and seek instead to organise its demonstrations as secretly as it possibly can. Either it is a movement of civil disobedience or it isn't. And if it is then its aim should be to disorganise the machinery of State as effectively as is possible. By informing the authorities of one's intentions beforehand is the most ineffective way of going about it! This, we maintain, is elementary common sense, but only if by civil disobedience one means to change the rules as well as hampering the Government. To advocate new values, a new society without at the same time doing everything to ensure that there is a breakdown in existing government is as ineffective as seeking to paralyse existing social and economic organisation without having ideas as to what should replace this organisation. The Committee of 100 movement has therefore a double role to play: on the one hand that of propagandists for a libertarian society based on co-operation and equality between men, and the more openly this work can be done the better; on the other hand by acts of disobedience they must demonstrate that Authority is basically weak when faced by even a minority when that minority is united and determined. And to achieve the maximum effect for such activity preparation must be done in secret.

you're white, you're AYLESBURY DOCTORS PREFER WHITES

The British Medical Association has criticised doctors at Aylesbury who turned away coloured patients, saying their lists were full, yet continued to take on English families. Said a BMA spokesman: "The Association is emphatically against the colour bar in any form. To discriminate against coloured people is directly against every principle a doctor should stand for."

The condemnation follows a letter written to the Buckinghamshire Health Executive by an Aylesbury woman doctor complaining that some of her colleagues were turning away coloured patients. The doctor has taken on more than fifty West Indian families to her list in the last six months. Her letter, which has caused an outcry in Aylesbury, said doctors were turning away immigrants for two reasons: treating coloured families takes a great deal of time, largely because of language difficulties; and English patients are "not impressed" by seeing a waiting room full of coloured people. The letter added: "I think it is rather a shame that these West Indians should have to trail round the town being refused by one doctor after another. This is one reason why I have accepted so many so far. But although my list is small, I am not prepared to build up a practice consisting predominantly of foreigners." The clerk to the executive, Mr. L. A. White, said yesterday: "We cannot tell doctors what patients to take on their lists. We have an allocation committee for people who write saying they cannot get treatment. Then we can order a doctor to take them on."

This naive nonsense about "justification" for phone tapping, snooping, etc., by the police would be laughable if it were not tragic. Here are good, active people willing to suffer imprisonment and forego the temptations of material comfort to achieve a happier world for everybody to live in, who still think that those who are the ruling class will give up their power and privilege without a fight; that in their dealings with those who challenge their authority by openness, non-violence and brotherly love they too will in due course use the same openness, nonviolence and brotherly love!

Have they had their illusions shaken by police actions since the raids: by the arrests of their fellow Committeemen under the Official Secrets Act, by the Ambulance trick at the two entrances at Wethersfield and by the arrest of 15 Marshals at Brize Norton who had been called by the Police Chiefs "to discuss arrangements" for the demonstration?

ing the present social edifice from the demolition squads!

At most we shall demand that, since they are the upholders of law and order, they shall not exceed the limits of the powers they enjoy. And not because we are legalists, but because the law is already sufficiently weighted in favour of the status quo for the under-privileged majority not to use the law when it is in their favour. We know that the ruling class can change the law when it does not suit its purpose: as Verwoerd's government is doing in South Africa. But in the meantime it would be, in our opinion, a tactical mistake to allow the authorities, the Press and any other upholders of "law and order" to attack, and inhibit us, by actions which exceed their legal rights.

We must resist the taunts of the gutter press which will be the first to point out that we are opposed to the law yet demand that the police should respect the law. And we must answer them by pointing out that when we break the law we do so for our own reasons, and knowing what price the law may exact from us in terms of personal liberty. Because we do not recognise the Law does not mean that we recognise the right of the Authorities to imprison us without trial!

THE Committee of 100 viewed as

a breakaway movement of the CND, that is as a movement which believes that more spectacular methods of propaganda than marches, meetings and parliamentary pressure groups, may result in unilateral disarmament so far as this country is concerned, has achieved all it can achieve, and the leaders of CND far from being embarrassed by its unruly offspring, should be deeply grateful to it, for the sit-downs have obviously saved the CND from oblivion and the political pigeon-hole which is the fate of all those movements which illude themselves that they can transform society by influencing political parties, or governments.

The Committee of 100 viewed as a movement which no longer believes in the goodwill of any political party but casts its lot with the people, in the street, in the factory and workshop, is in its infancy-and we say this not disparagingly, but as "brothers in arms", more than anxious that all the positive forces in this movement should be fed, inspired and encouraged, but not sacrificed to a theory or formula. Ideally we must act from strength, in which case we can afford to declare our intentions openly, defiantly. In such a case either we propose to wrest some initiative from government or we are pitting our physical, numerical, social strength against that of

To our minds the most significant social event of 1961 in this country has been the growth of the Committee of 100 movement. 1962 must be a year of consolidation, of growth as a social movement which will inspire the working people of this country to an awareness of the real power which now lies dormant in each one of them. No movement of revolt which does not have its roots in the working classes can change society in the direction of freedom; indeed we doubt whether it can change society at all!

400 NEGRO YOUTHS ARRESTED

Albany (Ga.), December 12. Some four hundred Negro youths were

arrested here today when they protested

against the earlier arrest of 11 "freedom

riders". The youths, charged with a

breach of the peace and with parading

without a licence, were taken to a prison

large enough to hold only half their

number.

IF they look upon "openness" as a

×

principle rather than a tactic then it is clear that no examples as to the duplicity of the forces of Authority will influence them. And it would seem that they still consider this question of openness as one of principle as the concluding paragraph from the Peace News editorial clearly indicates:

If the Committee were ever to abandon significantly its policy of non-violence or openness, then the police would have some justification for using political police methods, and to the same extent the Committee would itself have compromised democratic and libertarian values. But we now have the right to ask the police not to stoop to underhand, undemocratic and unnecessary measures, and to protest vigorously when they do,

The utter confusion in this kind of thinking is the result of applying the same moral values to the man who is armed with arguments, a desire to see that reason prevails and that all mankind shall live together as equals and at peace, with the man who argues with a truncheon, the majesty of the law, and the threat of imprisonment. Don't our pacifist friends see that in such a relationship both sides are speaking a different language. And that the word "justification" has one meaning for us and another for them, and that therefore while on the one hand we must expect no consideration from them, on the other hand, we are worse than naive if we attempt to see their point of view. To say, as does the Peace News editorial, that while deprecating political police methods in all circumstances, the authorities would have "some justification" if the Committee were to "abandon significantly its policy of non-violence or openness", is to confer on society, as it is organised today, some kind of moral right; or to put it another way, that until such time as the people will not change society what exists is right.

Neither does it mean that we should allow the police to get away with abuses of their rights, involv-

Before the arrests, police surrounded the courthouse where the "freedom riders" went on trial and the court-room was closed to all but witnesses, the accused, and court officials. As the hearing began, the 400 Negro youths, many of them students from the all-Negro Albany State College, began marching in

pairs round the courthouse, singing hymns. They were arrested after ignoring police orders to disperse.

British United Press.

NEGRO PROTEST BROKEN UP WITH TEAR GAS

Baton Rouge (Louisiana), December 15

Some 2,000 Negroes, singing as they marched, made for the city prison here today. Police threw tear-gas grenades into the crowd and it broke up in confusion. The marchers ran and screamed as the tear-gas fumes spread.

Twenty-three members of the Congress of Racial Equality, arrested yesterday for picketing stores in Baton Rouge, were in the prison. The protest march to the prison was organised last night at Southern (Negro) University, north of here.

Nehru and Goa

AT most times we find ourselves in agreement with FREEDOM's cartoonist. The last issue of FREEDOM was an exception to the rule. Firstly because he implies that Gandhi would not have approved of the use of armed violence in the circumstances. In this connection Kingsley Martin has some interesting things to say from his first-hand dealings with Gandhi. Writing in last week's New Statesman he points out: In January 1948, three days before his

assassination, I had a talk with him about the Kashmir war. Kashmir had already become set in the pattern in which it has remained ever since. The mountain areas were effectively part of Pakistan, and Jammu similarly was part of India. Only the boundaries and status of the Valley could still be reasonably discussed. I remarked to the Mahatma that the partition of Kashmir appeared to be the only alternative to war. But he would have none of it and he was prepared for India to defend her legal rights by force So we discussed how far non-violence, which is a powerful weapon for throwing out an occupying power, can serve the purposes of established government. How could non-violence be applied in Kashmir? Did the principle break down as soon as those who had won by non-violence found themselves inheriting the responsibilities of the government they had overthrown? On this I got no clear guidance from the Mahatma, though he directed me to read Tolstoy.

Gandhi would have blamed Nehru for sending troops into Goa. If he was prepared to resist violence with the army in Kashmir, he would probably have overlooked its use in Goa. He would certainly have supported the non-violent demonstrators who attempted to liberate Goa in 1954, as he had in the previous non-violent effort in 1946. In 1954, 15 people were shot by the Portuguese as they sat on the ground. Nehru put a stop to such attempts as likely to lead both to more bloodshed and to insistent demands by Indian public opinion that the army should be used. In 1960 many thousands have been prepared to offer non-violence in Goa, and Nehru is certainly right in saying that, by using the army, he saved the bloodshed which further demonstrations would have caused: if there had been a massacre of non-violent resisters the fury of Indians everywhere would have led to many more casualties than the very few who lost their lives in what Indians regard as mere police action. The second point on which this writer is not sure whether he is in agreement with our cartoonist is over the caption which reads "Yes, I [Nehru] know old friend. But you [Gandhi] never had to run a government". Now it is true that there were reports that the military action in Goa was linked to elections in Bombay in which Krishna Menon, Minister of War and Nehru's righthand man, was seeking re-election; that pro-Goa feelings ran very high in Bombay which has some 100,000 Goan refugees among its population. Politicians are capable of all kinds

of intrigues. But it would be foolish of us to put the Goan campaign on a par with the Suez adventure or the Katangan intrigues. It is difficult to disentangle at this stage the real reasons behind the Indian government's action; the fact that no action had been taken during the 14 years since Indian independence, would rather indicate that from a purely governmental point of view no great advantage was to be gained from the liberation of Goa. Was the Indian action influenced perhaps by the African politicians and the Goan nationalists? And are we prepared to affirm that the Indian action was not welcomed by the overwhelming mass of Goans? For anarchists the "liberation" of Goa by the Indian army is not a simple black and white issue. Some of us cannot help thinking back to the Spanish civil war. Obviously a majority of the anti-Franco forces would have welcomed military assistance from the Popular Front government of France, and, without exception, after the defeat, they hoped that the victorious allied armies would come to liberate them in 1945.

am therefore dubious whether

What is important in all cases, and on which anarchists can have no doubts, is that once the tyrant has been overthrown, and the country liberated the people do not allow their liberators to become the new tyrants.

Most of the crowd was believed to have been students. They announced last night that they planned to march on the prison. Police, posted at 10-ft, intervals, kept the Negroes from entering the square where the prison is situated. The Negroes lined up across the street from the fourstorey court building that includes the prison. They sang "America" and other such songs, and carried signs.

When reports spread earlier that the Negroes were going to march on the Capitol-rather than the prison-state and city police, armed with both tear gas and riot guns, took up stations at all crossroads leading to the Capitol. Yesterday, police arrested 23 demonstrators at the request of owners of stores which were being picketed in protest against segregation British United Press.

FREEDOM

SOME NOTES ON INDIVIDUALISM. ANARCHISM, PLURALISM

There is an "individualism" preached in some quarters which is nothing more than an apology for economic privilege and monopoly. Sir Ernest Benn was a well-known exponent of this "bourgeois individualism", which is, in fact, spurious, since it is not based upon the sovereignty of the individual. Under the kind of economic system its exponents favour, the State would continue to exist as a policeman protecting a hierarchy of exploitation at the top of which would be a dominant class. In other words, their ideal is a capitalism freed from positive interference by government in which "free enterprise" would reign-for the benefit of the minority who owned the means of production. The "free enterprise" of capitalism, however, is a myth. Capitalism results in the monopoly of the means of life by a few. As a result, the sovereignty of most individuals is denied, since they are dependent upon the sale of their labour to an employer and thus are not free to engage in an enterprise of their own. Individualist anarchism has nothing in common with bourgeois "individualism". Its advocates stand four-square against economic privilege and exploitation as they do against all species of authority.

Individualists place the individual before, and above, all collectives, classes and groups-whether "right" or "left", "bourgeois" or "proletarian". To argue otherwise, to assert that the individual should be subordinate to other individuals or collections of individuals is to deny liberty and affirm authority. (E.g. Gaston Leval, the French libertarian socialist, states in an article called "The Moral factor", that the "individual factor" must be subordinated to the "social Factor". (For a disciple of Kropotkin this is putting the "communist" before the "anarchist" with a vengeance.) When E. Armand writes that "anarchist individualism situates itself on the psychological plane and on that of resistance to social totalitarianism" I think it is precisely this predominance of the "social factor" that he has in mind. The autonomy of the individual is the one guarantee of freedom-not only from the State, but from all imposed relationships.

Marxist communism is essentially totalitarian since its adherents wish to impose upon the future a single pattern of life from which no secession or dissent is possible. It is true there is an apparent resemblance between the "higher stage" of communism as portrayed by Marx and Engels and the ideal society of the communist anarchists. Insofar as the latter remain faithful to their anarchist convictions, however, they would have to recognise the right of others to form different patterns of life to that of libertarian communism if these others so wished. If communist anarchists are prepared to do this, as some are, then there need be no hostility between individualists and communists. In other words, the economic question would be considered secondary to the achievement of the sovereignty of the individual.

The individualist anarchist is a pluralist in his attitude towards present and future human relatonships. He does not make the mistake of confusing his wishes with those of other people, or of believing that what is good for him is good for everyone else. Those who profess to have the one and only true answer to the problems of "humanity", the "workers" or "society" ignore the question of whether this answer is really the answer to the present problems of existence of the individuals who compose the group about which they are concerned. If one believes in individual liberty, if one would like to see each individual

find his own answers, I cannot see how one can imagine that the solution to any "social problem" can be other than multiple, complex, as diverse as the individualities involved, Anarchists, as opponents of all authority of man over man, must logically oppose not only the explicit authority of the State, but also the implicit authority of exclusivist systems.

It is necessary, in order to analyse authority, to go further and deeper than treating it as a formal political principle or institution. Authority is not only expressed in definite institutions. Some comrades (I was once one of them)

IN SHORT

THE EXCEPTION THAT PROVES THE RULE

Mr. Brian Harrison, Conservative member for Maldon, who is an Australian, is anxious to ensure that the immigration controls proposed in the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill should not be applied to members of Parliament. He has tabled a new clause for the Bill which has the support of other Conservatives, including Mr. William Aitken, Mr. Leather and Sir Beverley Baxter, "I am not concerned so much about the four or five members of the Commons who travel on Commonwealth passports", Mr. Harrison said yesterday. "We could prove on entering the United Kingdom that we have a job to come to. This is one of the requirements of the Immigrants Bill. But peers like Lord Casey, the former Australian Minister for External Affairs, who comes over here for a few months in the year to take part in Lords debates, might have difficulty in proving that they are coming to a specific job." To those who are pointing out that the Bill would put no bar against Commonwealth citizens who could prove that they have independent means, Mr. Harrison replies: "Why should a member of Parliament of either House have to prove that he has independent means before he can exercise his right to sit? I can see no reason for imposing this restriction. There is no such requirement in the Representation of the People Acts."

have looked with longing at pre-historical "primitive communism", which they have regarded as a kind of "unconscious" anarchy because of the absence of a State machine, law courts, an employing class and so forth. But could not the condition of such "primitives" have-also been authoritarian? It is possible for the individual to be so completely absorbed into a collective that no separate organs of repression are needed to keep him "in order" (e.g. some religious communities). He is, nonetheless, no freer and has no more autonomy than his fellows in contemporary, "civilised" regimes. On the contrary, his slavery is that much more strong in its hold on him because he is so "at one" with his milieu.

In societies like that in which we live, where separate organs of authority exist as the result of antagonistic interests, it is possible-due to the "accidents" rather than the "essence" of the power struggle -to seize a little breathing space for one's individuality from time to time. It does not follow from this that antagonistic interests are synonymous with indivdual liberty. It is just that there is a fundamental difference between the absorption-mostly unconscious-of the ego into the commonality and the conscious union of interests arising from the free association of autonomous, selfowning, individuals.

Final Count for 1961

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT DECEMBER 31st 1961 WEEK 52

Expenses: 52 weeks at £70 £3,640 Income from Sales & Subs.: Weeks 1-50 £1,600 Weeks 51 & 52 £77 ----- £1,677

CORRESPONDENCE

but to murder their civil and political prisoners let us be able to point to Otto Eichmann as a living proof that they lie.

I am, Yours sincerely, ARTHUR MOYSE. London

Exactly What ?

DEAR FRIENDS.

In "Must we fill the prisons" you say, "The steps to anarchy which we advocate, aim at freeing the many from dependence on initiative coming from the State . . .

May we have more specific examples of what these steps are likely to be, and what initiatives the London Anarchist Group are taking to test theory out in practice?

WHO SAID THE COUNTRY WAS DULL?

S. E. PARKER.



LONDON **ANARCHIST GROUP CENTRAL MEETINGS**

meetings to be held at The Two Brewers, 40 Monmouth Street, WC2 (Leicester Square Tube) Sundays at 7.30 p.m. JAN 7 "S.F.": **Illusion and Reality** JAN 14 To be announced. JAN 21 Sybil Morrison (P.P.U.): Pacifism

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton One of the 5,000 reasons why I prefer Road, Enfield, Middx.

Shocking end

DEAR EDITORS.

Quite apart from "Teacher's" continued misrepresentation of my point of view (I am not singling out teachers and I am not against more pay for teachers who need it) I find his attitude quite shocking, if he claims to be an anarchist.

Anyway, since he has plainly stated that he lives by the expediency principle there is no point in continuing the correspondence.

Adolf Eichmann

"PARENT."

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DEFICIT £1,963

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> TOTAL 65 14 4 Previously acknowledged 1,023 3 8

> > 1961 TOTAL £1,088 18 0

*Indicates regular contributor. P...P...P

DEAR SIR,

Bucks., Dec. 15

Otto Adolf Eichmann has been arraigned, tried and sentenced as the willing instrument of the German government in its deliberate and calculated murder of millions of Jewish and non-Jewish men, women and children. That many will feel a sense of relief if Eichmann in his turn is slaughtered cannot be doubted for many a man and woman who owe their earthly sorrows to the bestial regime that employed Eichmann must find themselves unwillingly making a common cause with the many guiltridden Germans who are hoping to purge their consciences through the solitary death of this dreary man.

But a halt must be made to the killing.

I appeal to the Israeli government to spare the life of Otto Eichmann that by that gracious and magnanimous gesture men in every country who abhor the act of legalised slaughter may point with pride to a government and to a people who renounced the bitter pleasure of vengeance. Let Eichmann be placed in a hospital for the mentally sick for there he truly belongs and when the nations of the West and of the East announce that they have no alternative

Also you say, "And we must undermine the authority of government by solving more and more of our daily problems ourselves, at district and street level."

Exactly what problems are you referring to, and how are these to be solved? When you say, "at street level"-do you mean the formation of street groups, if so-could you give more practical details as to how these should be formed. and what practical issues they should consider?

Yours fraternally, London, S.E.16. ALAN SWIFT.

country to town is that the details composing the scene are more diverse and engaging. I enjoy being amazed, filled with admiration and curiosity; the country has much, the city little to arouse these feelings, presumably because there are but one species and a half a dozen varieties of the genus Homo. Tens of thousands of species of our fellow genera, especially among the plants, have such enormously more beautiful and curious ways of expressing themselves than we have-excepting a very small minority of painters, poets and composers, mostly dead.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2.

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

3rd Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald Rooum's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Last Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Laurens and Celia Otter's, 57 Ladbroke Road, W.11.

JAZZ CLUB

This season's meetings are being held at 4 Albert Street Mornington Crescent NW1 at approximately monthly intervals.

BOOK REVIEW

EDWARD HYAMS.

ANARCHY Nos 1-10 Still Available 1/8 Post Free

Freedom

The Anarchist Weekly

FREEDOM appears on the first three Saturdays of each month. On the last Saturday, we publish ANARCHY, a 32-page journal of anarchist ideas (1/8 or 25c. post free).

OKAY ... SO WHAT?

REMEMBER at an alarmingly precocious age retreating to the garden shed to read the unexpurgated edition of the Well of Loneliness and returning early, disappointed and let down by the sentimental heart-cry of Radcliffe Hall. After the series of court cases on 'obscene' literature we were threatened with exposure to a flood of filth. Hoping at least for a slight wallow I picked up Martyn Goff's The Youngest Director, I had read and admired his The Plaster Fabric which was (I believe) the pre-Wolfenden story of the difficulties of a homosexual. The Youngest Director (Putnam 15/-) is the frank story of a homosexual's love affair. The post-Chatterley lessening of tension made one hope that something worthwhile would emerge. Unfortunately this is no so. Mr. Martyn Goff's device seems to have been mainly to change his shift key from the heterosexual to the homosexual. The basic plot boy meets girl, match meets difficulties, difficulties meet match. In this case 'boy meets boy'. The difficulty is the insistence by the corporation (of which the hero is the youngest director), that the hero should have a wife as a steadying influence and background. The boy-friend joins the Merchant Navy, the hero leaves the corporation, but is defiant to the end, knowing that they will meet again. This is pure 'Peg's Paper' and Mr. Goff doesn't make it any better by making his hero upper class and his boy a hotel servant. This obviously makes

the point that only Leonard Bissel's (his hero's) wealth keeps him from the perils of the police and the blackmailer of the casual encounter.

As with the problem of extra-marital relations, the problem of homosexuals does not arise to such a great extent if they are wealthy. The wealthy homosexual like the wealthy alcoholic can keep his private habits at home.

In Mr. Goff's book we see a painful class-distinction creeping in. His Belsize Park homos are a lower grade than the Chelsea type. He even has a sneer at the effeminate types, repeating an RAF court-martial 'joke' of the judges who said they were going to adjourn to the latrine for some fresh air. Mr. Goff does not feel that tolerance is necessary within homosexual circles. His social conscience is slightly appeased by vague references to socialism but the background of his hero is so lightly sketched in, that we are never told what is the nature of the business that he pursues at Colorado Trading. Homosexuality is not enough. Okay, we admit that anyone has the right to live the kind of sex life he or she wants to as long as their partners are consenting but surely the interference of the state in this as in many other things is only one symptom of the disease of the state.

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol 1 1951: Mankind is One Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters Vol 7 1957: Year One-Sputnik Era Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6 The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/- post free.

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Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A tribute cloth 5/-

Journey Through Utopia cloth 18/- (U.S.A. \$3)

Mr. Goff will have to offer a more coherent philosophy of life before we can feel that his book is any more than a novelette in reverse-image.

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