

'The laws keep up their credit, not by being just, but because they are laws; 'tis the mystic foundation of their authority; they have no other, and it well answers their purpose.'

MONTAIGNE

In this Issue:

- THE GREENHAM COMMON SIT-DOWN
- AROUND THE GALLERIES
- PACIFISM, NON-VIOLENCE AND ANARCHISM
- CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

ON Wednesday of last week the Government issued the Pilkington Committee's Report on Broadcasting. On the same afternoon the House of Commons had a debate on the British Transport Commission's Report and Accounts for 1961. The Pilkington Report completely condemns Commercial television as it now operates. Beaverbrook's *Evening Standard* gave all the juicy bits on the front page. "Vapid, puerile, repetitive, cheaply sensational, sordid, unsavoury" is how the Report describes Commercial Television, which it also maintains makes "excessive" profits. Beaverbrook has no interests in Commercial T.V. His fellow Canadian millionaire newspaper magnate, Mr. Roy Thompson as well as the *Daily Mirror* Group who have, of course, haven't a good word to say for the Report. (So much for the impartiality of the Press!) Indications are that the government will adopt some of the Report's recommendations, which would mean that Commercial interests will not get the second TV channel nor the operation of new local sound radio stations, and may besides have their wings clipped both as far as their choice of programmes is concerned as well as the amount of revenue they receive from advertising. Needless to say, Black Wednesday saw a sharp fall in the market value of TV shares. The B.B.C., which of course is not a commercial set-up, did not come in for the same criticisms; indeed it was suggested that a second channel TV should be given to the B.B.C. The brief conclusion to be drawn from the comparisons between Commercial and non-Commercial broadcasting made in the report, is that where the profit motive is the incentive it operates at the expense of quality and service. To raise standards the profit-motive must be curbed. Better still, let any additional broadcasting channels be handled by a non-profit organisation!

Such is not the government's view about the future of British Transport. Opening the debate in the House, Mr. Marples, the Transport Minister, said that when in due course Dr. Beeching presented the Board's plan for the railways "he hoped they would be able to explain to what extent their proposed new system would be able to pay its way. This was crucial. A select committee had made the point that the first consideration must be financial". To pay its way the BTC must convert a loss of £160m. last year into a profit in the near future. Clearly this can only be achieved at the expense of service; by the closing down of the so-called

Pilkington vs. Beeching

"uneconomic" lines and a reduction in the number of trains operated on the remaining lines. Of the £160m. loss sustained last year Mr. Marples declared "We must be ruthlessly efficient to survive. That is the absolute brutal truth. A loss of this magnitude is intolerable". Which is just a lot of nonsense.

Government spending on "Defence" is about 10 times the BTC's annual loss. What is "ruthlessly efficient" about defence expenditure? From the point of view of the community it is a perennial drain on man-power, raw materials and productive capacity. That it protects us against potential enemies now appears to a growing number of people as a big confidence trick, or a mere abstraction. Even suppose it to be a "service"—that is "a protection", etc.—surely if we can afford to pay up £1,500m. a year for this service, can we not afford an estimated £450m. a year for a free public transport service?

★
BECAUSE Mr. Marples made it clear that so far as the future of the railways is concerned finances are the first consideration, his assurances in the debate that the closure of uneconomical lines would be a government and not a BTC decision, is hardly reassuring. When his joint Parliamentary Secretary Mr. Hay said "Conservative railway policy was not a free-for-all, but it was not to have a rigid control" we are none the wiser as to whether this means that the government has a policy for transport as a whole or whether, what is more likely, that

it is sold to the interests whose future and profits depend on the development of road and air transport. The closure of branch lines so far has represented an economy which hardly scratches the financial problem or justifies the inconvenience caused to many people. The Central Transport Conservative Committee reported in March (*Observer* 1/4/62) that as a result of closing down more than 300 branch lines since 1950, mostly in remote rural areas, the BTC is saving

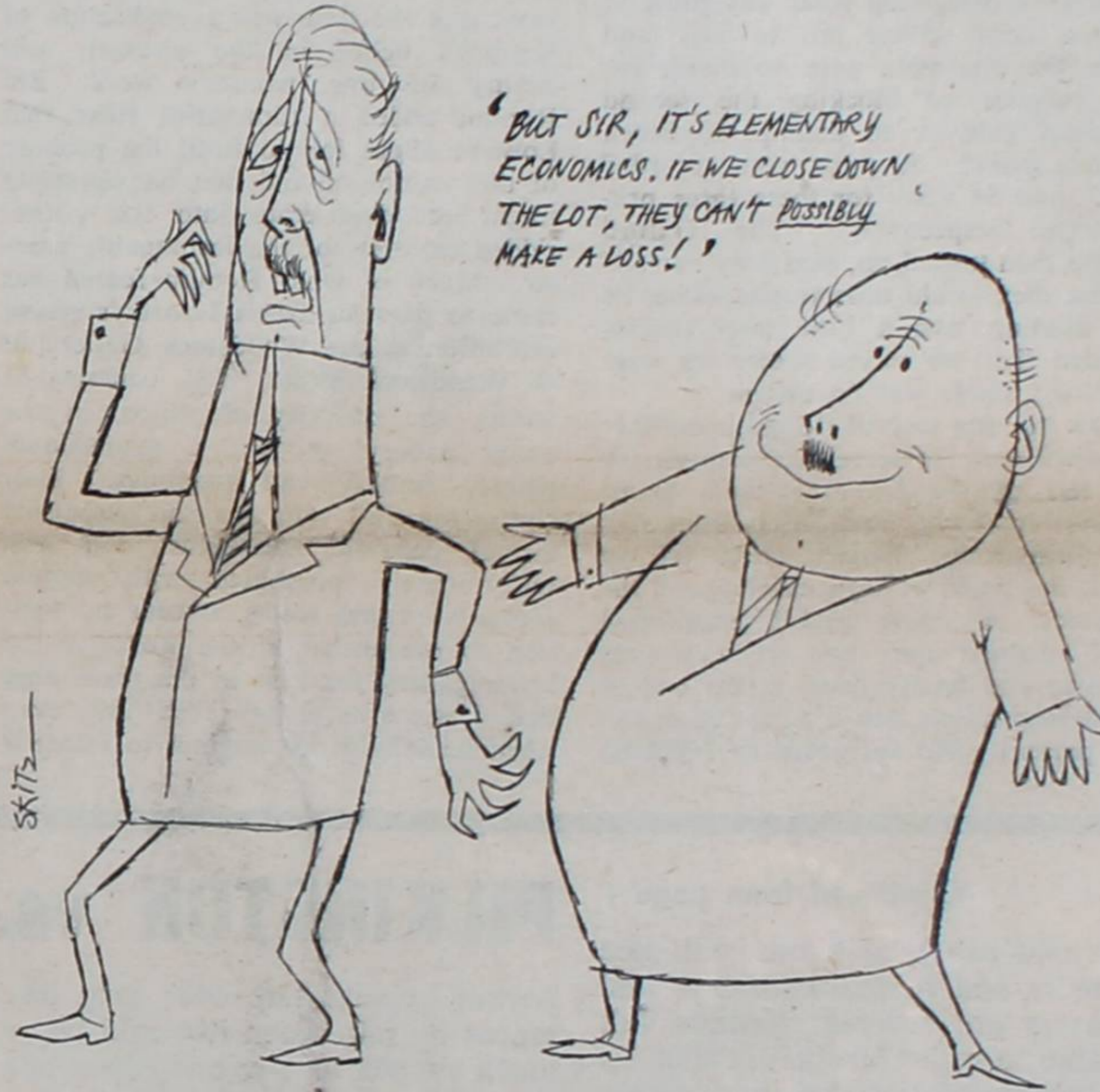
£4,300,000 a year at a conservative estimate. And how real is even this saving to the tax-payer, when one considers that every passenger driven off the railways means one more needing to travel on the already suffocated roads?

Of course the more congestion on the roads more and better motorways will be considered essential to the nation's prosperity! And the cost of building these increases by leaps and bounds. The M6 from Birmingham to the Preston by-pass

which was estimated to cost less than £37m. in 1959, was expected to cost £50m. in 1961. The latest estimate, according to a *Sunday Times* report (June 17) is £55m., or £660,000 per mile! So in the space of three years just one road project is costing 50 per cent more, or an extra £18m. And the government is budgeting to spend £540m. on roads over the next five years (*Guardian* 5/2/62), so that by the time the work is done they will either get £350m. worth at present prices or have to spend an extra £270m. to complete the present programme. But what must be realised is that at the end of five years, the congestion will be as great as it is now, if not more. Parkinson's Law operates everywhere!

Only recently Mr. John Davies, director of Shell-Mex and B.P. forecast in an address to the Institute of Fuel that by 1970 there will be 17 million vehicles on the roads of Britain, which is some 7 million more cars and lorries than at present. We have no doubt that Mr. B.P. *et alia* will cope with the demand for more fuel (and this in its turn is good for other businesses. According to the *Guardian*, United Kingdom registered oil companies ordered materials and equipment worth more than £100m. during 1961. "There is a large additional expenditure in Britain by foreign oil companies"). We have no doubt that the motor industry will have no difficulty in supplying the increased demand. We have no doubt that the McAlpines and the Wim-

Continued on page 2



THE *West London Observer* reports John Lewis Partnership making a gift of £21,000 to the National Trust appeal for Brownsea Island. Its paragraph announcing this is followed by a fill-up quote from Shakespeare 'Rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind'.

LOUIS LECOIN ENDED his fast on June 22nd having gained concessions for C.O.s from the French government. Winston Churchill ate chicken soup, omelette and ice-cream and drank brandy whilst in hospital after breaking a thigh bone in Monte Carlo. The nurses pay claim is going to arbitration but it is not expected that Monte Carlo will be invaded by cigar smoking, chicken eating, brandy swigging nurses.

THE PILKINGTON REPORT condemned ITV triviality and endorsed the project of local programmes. Mr. Peter Cadbury burned the report in effigy at Ascot. Frederick Brennan (60) creator of the Wyatt Earp TV series shot himself in Oxnard, California and a 17-year-old boy from Croydon who, the magistrates said 'lived in a TV fantasy world' was sent to a probationary hostel after admitting impropriety. No action yet taken on the Wolfenden report, nor on the Commission on capital punishment.

THE UNITED STATES Supreme Court ruled that it violated the US Constitution to make official school prayers compulsory. A Republican described the decision as 'the most tragic in the history of the United States'. The US decided to make some small atmospheric nuclear tests over Nevada. There would be no danger of fallout. The Holy Office warned against dangers in the works of Father Teilhard de Chardin who 'took too generous a view of the evil in the world. A Sicilian was jailed for killing a woman who he claimed was a witch who had cast a

OUT OF THIS WORLD

spell over him. A painter-artist charged with malicious damage to the da Vinci cartoon said: "I have found out in these 13 years that I am in this island that the devil rules."

A TOWER GUARD at the Federal Correction Institution in Kentucky asked Karl Meyer, a Catholic anarchist who was picketing on behalf of Don Martin imprisoned for his boarding of Polaris submarine, to "stop bothering the inmates". Don Martin who was 19 when he protested, faces a six-year sentence. Physicians for Social Responsibility in New England have appealed to doctors to control the 'nuclear epidemic' with its emphasis on shelters and "toleration of 120 million deaths". Mr. Macmillan stated that neither he nor President Kennedy would think of using (nuclear weapon) power of this kind without consultation with each other. Mr. Macmillan stated that he did not know what Lord Hailsham meant by the word "integrated".

DR. ROBERT SOBLEN (62) was refused political asylum in Israel and was to be returned to the U.S. to serve a life sentence for espionage. Doctors said he was suffering from leukemia and might not live more than twelve months, on

the plane he tried to commit suicide. Three West Berliners and two East German citizens were put on trial for "attacks against the frontiers of the East German republic" by helping to construct a tunnel from East to West Berlin. Six demonstrators who were arrested at Greenham Common were sent to prison for up to one month.

THIS SATURDAY THE 40th International Co-operative Day will be celebrated. Cotton workers marched in London asking for Government protection against duty free cotton imports from Europe and Far East. The first deportation order under the Commonwealth Immigrants' Act was used against an Australian. The act itself came into force on July 1st after 2,000 immigrants had landed during the week. The National Socialist Party held a meeting in Trafalgar Square. There were many arrests.

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH asked for ideas and suggestions for the campaign for Freedom from Hunger. Mr. Krushchev, elsewhere, suggested that the Russian people would find potato crisps and corn flakes cheap and nourishing. The Common Market talks deadlocked again with Britain arguing the risk of the European Community becoming agriculturally self-sufficient and excluding Commonwealth products. Eggs were thrown at Michael Foot, M.P., at Pembroke Dock.

WHILST THE PROTESTS about German Panzers at Castlemartin were going on, the Germans were kept in barracks watching a religious film. A midnight curfew was imposed on unmarried soldiers in the B.A.O.R. A Corporal who drove a blazing petrol lorry half-a-mile to save a German village was awarded the George Cross. Thousands of U.S. servicemen will be given a new medal for 'hazardous duty' in the 'cold war' in Berlin, Lebanon, Quemoy and Matsu,

Formosa, Congo, Laos and South Vietnam. The Algerian Government stripped of rank the Chief of Staff of its Liberation Army and two of his aides in an attempt to prevent the setting up of a military dictatorship.

THE INSPECTORS OF Constabulary for England and Wales state that the portrayal of crime and its lack of detection played a disproportionate part in entertainment. Thousands of teen-agers demonstrated and rioted for five nights in Munich against police interference with musicians playing jazz in the streets because the university had banned a concert after 11 p.m. 100 students and the 62-year-old director of Munich's Youth Office are in hospital after police clubbings.

A BANBURY FACTORY'S union members agreed on a colour-bar at the factory in a secret ballot by a three to one majority. The union would not accept the result. Mr. Frank Foulkes was re-elected to the executive of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

A PUBLISHER OF romantic novels said that many writers on his list write for the sheer pleasure of it, their financial reward being so meagre. A publisher told the Restrictive Practices Court that if the Net Book Agreement were condemned the sort of book which had modest sales and depended on libraries purchasing them, might not be published. Plans to build a national library at Ottawa at a cost of about £3.3 million were shelved because of Canada's austerity programme. £100 was paid for a limited signed first edition of "Marlborough, His Life and Times" by Winston Churchill. £190,000 was paid for a Rembrandt and £15 will provide a large tent home for Algerians.

J.R.

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The Greenham Common Sit-down

The Editors, FREEDOM.

On 23/24 June for 24 hours the main gate of Greenham Common USAF base was blocked by the Committee of 100. Although it was originally planned to block all seven gates it was decided on the day owing to shortage of sitters that we should concentrate on the main gate. Weekend total of arrests 350 with 63 held on remand over Sunday night.

The encouraging thing about the demonstration was that most of the demonstrators decided on their own initiative not to co-operate with the police. They had to be carried into the removal lorries as usual but non-co-operation did not stop there; many tried to get out once the police had turned their backs. Because of this the lorries were driving away with ten or less people inside. Determined resisters sat in the road in front of the lorries when they started to move off; this held up the arresting procedure for up to twenty minutes per lorry load. The fuzz meted out a few kicks and blows when the Press were not around and seemed to enjoy doing it.

Nearly everyone had to be dragged into the court and resisted the police when their fingerprints and photographs were taken. Several people tried to walk out of the court when the police relaxed their grip; at one stage your correspondent was handcuffed to the wall. A lot of names and addresses were refused and one anarchist friend refused to plead as he did not recognise the authority of the court. Most demonstrators made some form of statement as to why they had "broken the law" and some why they thought it the policeman's job not to obey orders to arrest them. Some who had been arrested came back a second or third time and certainly had no intention of paying an eight quid fine.

Most of us showed a healthy dislike of the police realising that our fight is just as much against the state and its representatives as against the bomb. There was a CND supporting picket.

The Oxford Committee spent about

£350 in getting 350 people to this demo; 100 names appear on the committee list, fewer than 25 of these appeared on the demonstration. There are 13 regional committees of 100. Few members of the hierarchy were arrested. However the movement is breeding many very determined people who think and act in an anarchist way and if the next demo is as spirited as this one the government may start to worry about us a bit.

Witney, June 25

ROY PATEMAN.

It makes for optimism

DEAR EDITOR,

I agree that the acid test of any political organisation is, as Laurens Otter writes, whether it is free of élitism in practice—regardless of what it says.

The Committees of 100 are currently the places where the outstanding present experiments in the new direction are taking place. At the moment my head is full of the memories of Greenham Common and before they fade it might be as well to examine some of them.

The demonstration started in a way that gave many of us little confidence. We seemed to be a roadful of unrelated atoms. The organisers did not communicate with us. We didn't even know who they were.

We held a meeting, as we sat, for the purpose of discussing what was going to happen next. Were we to stay and block the one main gate, to divide for the purpose of blocking the second principal gate or to attempt to block all five gates? A straw vote recorded 56, 55, and 54 votes for these three propositions respectively! The Oxford people then turned up, said very correctly that they would observe the wishes of the meeting, and a little later recommended that we stayed where we were *en bloc*. There was no dissent.

This meeting seemed (to quote another demonstrator), 'to serve as a catalyst for the rest of the demonstration.' Spontaneous initiatives took over from formal leadership. Parties went off to block the paths of vans carrying off the arrestees. A single picket established itself, divided into two at a critical moment and finally fused at the end of the demonstration into a picket of everyone present. We succeeded in blocking

the gate without overt civil disobedience. Has this ever happened before? What seems to have taken place was that as far as the police was concerned we had won a battle in the mind—they just let us get on with our purpose of staying till 2.30 p.m. (At the same time the threat of another sit-down was latent in the picket and was in one instance actually exercised. The offending car withdrew before the sitters, on police advice as well as our own, and there were no arrests. The picket picked itself up and resumed walking.)

About 10.0 a.m. on Sunday morning when it seemed that the last of the sitters was about to be picked up (most of us who had been 'inside' having decided against being arrested twice) it was almost impossible to conceive how the block could continue till 2.30 p.m.

It was done by a remarkable series of undirected improvisations. On a future occasion someone should keep a diary! We prayed for new arrivals. One alone, Jennifer Homer of Oxford, made a powerful difference and shifted the last fling of the sit-down right back to the gates.

Throughout the whole demonstration, day and night, the Welfare Committee from London with their soup, tea, food and blankets did much more than provide for physical needs alone. Their work and their good spirits gave to the whole demonstration a lasting sense of self-confidence. We take this kind of thing for granted at Aldermaston but for a direct action it was something new in my experience. Perhaps it was altogether new—in that case we set another excellent precedent at Greenham.

By the second day the action was thoroughly decentralised *within itself*—the multiplication of initiatives was its very wealth. What we performed, without having so intended perhaps, was an invaluable exercise in experimental non-éliteist creative politics. The smallness

of its scale is hardly relevant, it was the quality that counted. Its insignificance will be its bearing on the future through its effect on the people who were there.

One matter it was too late for us to put right. Few of us thought that blocking for blocking's sake was an acceptable definition of our purpose. It is apparent enough that military base demonstrations will continue (East Anglia proposes one for October) and that they are most meaningful as symbolic acts of reclamation for peaceful purposes.

The notion of the 'commando' died at Wethersfield but it frightened many people into *not doing* the necessary re-thinking.

With absolute adherence to non-violence we can openly and actually intend to walk in (as distinct to walking-on *i.e.* scaling fences in face of opposition, etc.) and indicative of our eventual intention to repossess. In that context a sit-down has real substance.

Greenham makes for optimism in the struggle against the heritage of élitism.

Yours sincerely,
Cambridge, June 25 PETER CADOGAN.

Around the Galleries

IN November of 1958 Donald Room in a sensitive appreciation of the paintings of Denis Lowson wrote that three of the paintings in the 1958 exhibition had the feeling of struggle and wonder that one associated with Leonardo or Cezanne, and it was an assessment that the time was a vindication of Room's belief in the strength and beauty of this painter's work. But Room added a thoughtful rider that Lowson might fail to fulfil the promise of that exhibition and that his virtuosity might yet degenerate into the cliché-ridden canvases of the fashionable painter. Much of what Room feared has come to pass for Denis Lowson's recent exhibition at the Woodstock Gallery at 16 Woodstock Street, W.1., contains 51 works, the majority of which, in the upper gallery, are for a professional painter frankly bad paintings. They clutter the wall with that sad despairing air of pedantic amateurism that one unfortunately associates with annual group work and seems to bear no relation to the author of the works in the lower gallery for it is in the main drag that Lowson is at his best. But even when he fails in his attempt to create a

worthwhile canvas he yet produces work that sings of a sure hand and a poet's eye. Yet Conroy Maddox has isolated the failure of Lowson's best work when he wrote that Lowson "lacks only that urgency of something important to say which would give his work the vitality which is wanting". For one feels that Lowson is working in a spiritual void and no matter how much he strives to communicate with us he is rendered inarticulate for lack of something to say. His *Clown Children* evokes memories of Yeats's tortured canvases but without the poetic agony of the Irish painter and Yeats's torn ribbons of paint have conglutinated into placid pools of colour under Lowson's brush. It is of interest

to notice that two or three of these canvases could pass as the work of Lyall Watson, who runs the gallery, in his own paintings and in himself is a man of extremely forceful personality and Lowson unfortunately for himself is a painter who seems content to mirror other painters.

It is with his water colours that he shows his true worth for they are magnificent examples of the master painter. He has complete control over this diffi-

cult medium and he cannot be faulted for his sliding brush guides his masses of tinted water across the white paper to create a three dimensional subject that painters of lesser ability can only envy but feel incapable of emulating.

His *Danish Girl* is a water colour that is worth all the oils in his exhibition but the art racket being what it is, this lovely painting must be relegated to a dusty corner like a rose in a second-hand car lot for Lowson is a master in this most English of mediums and it is here that Lowson rightly makes his claim to join that select company to whom we are in debt for their gift to us of brief glimpses of transmuted glory.

Clova Tudor's oils in the same gallery are of such delicacy that they must inevitably suffer in association with Lowson's work yet these light and pleasant landscapes of Clova Tudor created out of a mosaic of pale blues and viridescent whites catch the moment before hard reality and the garish sun take over; for the drifting strokes of paint halt and catch the emotion of the moment without recording its mundane details; they seem to speak of old memories and oft remembered scenes, recollected in tranquility for each of Clova Tudor's canvases is a personal statement as intimate as a private smile.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

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Continued from page 1

peys will rub their hands with glee as more and more motorways and fly-overs are ordered; farmers will be able to retire on their capital, as the motorways eat their way across their land (which is more than they could do when they grew crops on it—which just goes to show that progress is prosperity!).

But just as we are now being told that this country is honeycombed with useless, uneconomical railways, so by say 1980 it will be argued that thousands of miles of roads will not be worth maintaining because the only civilised, and "economic" way of travelling short distances is by 100-seater helicopters, and long distances by rockets. This is not the march of progress but of the profit-makers. First it was the railway companies which sought to destroy the inland waterways. Now it is the road interests seeking to drive the trains off the rails. Next it will be air transport seeking to drive road transport off the roads. If Mr. Marples, and the government, were sincere when he said that we must be "ruthlessly efficient to survive" in that case not only should we co-ordinate on a national scale all transport; we should also make the best use of the transport resources we have, before spending vast sums building new roads, new airports, and developing at tremendous cost faster and bigger airplanes, etc. The contrary is the case. We were one of the last nations to make any use of canals and probably the first to abandon them. We pioneered railways and today appear to be the only country to ignore their potentialities. The fact of talking of building roads on abandoned railway tracks is to our minds as indicative of the insanity of this "motor age" as the growing craze for trans-

PILKINGTON vs. BEECHING

porting private cars over long distances by rail, when it would be so much simpler to hire one where one is actually proposing to drive!

If the motor age represented in reality freedom of movement for the individual we would be the first to support it. The "need" for motorways, the inability to stop where one likes in towns and cities; the clearways and the one-ways, the traffic signals and the signs, the yellow lines and the "get into your lanes", have made every car driver into an engine driver—with the difference that one engine driver will carry 500 people safely and carefreely through cities and countryside, speedily and comfortably, whereas one cursing, frustrated car driver will take at most six people often dangerously, at week-ends slowly, and at most times, by a route parallel, or similar, to that taken by the train. So what are the advantages? Economy? Perhaps on any particular trip a full car is cheaper than buying a train ticket. But car drivers are like our gambler friends. They always tell you of their winnings but never of their losses! Statistically, private cars in this country are used on average for a total of ten days in the year. Progress (the Unilever quarterly) estimates that the British public spends more than £1,000 millions a year on cars and motor cycles and only about £600 millions on railways and other means of transport. The Evening Standard when rail fares were increased by 10 per cent recently gave interesting figures of comparative costs of driving to town by car as compared with a season ticket on the railways. It cost less than half the price to be conveyed by engine-driver than it did to drive

oneself. And this did not include the cost of parking one's car in town and at home.

Indeed on this subject of parking, the Guardian, discussing the prospect of 17 million vehicles in 1970, considers it to be the greatest problem of the car age "which communities have not yet faced seriously". The critics of the railways are always talking of the vast stabling and marshalling yards on the railways, occupying valuable space which Mr. Clore or Mr. Cotton could certainly make "better" use of. Nobody nowadays seems to be offended by the lines of parked cars and lorries which permanently obscure the view from their front windows, which prevent one from admiring a beautiful building, or from enjoying our parks and squares. We made a rapid calculation that in 1970 when there will be 17 million vehicles in this country, lined up in single file they would extend for no less than 30,000 miles, or 750 abreast from London to Glasgow! To bury them, or to garage them like sardines requires an area of more than 16,000 acres. Are the railways so wasteful of valuable space after all?

★

FOR us anarchists the issue in general is not Pilkington versus Beeching, though we have no hesitation in considering the Pilkington Report enlightened by present values, and the government's arguments on Railways typical. For us efficiency as applied, say, to a service, is the ratio of what the community needs and how economically in terms of human effort it can be provided. And we would even qualify the latter; for if in order to

achieve economy of effort one dehumanises that effort, we would prefer to work longer hours enjoyably than fewer hours as automatons. Services such as are provided by broadcasting and transport could so easily provide all who engage in them, as well as those who enjoy them, with unlimited possibilities of self-expression if they were decentralised. Decentralisation does not exclude co-ordination; on the contrary it becomes imperative in the interests of everybody. It is centralisation which overrides these interests by demanding that all should conform to a common pattern which may suit the needs of some, but be completely impractical so far as others are concerned. Local radio to be such must be inspired by, and the responsibility of, all the active people in a locality*. Branch lines, that is, local transport, must be organised and operated for local people and by them. But just as local radio cannot afford to be parochial neither can local transport isolate itself from regional and national transport without seriously suffering as a service.

We are all, given the opportunity, unique; yet at the same time dependent on each other if not for our material needs then for those needs which feed the mind and fire the imagination. The abolition of government control, of centralisation, liberates the individual personality but at the same time makes every individual more conscious of his responsibility to, and dependence on, his fellow beings. So the anarchist alternative to Pilkington versus Beeching can only be Anarchy!

*Readers are referred to our editorial on the subject in 1960 "Local Radio and the People" (22/10/60) and reprinted in "Freedom Selections", Vol. 10, pp. 195-7.

FREEDOM

July 7 1962 Vol 23 No 21

OURSELVES

THOSE OF OUR COMRADES and friends who follow FREEDOM PRESS' financial fortunes will not have failed to notice a falling off in income from sales and Subscription renewals as well as new subscriptions, especially during the

past month. Indeed, our income in June from these sources was half what it was in May. The explanation may well be that during the holiday months people are thinking about their holidays and money is tight. We could find this explanation consoling only if our readers expected FREEDOM and ANARCHY also to take a holiday. But we go on publish-

ing every week, and so every week we have to find £70 to pay for the paper, the composition, the printing, the binding and the stamps without which our publications would never reach you. We have never found out how Christ was supposed to have operated the trick of the loaves and the fishes. We use the money you send us as economically as possible, but we find we cannot stretch it *ad lib!* Though this year we are still in the black, don't forget that we ended last year with debts totalling more than £500, which means that at the end of June we were still some £400 in debt.

PACIFISM, NON-VIOLENCE AND ANARCHISM

THE two letters we publish elsewhere on the subject of violence, coming from comrades we esteem and not just hecklers on the fringe, fill us with dismay. That they can treat a subject of such grave importance fantastically as well as facetiously makes us wonder what other readers, less informed than they are, assume to be the attitude of those anarchists who do not qualify their anarchism with such adjectives as "pacifist" and "non-violent".

No regular reader of FREEDOM will surely suggest that when we have recourse to our dictionaries to define words, we are engaging in the sport of hair-splitting; we do so in order to be understood and understood when certain words are used. *Pacifism*, according to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* is "the doctrine that the abolition of war is both desirable and possible." *Funk & Wagnell's* defines it as "the principles or policy of peace as opposed to militarism". It seems to us, therefore, that to say that anarchists are pacifists is to say the same thing twice over (a tautology to our learned readers!); to say, as comrade Crosswell does in our correspondence columns, that many anarchists are pacifists, implies that others are in favour of war and militarism, and this just is not true. While it is a fact that eminent anarchists such as Kropotkin supported the allies in the first World War and eminent anarcho-syndicalists such as Rocker did so in the

Second, they represented a small minority of the anarchist movement, and in spite of their eminence failed to convince or to shift the international anarchist movement as a whole from its anti-war, anti-militarist position. (And we imagine that history will judge Kropotkin and Rocker, not as war-mongers and renegades but as well-meaning old men who allowed their personal feelings to get the better of their reason and wisdom on one, critical issue). So far as we are concerned there is no distinction to be drawn between an "anarchist" and a "pacifist-anarchist". There is a distinction however between a pacifist and an anarchist! We say that pacifists, if they really believe that "the abolition of war is both desirable and possible" should also be anarchists for it is clear to us that wars have much more to do with financial crises and the maintenance of the privileged society than with human aggressivity needing an "outlet", and similar bosh*. Anarchists are opposed not only to all wars; they are opposed to all systems which are based on authority, the coercion of the many by the few (and *vice versa*); anarchists are opposed to capitalism and power politics; to managerialism and political elites; to the inevitability of "progress" and the "infallibility" of science. We seek to break the stranglehold of authoritarianism and create an environment in which every individual can grow and develop freely; in which reason and love will regulate human relations.

or "revolutionary" governments. It is not the argument of anarchists who reject *all* governments. Comrade Crosswell, we hope, will want to retaliate by drawing our attention to the full context, which we willingly quote: "Mankind is doomed if we cannot influence our fellow-men by conciliation, love and reason". Alright. But our fellow-men are our oppressors as well as our fellow-oppressed. If he says that he makes no distinction between them then he obviously should join the Labour Party, who are potentially only one election-removed from the hearing-aids of the ruling class. If by fellow-men he excluded our oppressors (if the word is too emotional or 19th century please substitute for it: I.C.I., Unilever, Beeching, the Law and subsidiaries, Cotton and Clore, the political, Trade Union, Financial and Church hierarchies, Mass Communications, the Experts in every field of knowledge and brainwashing, to mention but a few that come to mind) then we are on his wavelength and he on ours! But in that case he must also assume with us that the class struggle is a real one, that the privileged minority which maintains its power by armed force and the manipulation of the "law" will "see reason" only when faced with a force superior to its own.

Our friend Uloth conjures up mind pictures of Freedom Press' editors as a kind of Supreme Staff ordering the shelling of that reactionary bastion (of dog-racing) Stamford Bridge; comrade Crosswell facetiously suggests that we are storing weapons "for the day" knowing full-well that our premises are bulging with books and pamphlets published, printed and purchased for the likes of him and non-elitist minorities such as Laurens Otter and others.† How can we without repeating what every self-respecting anarchist has ever said stress that anarchism will never (repeat *never*) be achieved by violence. Comrade Crosswell takes us to task because we maintained that no privileged society will ever be destroyed if those who are opposed to it are not prepared to use violence at any stage of the struggle. Since it is clear that even seasoned comrades demand that we dot our "i"s and cross our "t"s we will give them the ABC and point out that what we have just said makes it obvious that we do not even suggest that anarchists should ever take the initiative so far as violence is concerned. What we do say is that in a revolutionary situation (that is when the "authority" of government has been weakened to the point of collapse by popular agitation (mass strikes, demonstrations, etc.) all governments will inevitably call on the armed forces to crush the rising and restore their authority. Assuming the armed forces are loyal to the government or are used to throw out the weak government and replace it by a strong military government—the latter has been a common occurrence throughout the world, they will use armed force to "deal" with the crisis. There will be wholesale arrests, intimidation, and all measures required to restore "law and order". With emergency powers governments can take what measures they like against the

people in the name of the safety of the state, etc. We say that when this stage is reached unless the people are prepared to resist violence with superior violence their movement must invariably be crushed. By superior violence we do not mean that we should seek to match the armoury of torture and annihilation which governments possess. Not only would it almost certainly lead to a massacre of the workers and their swift defeat if they sought to oppose the militarists on their own ground. Such methods to be successful would mean that before long the people's movement would be taken-over by a new set of politicians, militarists, and would be at the mercy of international political intrigue. The case of the Military uprising in Spain in 1936 and the phases in its development, is a classic illustration of all the arguments and warnings made by anarchists. No one can say that the initial defeat of the military uprising in 1936 was the result of the people being either better armed or equipped, or trained from a military point of view than Franco's forces. The superior violence of the people was the *popular basis* of their resistance, their will to resist, their ability to improvise, to infiltrate everywhere because they enjoyed popular sympathy everywhere. Again in Algeria, as Claude Bourdet points out in this week's *France Observateur* in spite of everything being against them, "one of the strongest armies in the world was kept at bay" by bands of ill-armed Algerians in a struggle lasting more than seven years. If just for one moment one considers this fact without introducing extraneous speculations about "where has it got them, etc." Uloth, Crosswell and other comrades may find some of the answers to their questions. And our reflections would not limit themselves to Spain and Algeria; there are dozens of examples of successful resistance by the people against the overwhelming armed might of the State. Whatever one may think of Castro's régime, its origins are of great interest and importance to revolutionaries. The Russian revolution, China, Hungary, some of the resistance movements during the Occupation in the last war, all need to be studied and analysed objectively.

No anarchist has ever denied that violence even when used in defence is a two-edged weapon. For this reason those, such as Malatesta, who have advocated its use have always also stressed both its dangers and its limitations. To our minds the advocates of non-violent direct action have not in fact answered the dilemma of violence as posed by the anarchists. Two articles in *Peace News* (June 15), one by J. Allen Skinner on "The Attack on Reason" and a reply by April Carter "Response to Reality" simply present the dilemma again in another form. Allen Skinner points out that the direct action demonstrations are conducted by a minority of the people and even though they are non-violent activities "it does not alter the fact that they are an attempt at the coercion of a majority even if that majority is largely made up of an apathetic public", and his arguments lead him more or less to defend existing democratic government as the basis for social change, and to abandon direct action altogether; he is simply left with the advocacy of tolerance and "reason rather than coercion to win over those who hold opposing views". The weakness of this argument is that it confuses people with Auth-

IN FEBRUARY WE OUTLINED our financial targets for the year. The position half way through the year would indicate that our chances are not desperate. We indicate the targets in brackets: Income from sales and Sub. Renewals (£2,200) £1,077; Income from New Subscriptions £1,000 £221; Contributions to Deficit Fund (£1,000) £688. We have fallen down badly on new subscriptions. To the end of June we have only secured 195 against the 750 we aim to get, and unless there is a concerted effort during the next six months we shall end the year far off the mark. We need only 500 readers to secure a new reader during the next six months. It's not asking much surely?

AT VARIOUS TIMES A NUMBER of readers have suggested that FREEDOM should relax its policy of refusing to accept paid advertisements so far as regular readers are concerned. The suggestion is that we should have a classified column which would allow readers to advertise their wants such as books, accommodation, contacts, articles such as furniture, or holiday exchanges, services; as well as offering accommodation, services, etc. . . . which might be of interest to other readers. We would welcome the opinion of our comrades in this matter. Is it a service they would themselves use assuming that they did not think it out of place in an anarchist journal? The charge we would make for insertions would be 9d. (U.S. 10 cents) a line, with a minimum of 4 lines, each line consisting of forty letters and spaces (about 7 words or 6 if you use obscure language!) Let us have your comments and your adverts and we will act on the basis of your opinions and response.

But are rulers swayed by 'love'?

ALL movements or organisations which owe their existence to what could be broadly described as "progressive" ends, are subject to "infiltration" so long as their "progressiveness" is an island in a sea of mental conformism. Take the Free thinkers, the Free School movements, the Labour Party and the PPU. We know, indeed, it is public knowledge that there are Stalinists who support the Freethinkers and the Free Schools, capitalists who support the Labour Party and the PPU. (There are also anarchists who support and could support all but one of the four organisations mentioned. It is not surprising therefore that these movements should be involved in internal and "ideological" and "power" struggles; and the more democratic they profess to be the greater is the struggle for "power" behind the scenes!

Regular readers of *Peace News* (as opposed perhaps to members of the PPU) have never been informed how exactly that journal was rescued from the clutches of the church-ridden, the socially and financially successful quakerish groups which were its financial backbone. We applaud their tactics; *Peace News* has undoubtedly benefited from the palace revolution! But apart from pandering to the New Left's addiction to the Cinema (to which not a few of our fellow-anarchists seem to be helplessly and happily addicted!) the significant change in the new-look *Peace News* has been the substitution of the term "non-violence" for "pacifism".

Because we take them seriously, we assume that *P.N.'s* emphasis on non-violence as opposed to pacifism is more than just pacifism by another name. Non-violence is the tactic of former pacifists who have become aware that war cannot be isolated from the social and economic prob-

lems of our society, who realise that pacifism—"the abolition of war"—involves also the abolition of social and economic injustices. If our definition is based on misunderstanding our columns are open to those who wish to enlighten us.

If we have not, traduced our friends' thought, we would ask them to answer and/or consider the following questions: (1) if you believe that the ruling class can be influenced by "conciliation, love and reason" why engage in acts of "civil disobedience"? (2) Do you believe that the privileged class is so naive, so blind to the facts of life that they are unaware of the social and financial chasm that separates them from the servants, the gardeners, the tradesmen and employees whose services they can command only by reason of their privileged status? (3) And if you agree with us that they are aware of their privileged status what arguments can you provide, which they have not already considered and rejected, to persuade them by "reason and love" to give it up (4) And if you believe that the privileged class will willingly (after all, willingness is the essence of reasonable people) give up their privileges when faced with reason and love, why in the name of reason do you call yourselves anarchists?

To believe that governments and the ruling class are, or can be influenced by "conciliation, love and reason" is the argument of those who believe in "good" governments

*The fact that thousands of citizens volunteer for the armed forces when war is declared proves nothing other than that perhaps the lives of the individuals concerned are so boring that anything is more exciting than home-life and the Joneses. The top-men who declare the wars never actually fight; so obviously they are not looking for an outlet for their aggressive impulses!

†Note for new readers: Uloth, Crosswell, Otter "and others"—and that includes the staff of *Peace News*—are, so far as we are concerned, good and valuable friends and comrades. We are simply trying to persuade them that our viewpoint should also be theirs!

ority. Obviously we want to win over the people, and obviously we would do nothing to oblige them to support our ideas. But the only argument governments understand is power. So why confuse the two issues?

The most far-reaching point April Carter makes in her long reply is when she argues that Allen Skinner by-passes the real problem "which is whether one can tolerate the *practise* of policies which seriously infringe the rights and liberties of others". Unfortunately she does not herself follow through the consequences of this argument to their logical conclusions. She talks about "industrial action" being justifiable when we are on the brink of war. But supposing those workers engaged in producing nuclear bombs and other war weapons refuse to take industrial action, would those of us who believe that the armaments industry not only "seriously infringes our rights and liberties", but threatens our very lives, be morally justified in taking action to prevent them from working in these factories? If so, what kind of action?

LAG 1962 Summer School

The Summer School will be held at Alan Albon's (Little Marshfoot Farm, Mill Road, Hailsham, Sussex) from Saturday, August 4th, to Monday, August 6th, under canvas. The cost will be 35/- per person (children *pro rata*). Deposit with booking 10/- per person. Speakers will include Nicolas Walter, others to be announced shortly. Enquiries and Bookings (plus deposits) to Mary Stevenson, 6, Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx. Further details will be sent to interested comrades. N.B.: CLOSING DATE WEDNESDAY JULY 18th. Food has to be ordered 2 weeks beforehand.

Correspondence

The use of violence . . .

DEAR COMRADES,

After reading FREEDOM's spirited editorial in defence of violence, for the use of it in some circumstances, there are some questions that I would like to ask.

(1) If a violent anarchist struggle is in progress and the authoritarians hold a town, are we to bombard it (whether with H-Bombs, atomic shells, high explosive or cannon-balls is really not important, since whatever is used there will be a large number of deaths among the non-combatant population)?

(2) If this authoritarian stronghold is left untouched are we to be prepared to accept defeat rather than slaughter helpless people?

(3) If we are prepared to accept defeat don't we run the risk of being slaughtered in our turn?

(4) In this case what have we gained by using violence in the first place?

(5) But if we do bombard the town how are we superior to the Magills and the Eichmanns? Why not join them instead of fighting them?

War does not consist of heroic struggles between bodies of healthy, picturesque young men, fighting in open country, with a few casualties on each side. Some tribal wars are like this, but we live in Darkest Europe, and in our society war consists in killing as many of the enemy's civilian population in the shortest possible time.

I do see that there is a real difficulty here. To resist non-violently requires in some situations far more courage than to fight. I can't imagine myself sitting down in front of people who are really determined to act ferociously. In the non-violent struggle in India the brutality of the police was as bad as anything

in Nazi Germany, or very nearly. (See the earlier chapters of Richard Gregg's "The Power of Non-Violence"). In Sweden, according to "Peace News" this week, at a little sit-down, which was being carried on quietly, untouched by the authorities, a man actually set his dog on a young girl sit-downer. When one considers the mentality of some of the people we are up against it is very easy to understand why violence, for all its horror, has its attractions. At least you do not have to come out openly and offer yourself as a target for sadists. You can hide behind a wall, shoot and then run for it.

It may be that there simply is no solution to this problem in anarchist terms. I hope there is, but cannot see it, as I am no longer so optimistic about the power of non-violent methods, and yet cannot see with the eye or the mind any sort of anarchist "army". Can any of FREEDOM's readers visualise such a thing?

Of course this discussion is a fairly academic one. There is not likely to be a revolution, violent or non-violent, in Europe in our lifetimes. And I doubt very much if a single reader has ever fired a shot in anger, or been shot at, except in the sense of aerial bombardment.

Yours fraternally,
London, June 21. ARTHUR. W. ULOTH.

... A QUESTION OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE

DEAR EDITORS,

In your editorial, "Did violence fail in Algeria?", you wrote "no privileged society will ever be destroyed if the revolutionaries are not prepared on principle to use violence at any stage in that struggle".

The question of the use of violence is of fundamental importance because so many of us are professedly Pacifists. If that stage in the struggle arose and the Editors issued weapons we Pacifists would refuse to join you at the barricades. If you believe in being prepared, no doubt you have a store of weapons hidden away ready for the day. If so, we of the Pacifist persuasion are bound to dissociate ourselves from 17a Maxwell Road forthwith. If this is not what your editorial means it is essential that you clarify the statement as soon as possible.

If the present nuclear situation teaches us anything it is that the use of violence as a means to our ends is obsolete. Mankind is doomed if we cannot influence our fellow men by conciliation, love and reason. If we are doomed it matters little whether we go down with guns blazing or on our knees pleading for mercy.

This Pacifist, and no doubt all other Pacifists in the Anarchist fraternity, will become violent under certain circumstances in spite of our principle to refrain from violence, but this is a biological fact (we know we are going to die sometime but we don't prepare for it) and entirely unpremeditated. If someone attacks my children I shall no doubt go mad—but it can hardly be said that I am preparing for the event.

It seems to me that it is the Editors that are making the fundamental mistake. The answer to their question "what grounds have you for believing that any non-violent action would not have been crushed by legalised violence?" is, sadly, none whatsoever, but the poor bastards were doomed and are doomed anyway until the people in the powerful States (who make the weapons) use general strike tactics to disarm their rulers.

I would like to point out one more error in a bad editorial: it is where you wrote of a "chasm" dividing the privileged class from the struggling masses. I thought it was generally accepted that there is no chasm—that our society has a pyramid structure. And for most of us the only struggle is switching over from channel 9 to channel 1.

Best wishes,
Slough, June 24. ERNIE CROSSWELL.

ANARCHIST CINEMA FASHIONABLE?

DEAR SIR,

Alan Lovell is right: it was careless of me to use the word "verbiage", which I see from the dictionary does not mean what I thought. Otherwise, I stick by my letter. Mr. Lovell claims I smeared him in the best Macmillan-Gaitskell tradition by suggesting that his anarchist season at the National Film Theatre is "a publicity gimmick". What I actually suggested was that "the subject of anarchism and the cinema is being exploited just as much, if not more, for its publicity value as for its cultural one." I wrote this for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is the final symposium, which I think is superfluous and which, the NFT programme carefully points out, is being held on Bastille Day. Secondly, the tone in which the programme is written: although Mr Lovell's introductory note says it would be wrong "to put the stress on the destructive side of the anarchists", further down the page he writes of Buñuel, Franju and Vigo that their films

"... are often like bombs thrown at the church, the government, the military and other established forms of society... Their vision is so forcefully created that once you have entered their world you cannot forget it; it haunts you with its menace, its excitement, its outbursts of violence, its poetry."

"Bombs", "menace", "excitement", "violence"—this is the vocabulary of sensationalism. Thirdly, the above-named are all directors of some notoriety, especially Buñuel, who is also highly fashionable, and fashion, unfortunately, is something to which the British Film Institute believes in paying tribute. So a few years ago "Sight and Sound" was all for "commitment"; now the line has changed to Parisian aestheticism and isn't-Joseph-Losey-wonderful. Similarly, when Ingmar Bergman was all the rage, the BFI put on a Bergman season; then the news crossed the Channel that Bergman was out, and we duly had an Antonioni season.

My main complaint about the anarchist season, however, is its narrowness. Mr. Lovell says he hoped that "when people had seen the films they would know that the programme had been put together from a coherent viewpoint which could be described as 'anarchist.'" I am afraid it is more likely they will

get the impression that whatever anarchist cinema is, its three main exponents are Buñuel, Franju and Vigo. Moreover, the BFI is an organ of the Cultural Establishment, so as well as being influenced by fashion, it in turn creates it; when it issues a definition of anarchist cinema, even what Mr. Lovell calls an implicit one, that definition is liable to become commonly accepted. The process has already begun: only a few days after the start of the season, Mr. Lovell was being echoed by Penelope Gilliatt, who added a few frills of her own:

"Anarchist cinema is violent and poetic, and full of underground explosions because its language is one of private symbols and myths; where classical art exposes a landscape, anarchist art erupts in one's own head. It expresses an implacable mistrust of institutions, and it is always gleefully unfair, because it is as personal to a man as his dreams and just as far beyond argument."

The definition of anarchist cinema that I gave was both partial and tentative; anybody who wants to improve on it is welcome to do so. When I said I thought its chief characteristic was subversiveness, I meant subversive in relation to the society that produced it. This would eliminate both "Potemkin" and "Triumph of the Will".

I still think "Paths of Glory" is an anarchist film; Mr. Lovell argues that the colonel-hero should have displayed "a little disobedience". As I remember, he didn't do too badly; had he stepped farther out of line there might have been four useless deaths instead of three. Here are some other films I think are anarchist: "Les Nouveaux Messieurs", "A Nous La Liberté", "I Am A Fugitive From A Chain Gang", "Drole de Drame", "You Only Live Once", "The Housekeeper's Daughter", "Hellzapoppin", "Beat the Devil" and "Some Like It Hot".

I agree that Spike Milligan is talented, and I am far from being a Chaplin idolater, but I have no doubt who is the better artist. Considering the efforts Chaplin has made to buck the Hollywood production system, I think it is pretty cool to call him a "licensed entertainer". He has described himself, incidentally, as an anarchist.

Neill and Burgess Hill . . .

DEAR SIR,

Paul de Mille's letter of 9/6/62 provokes me into print. The taking to task of A. S. Neill by this young man whose idea of freedom was never remotely that of Neill is too preposterous to pass without comment.

The interpretation of freedom at Burgess Hill School in its latter years anyway, was as far removed from real freedom as it was possible to get. The school became a refuge for maladjusted adults and not a school for children—adults who pleased themselves at all

costs come what may, no matter what adverse effect upon the children or school as a whole resulted.

It is untrue to say that "Neill never had a good word to say for Burgess Hill, etc." for in the past Neill recommended it as a day school to me and I never actually heard Neill say a word against it at any time—if he has felt anger recently then he was justified because the activities at Burgess Hill could only reflect unfavourably on other Progressive Schools.

In view of the conditions prevailing, most of us that knew of them and had connections with Burgess Hill were relieved when it closed down as quietly as it did; for what it had become it was the best way out.

I am sad at this ending—sadder than Paul de Mille who, after all knew it for one year only, I knew it for twelve.

Yours faithfully,
ANNE SHEARER.
London, S.W.10, June 21st.

SLIPPING!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT JUNE 30th 1962			
Weeks 25—26			
EXPENSES: 26 weeks at £70 £1,820			
INCOME:			
Sales & Sub. Renewals	£	£	
Weeks 1—24	1,030		
Weeks 25—26	47		
			1,077
New Subscriptions:			
Weeks 1—24 (187)	213		
Weeks 25—26 (8)	8		
			221
			1,298
			DEFICIT £522

DEFICIT FUND	
Peterborough: F.W. 8/-; Hounslow: L.* 2/6;	
London: B.D. 5/-; Shoreham: M. & D.* 2/6;	
Belfast: K.G. 16/-; Seattle: T.B. 14/-; London:	
D.S. 4/-; Glasgow: J.H.* 3/6; Leeds: G.L. 1/9;	
Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 4/4; Hounslow: L.* 2/6;	
Wolverhampton: J.L.* 2/6;	
Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Southampton: P.O.* 2/6;	
London: J.H.W. 1/1; London: R.P.S. 2/2/6;	
Hyde Park: Anon. 2/6.	
TOTAL	10 12 0
Previously acknowledged	677 9 1
1962 TOTAL TO DATE	£688 1 1

*Denotes regular contributors.
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 - 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
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I don't understand Mr. Lovell's anti-thesis between "knocking people" and "genuine argument and debate." This sounds to me like a plea for "constructive criticism". I shan't be at his symposium: it is on a Saturday, which is the night I go to the pictures. I shall miss hearing those upper-case British Artists talking about their own work and in what way it could be called anarchist, but I hope to read about it in *The Observer*.

Yours faithfully,
London, June 17. GEOFFREY MINISH.

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.

JULY 8 Frank Hirschfeld:
Anarchism or the New Age
JULY 15 Maurice Goldman:
Time, Money and Death
JULY 22 Donald Roomm:
Alternatives to Money

Hyde Park Meetings

Sundays at 4 p.m. onwards
(Anarchist time) (Weather permitting)

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

- 1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.
 - 1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.
 - 2nd Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Morris Bradley's, 15 Pyrland Road, Newington Green, N.5.
 - 3rd Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald Roomm's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.
 - Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel). N.B.—June meeting in N.2. will be held at 45, Twyford Avenue.
 - Last Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Laurens and Celia Otter's, 57 Ladbroke Road, W11 (for July).
- NEW MEETING**
3rd Tuesday, 1st meeting, July 16th, at Brian and Doris Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2. (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

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Yours sincerely,
JEHANE MARKHAM.
Chalon s/Saone, June 26.