

FREEDOM

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There is no such thing as academic freedom. There is only one thing by that name: Freedom. Freedom is indivisible and belongs to all. Hence it cannot be taken from some without being lost by all.
G. P. MAXIMOFF.

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

Propaganda & Everyman III

AT a meeting held in Friends' House last week—incidentally, it was the dullest, most uninspired meeting it has ever been our misfortune to attend, and in spite of a "star"-studded platform—a young speaker introduced us to a new venture jointly sponsored by the "World Peace Brigade for Non-Violent Action" and the "Committee for Non-Violent Action":

namely "Everyman III", a boat which it is intended shall sail from London to Leningrad via major ports of France, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Finland. We were exhorted repeatedly to identify ourselves with this new venture, spiritually, financially, materially; the speaker emphasised the need he and the other fourteen persons who would sail in "Every-

man III" felt that their initiative should have our blessing. In a half-page advertisement in *Peace News* we are told:

This is your opportunity to protest against the Soviet tests in the Soviet Union itself. Make your campaigning more effective by sending this boat to Leningrad and Moscow with your message and your moral and financial support.

Well, since this writer was among those to whom the public appeal was addressed, we feel entitled to express our reactions to it, publicly. In the first place, the impression we got was that the venture was no more than an expensive schoolboy's prank on which the joint headmasters (Michael Scott, Jayaprakash Narayan and A. J. Muste*) were turning a bling eye. Our young speaker brought the house down when he told us that the mast of "Everyman III" was just too high for it to negotiate Tower Bridge, so the P.L.A. would have to be approached to arrange for the bridge to be opened when she sailed from the Pool. There was also laughter

*The new joint Chairmen of the Council of the World Peace Brigade.

when after telling us that an international group of peace activists were already lined up for the trip, the speaker pointed out that all they now lacked were a navigator, engineer, radio operator, doctor or qualified first-air man, interpreters, sailors! The impression we got was that it was all good, clean, fun! So why take it seriously?

We take the Everyman III venture seriously because to our minds it is just another of those, now all too frequent, costly, publicity stunts, which achieve nothing, but which, at the same time distract the efforts of valuable militants from less publicised, but more valuable, long-term propaganda, and tend to lull sympathisers into the role of spectators, who feel that by comparison with these spectacular, daring or dangerous, ventures, their puny efforts are worthless.

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ONE of the dangers of the "cult of personalities" is that the personalities are "corrupted" by their feelings of "power" or "importance". We are less concerned about this very real danger than with the para-

lysing effect the personality cult has on too many "ordinary" people who are as well equipped to think for themselves as any "personality". For if only they realise that they are just as able to talk commonsense as the next man, not only will they go on talking and influencing their circle of friends and acquaintances, but they will at the same time provide an antidote for those fellow beings whose thoughts and utterances hit the headlines! Though our purpose, in attending the Friends' House meeting last week, was to have a first-hand account of the aims and activities of the World Peace Brigade, this was not satisfied. Michael Scott talked, as if from the pulpit, about Mosley in Trafalgar Square and Dalston; Narayan, unsmiling and with a minimum of gestures of the hands, and in a voice modulated to perfection and persuasion, confessed that non-violent theory and action had been unable to offer any solution, so far to the problems of Goa—solved after fourteen years of non-violent gestures of Indian love, conciliation and diplomacy to Salazar, by what was,

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Perils of Privilege

A FEW days after Dr. Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) had enthusiastically adopted the new "Work and happiness" programme which states that "a multi-party system is entirely alien to the traditional concept of government in African society" and that "a one party system provides the best answer for the problem of government in Africa", someone lobbed a bomb at Dr. N. when he was inspecting a schoolchildren's parade in a remote village in Northern Ghana. He escaped but four people were killed and fifty-six others injured. This is not the first bomb plot directed at Ghana's almighty President, and presumably he accepts this as one of the hazards of his profession.

There is obviously nothing much wrong with a single party system if it is open to everybody, and is controlled by its members. But it is inevitable that where the organisation of a country is concentrated in few hands, which also control the armed forces and the machinery of "law and order" the single party cannot be unanimous for it will be divided by a clash of personal and sectional interests. The *Guardian* excuses the Nkrumah dictatorship by pointing out that

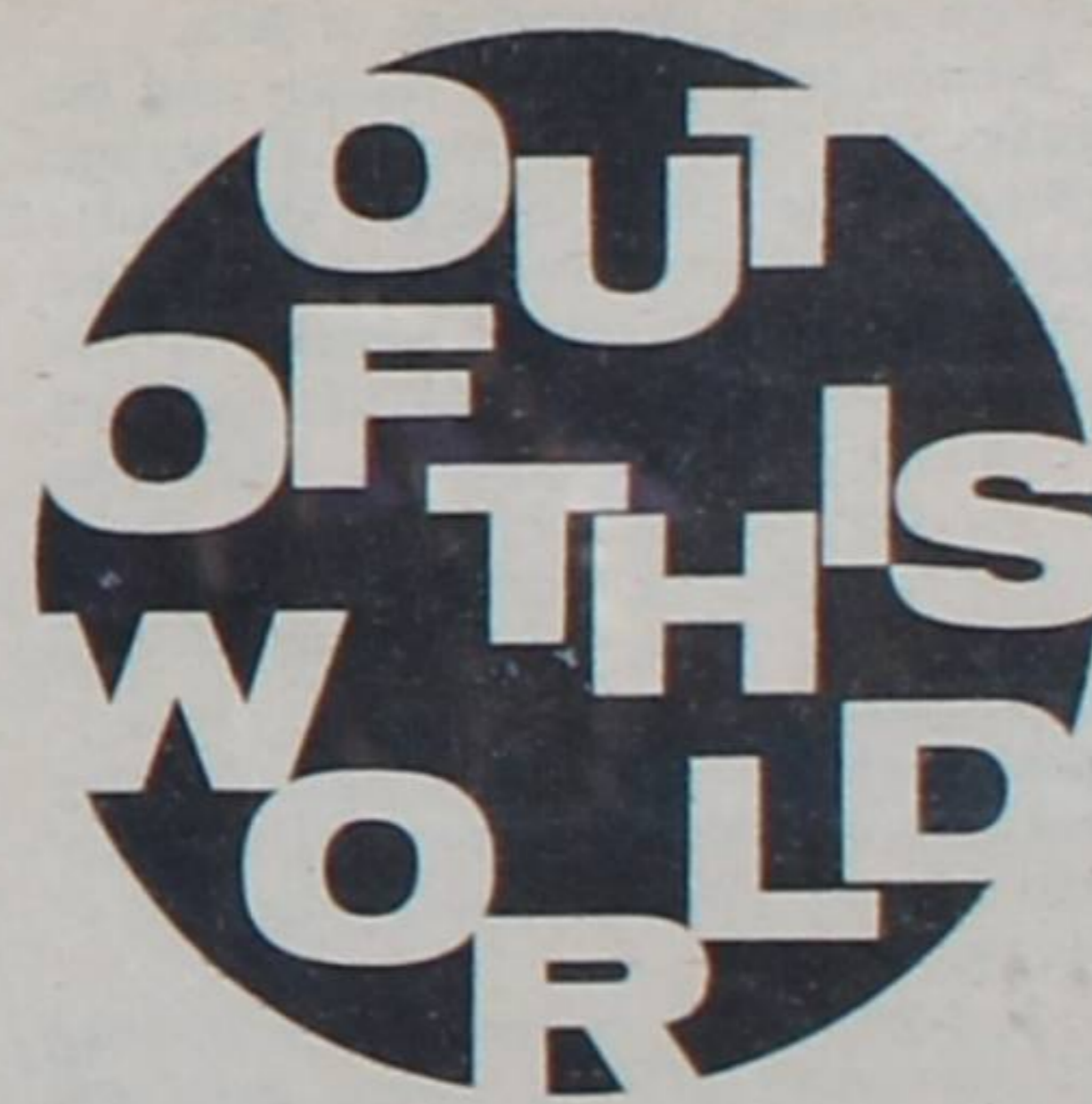
[he] like other African leaders, advocates a one-party State, not simply because he wishes to establish a personal dictatorship but because he genuinely believes that this is the most realistic way of government in a rapidly changing African society. This is a debatable thesis, but it cannot be condemned out of hand.

Ghana from the beginning has adopted the methods of the capitalist system, and whatever else may be "rapidly changing" in that country the fact is that today it has its privileged and its under-privileged classes, and the ostentation of the *nouveau-riche* ruling class has shocked more than one democrat in recent months (remember the famous £3,000 bed for a minister's wife; or the new law preventing

Ministers from spending more than £20,000 on having houses built for themselves?). The moment economic injustices are recognised as normal you create the kinds of divisions in society which make the achievement of unanimity an impossible task. The single party system in the circumstances can only be seen as the means whereby a new ruling class, a new aristocracy and a new employing class can establish their roots and consolidate their power. If, as the High Commissioner for Ghana maintains in a letter to the *Guardian*, countries like Ghana which need to be developed "a complete fusion of all available talents is essential within a single party to ensure that our efforts are not dissipated through lack of concerted action" then surely as we have already said, the single party should be open to all the people—and in which case of course there would hardly be any reason to have a party at all. Instead the affairs of the country could be managed at local level and co-ordinated nationally. This we shall be told by those who know would have been impossible to operate. What Ghana needed was a strong hand at the helm, to break down the local rivalries, tribal hostilities and the rest. In other words what was needed was a dictatorship. And that is what they have got! We have yet to learn of a dictatorship which ever came round to consider that the people were ripe to enjoy their freedom. The question the practical people must ask themselves, if their concern is truly that of the well-being of the Ghanaian people, is whether dictatorship can ever provide a short-cut not only to material well-being but to the kind of individual freedom without which material well-being becomes slavery? If they can believe it can, why not seek to hasten the advent of freedom everywhere by advocating dictatorship rather than democracy here and in every country of the world?

THE VIOLENT DOCTRINES of Sir Oswald Mosley were met by the violence of his Left-wing opponents; this was added to by the violence of the police. In Dudley, Worcestershire, things were different, the race violence was spontaneous, un-inspired by Sir Oswald or checked by the Communists. At Dudley Quarter sessions the Recorder allowed an appeal by an 18-year-old Jamaican against a deportation order following a conviction for indecent assault. The Recorder thought the assault was a trivial one and the new Act had not to be used at random to satisfy people's colour prejudices but was for getting rid of Commonwealth citizens and Irishmen who misbehaved consistently. *The Daily Mirror* apologized for a misprint in which it said that Neill McElligott was recommended for deportation. It was a Mr. Edward McCord, a 22-year-old Irishman who was recommended for deportation. "Mr. McElligott, is, of course, the Old Street Magistrate. We wish to express our regret to Mr. McElligott for any embarrassment caused to him by the mistake". . . .

A HAITIAN COMPANY PRESIDENT and an American television producer fought in an airliner in a dispute over adjusting the angle of a seat in the economy class. A stevedore and a salesman playing golf at Hainault attacked a managing director and his friend in a dispute on a golf course. They were fined £120. A British skier staying at a country club in Nairobi, Kenya, woke at 3.30 a.m. and saw an African rifling a cupboard. "I shot out of bed and went for him. He bit my hand. I forced the African over to the door, where I saw two more Africans. One said 'we have knives. We will kill you.' I told him to wait a moment. I dashed back and got my own knife. Then I saw the men rushing off, one holding my radio and my shirt . . . Believing he was holding a knife, I closed with him . . . he grabbed my knife and stabbed me in the thigh. I punched him hard and got my knife back. Then I must have stabbed him, although I did not realise I was doing so. An Army officer arrived and said, 'I say, old chap, can I give you a hand?' We got the African to his feet. Suddenly he collapsed. He was dead." The delightful magazine *Yeah* reproduces an authentic advertisement for the Damascus Leather Shop in Oregon which sells a glove loaded with powdered



lead. "Ideal for tavern and street brawls. Gloves are quality constructed . . . are soft pliable, durable deerskin and may be worn full time as standard officer's gloves. Perfected at the advice of a police captain with over thirty years' experience, this glove is in use throughout the United States, with several police departments considering making it a part of standard equipment. Sold to low-enforcement personnel only." An Army Major and a Royal Marine lieutenant were censured after a young marine was bayoneted in a military demonstration at the Devon County Show. "The officers made an error of judgment in an effort to please the crowd at the expense of normal safety regulations." Messrs. Hiatt and Company of Birmingham have just despatched 250 pairs of leg-irons to Southern Rhodesia. The Japanese have taken a lot of their business since people were so rude to Sir Roy Welensky. A healthy home trade is the foundation of good exports and the home market is mainly through ship's chandlers for merchant ships. "Leg irons are not cruel," said the managing director. For the ultimate in restraint a chain connection the hand-cuffs to the leg irons is used. A case of 500 pairs of hand-cuffs was about to be despatched to Johannesburg. Demand for Hiatt's "general security requisites"—they include police batons—has been steady since the war. Troubles in Palestine, Kenya, Cyprus and the independence of African countries have kept them busy. "Demand for our products is brisker from Africa, since so many countries there are now policed for the first time and are becoming more civilised. . . .

PAUL CRUMP, AFTER NINE years in Cook County gaol has been reprieved. His sentence of death is changed to 199 years without parole. It is said that Crump has been rehabilitated and has become a changed man. A man who served ten years in Broadmoor for murder, committed suicide six months after his release. His wife, married four months did not know of his past and "would never have married him if I had known." The Coroner asked "If you are going to marry someone, is there any way of finding out this sort of thing?" A Fulham man who served three years for manslaughter committed suicide after his release. His landlady described him as "quiet and well-behaved. Alcatraz is to be closed, probably next year. It costs \$13 (£4 10s.) a day to keep a prisoner in Alcatraz—far more than any other prison; and it would cost 5 million dollars to repair damage caused by damp climate. . . .

THE "LIBERAL NEWS" has an article by Leslie Jones who claims to have interviewed two 'anarchists' when canvassing who advanced the argument that they had no faith in rulers who would be corrupted by power. The liberals would go the same way. "Yet how wrong they were . . . the liberal tradition stands directly opposed to such philosophy. Government there must be, for since without government licence usurps [liberty]. Liberals are concerned with breaking down the barrier between electors and elected. "People count" they say, Proportional Representation is one of the planks in their platform. "Fortunately", concludes Leslie Jones, "the average ward will not contain above half-a-dozen 'anarchicals'. But they are six too many". Sir Oswald Mosley attributed his rowdy reception to "red anarchy" and the *Daily Telegraph* listed as the 'powers of darkness' Fascist, Communist and Anarchist. . . .

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ANARCHY 18 is all about

Comprehensive Schools

September 9

September 9th. Committee of 100 urgently needs supporters to pledge and leaflet every night 6.45 p.m. at 168 New Cavendish Street, W.1. LAN 5090.

One World or None

"MY COUNTRY IS MY WORLD" Garry Davis, MacDonald, 25s.

IN 1948 an American ex-bomber pilot in common with many others, saw the world heading yet again toward another world war, with the difference that he felt some responsibility for the way things were going.

"and yet . . . I did not know what to do about it. The only thing clear in my mind was that I, Garry Davis, was in some way responsible for the march of the nations towards World War III . . . there would be no innocent bystanders . . . and I was only standing by during the awful preparations."

Wendell Wilkie's famous phrase, "One world or none", set his feet upon the path that was, at least for a few months, to make Garry Davis the focal point of humanity's desires for peace. For a while he worked for the United World Federalists but he never joined. For Garry Davis's sense of urgency they were moving far too slowly.

"World tension was mounting rapidly . . . the world was about to be blown up any day. I wanted a crusade not a meeting. I wanted total commitment, not a membership card and a lapel button."

The conclusion that Garry Davis came to was one that Randolph Bourne had promulgated many years previously; " . . . the roots of war . . . seemed to me to be inherent in the nation-state itself. To eliminate war, I concluded, one would first have to eliminate nations."

This posed a series of questions, that Davis for a long while was unable to answer. "How did one practise 'one world' in a broken world? Didn't loyalty to an inclusive humanity preclude loyalty to an exclusive state?" And so

on. The climax came when he read of Henry Noel's gesture in renouncing his United States citizenship to become a labourer working in Germany.

"Here then was the key to action and total commitment . . . Here was a bold, dramatic, and logical protest against the exclusive character of the state . . . I would secede from the old and declare the new."

He found that in order to legally renounce his citizenship he had to be on foreign soil. He chose Paris and on May 25 took the oath of renunciation. "My first reaction was that I felt thirsty, otherwise nothing seemed to have happened. I was merely one passport lighter . . . Garry Davis, it seemed hadn't owed his existence to the little green folder issued by the U.S. State Dept. after all. My humanity required no documentation and it could not evaporate by crossing artificial frontiers."

Garry Davis does not consider himself an anarchist (his reaction when Nehru suggests he is, is one of the more amusing part of his highly entertaining book) and yet he seems to have leapt all but the last hurdle on the route to an anarchist philosophy.

"One of the chief objects of my gesture of renunciation was to demonstrate that the nation-state need not be overthrown. For, in fact, it does not exist. Men's minds need only to be disabused.

The nation-state is a whole-cloth myth, perpetuated by the slavery of tradition, unreasonable loyalties and pieces of paper . . ."

Immediately after this the French gave him papers to prove he had no papers; which papers he creditably threw into the dustbin.

"Papers give status, dignity and privilege to the issuing authority rather than to the bearer—although the opposite is generally assumed—and I believe this is equally true in the case of passports, driver's licences, honorary degrees, permits to practise law, licences for marriage . . . or even certificates of good health. In all such cases the individual unwittingly surrenders his right to assume command, status, or direction for himself in human terms, by acknowledging and then accepting an outside authority's right to grant these things to him."

The next few years are history. Davis camped out in the grounds of the Palais des Nations in Paris and overnight became World Citizen No. 1. He had a flair for the dramatic gesture, and the sort of mind that could turn the bumbling bureaucratic machinery on its head and against itself. Where the machinery of the law demanded papers, he manufactured his own, and often had them accepted. He told governmental policemen that their best course was to refuse to obey their orders. Within a

few weeks he had the support of Einstein, Camus, Schweitzer, Mauriac, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Lord Boyd Orr, amongst many others. He broke every rule in the diplomatic book and forced the governments of the world to listen. Within a few months the crusade for World Government had 600,000 supporters in France alone.

It should be remembered to Davis's credit that he at this time successfully resisted the temptations of power that were implicit in his position. With 20,000 people at the Vel d'Hiv demanding his leadership he had his first taste of power, and rejected it. All through this book runs the theme of direct action. For all Davis's talk of World Government the main motif of the book is direct action by the individual. He was very conscious of something that CND has never apparently learned; the speed at which the rebel becomes a pillar of orthodoxy.

" . . . Peace was once more being talked about instead of acted upon . . . I realized we were doing the very thing I had argued against . . . we wrote world constitutions and bills of rights . . . without deeds they were empty, flat, sterile marks on paper, with no relationship to life."

One of the lighter illustrations of his sort of direct action opens the book. A young man had come to Davis complaining that he wanted to go to Bulgaria but he was prevented from doing this by a stamp on his passport reading that the passport was restricted for travel to Bulgaria, along with several other nations. Davis's answer was to make another stamp reading, "The above restriction is hereby removed". The next time he heard from him, the man had

just returned from Bulgaria.

"The tragedy of our time," writes Davis, "is that man has lost confidence in his own innate capacity. He restricts himself. And only then does he yearn to be free". This book is about one man's attempts to free himself, and how by virtue of attaining that freedom, he was able to help countless others.

For Davis's activities focussed attention on the plight of the stateless person, and a direct result of this was the United Nations Travel Document that gave stateless persons the right of entry to countries where the sole obstacle to their admittance was their lack of papers.

Garry Davis's Crusade for World Government contained the same weakness (I almost wrote fatal weakness) as the anarchist movement. Neither objective was liable to be achieved until most people were prepared to act for themselves upon what they believed. "The world is in your hands as well as mine," writes Garry Davis and the tragedy of his movement was that his supporters did not act on those words. Of the thousands of people all over the world who gave him their support he was the only one prepared to suffer ten years of deportation, from country to country, imprisonment, hunger, and physical danger. Only Davis was prepared to make the gesture of total commitment. That is why the movement failed and why the Committee of 100 will fail in its turn. "You are a man of principle," said a Dutch official to Garry Davis, "and as such you are a danger to organised society". If there had been more like him, the world might be a much safer place today.

Anarchists will sneer at Davis's ideal of World Government, and not without reason. Davis himself has certainly not thought out the implied dangers of such a set-up. But his claim that such a system will be safer for humanity than the present nation state groups with the almost certain threat of atomic obliteration, is not one to be dismissed casually. And by his insistence on individual sovereignty and responsibility, by his own practice of direct action he has done a great deal more than most armchair anarchists, with their glib talk of "withdrawing support from the State". I believe that Garry Davis has, in his campaign for World Government, shown the direction in which the anarchist movement must act, or die of inanition.

The late Albert Camus once wrote, "Neither Davis, nor those who have welcomed him, pretend to be bearers of truth for the world. They have simply sounded the alarm as best they could and it is quite possible that this alarm was sounded in a desert. But before laughing at it, consider at least the ugly countenance of shame and calculation worn by today's realists . . . and see that you, above all, do not throw the first stone".

JOHN PILGRIM.

EROS OR THANATOS

"THE ART OF LOVING" by Erich Fromm (Unwin paperback 4s. 6d.)

"THE RULE OF FOLLY" by James R. Newman (George Allen and Unwin 6s.).

"THE Art of Loving" first appeared in 1957 but this paper-back edition is welcome. Here again we find ideas well known to anarchists already expressed in Fromm's earlier books: "Fear of Freedom", "Man for Himself" and "The Sane Society" but his central ideas revolve around the concept of love.

Fromm sees love as a faculty and he speaks of the importance of loving, giving rather than taking. He insists that love is not easy but needs to be learnt as an art, which consists of the mastery of the theory of love, followed by mastery of the practise. "In spite of the deep-seated craving for love", he sadly remarks, "almost everything else is considered to be more important than love: success, prestige, money, power—almost all our energy is used for the learning of how to achieve these aims, and almost none to learn the art of loving."

A large section of the book is devoted to the theory of love. Four basic elements are seen to be common to all forms of love; care, responsibility, respect and knowledge, all being mutually interdependent. They are based on inner strength and genuine productive activity. They overcome human separateness, fulfilling the need for union—especially biologically as in the union of the masculine and feminine. "This polarity," Fromm writes, "is the basis of all creativity." He criticises Freud for over-emphasising sex and seeks to translate Freud's insights from the physiological into the biological and existential dimension.

In discussing love between parents and child a description of the development from mother-centred to father-centred attachment is formulated, and the synthesis for these attachments is seen to lie at the base of mental health and maturity. A failure of this development is the basic cause of neurosis.

Fromm then moves on to describe the objects of love; brotherly love, he considers, is "the most fundamental kind of love, which underlies all types of love." It is a relatedness of centres not surfaces, a love between equals. It is what we call solidarity, the experience of being at one. Motherly love is unconditional—it should instill a love for life. But the mother must be happier in giving rather than in taking—the difficulty of separation must be part of this process of giving.

Erotic love: "a craving for complete fusion" is exclusive not universal, but it is not possessive. It is a love of the essence and will, it is both emotional and rational—it is a commitment and a decision. Self-love, as the opposite of selfishness, is seen as concern for oneself. Fromm is at pains to emphasise that he is not referring to narcissism:

"Selfish persons," he writes, "are incapable of loving others, but they are not capable of loving themselves either."

By love of God Fromm seems to refer to the Tao or Way of Lao-tse, and Eastern religions. "The Love of God," he writes, "is an intense feeling of oneness." We see his difference from theistic conceptions of God when he writes: "If a person does not emerge from incestuous attachment to mother, clan, nation, if he retains the childish dependence on a punishing and rewarding father, or any other authority, he cannot develop a mature love for God."

Fromm now sees love in relation to contemporary Western culture—he finds pseudo-love and the disintegration of love. He repeats his concept of alienated man, the "dead" automaton of our world. He speaks of idolatrous love, sentimental love, the projection of love, the disintegration of the love of God—it is our alienated culture of "success".

Lastly Fromm turns to requirements for the practise of love. They are discipline, concentration, patience and supreme concern. Also seen as vital are objectivity, reason and humility. Above all there is rational faith, which he sees as "rooted in productive intellectual and emotional activity." Faith though needs courage.

Love is activity, constant awareness, alertness, awakeness. It is vitality and productiveness. Yet "the principle underlying capitalistic society and the principle of love are incompatible". "Those who are seriously concerned with love as the only rational answer to the problem of human existence must arrive at the conclusion that important and radical changes in our social structure are necessary." Society must not estrange, alienate, separate man it must be organised so that his existence and his social nature are one. "To analyse the nature of love," Fromm ends, "is to discover its general absence today and to criticize the social conditions which are responsible for this absence."

If you haven't read "The Art of Loving" please do.

"The Rule of Folly" is a disappointing book, though it is useful. It consists of a series of reviews of books related to nuclear war, and of a letter by Mr. Newman to the Press in America. The essay "On Thermonuclear War" is a reaction (hardly more) to Hermann Kahn's book of that name. For those unwilling to stomach Kahn's book it provides a short, entirely critical insight—but we all know by now that nuclear war is horrible, etc., etc., and one begins to tire of emotional outpourings. All Newman does is to say Kahn is evil, which is obvious—but if you are to argue with such a man it must be an argument with some content. It strikes me that Kahn really has something if we do have another war—it may be terribly nasty to think about, he may be doing it so that we tend to accept the situation, but the fact remains that

people may survive a nuclear war.

Newman reviews more "obscene lunacies" in a magazine entitled "Daedalus". The only worthwhile thing here is a short account of Erich Fromm's declaration for unilateral nuclear disarmament by America. A section entitled "War or Peace" is a review of four books: "The Causes of World War III", by C. Wright Mills, "No More War!" by Linus Pauling, "Inspection for Disarmament", edited by Seymour Melman and "Peace or Atomic War", by Schweitzer. This is quite informative but the bias is obvious. Lastly we have a series of letters that though sometimes amusing are little but rhetoric.

Quite frankly, one would spend one's money more profitably on buying Wright Mills's book. The price of 6/- for "The Rule of Folly" is a disgrace—some 60 pages. We have, by now, heard enough about the wickedness of it all—and the concrete suggestions by Mr. Newman are practically worthless. However, if you want a quick *precis* of recent books on nuclear war this book is of some value.

J.W.

The Air-Conditioned Mysticism

THE AIR-CONDITIONED NIGHTMARE, by Henry Miller, Heinemann, 30s.

IN attacking the brutal and materialistic elements of North American society through the medium of a travel book, Henry Miller has had many predecessors during the last century and a half. Most of them of course have been foreign visitors, whereas Miller was born in the United States, and spent his early years there. However, as soon as he could, he fled to Europe, till the war forced him back to his homeland. The contrast between life as he had known it in Europe, and life as he had known it in America, and as he found it again on his return, was sharp and full of bitterness for him. He cannot understand those Europeans who have voluntarily come to the United States to make their home there, and who like it.

This attack is savage, but curiously out of focus, it seems to me. In spite of the title, which seems to place the book alongside "1984", "Brave New World", "The Organisation Man" and suchlike books about modern or future totalitarianism and managerialism, it is in fact a vague, wandering, chatty piece of work. There are chapters in which the evils of American mass society are bitterly arraigned, but a good deal of the book is taken up with accounts of various poets, philosophers, painters and eccentrics who have managed to escape from the "nightmare".

Henry Miller's philosophy of life is a sort of aimable mysticism, a kind of Taoism. "Tibet seems to be the counter-sign for a world-wide community who have this much in common at least—they know that there is something more to life than is summed up in the empirical knowledge of the high priests of

logic and science." It is to this community that he belongs.

I enjoyed this book, but it is not the strong meat that the title suggests. It isn't a "blue sky" book either, but it sometimes comes near to being, and, considering who the author is, this is rather surprising. Perhaps one has read too many books on the mass society. When this book was first published in 1945 in America (and in 1947 in Britain), it may well have seemed much more devastating, but since then we have had so many *exposés*.

Henry Miller goes too far in one thing though, when, partly for the sake of paradox I suspect, he starts to praise the Old South, as being so much more "cultured" than the commercial North. Like all special pleaders for some past age he skips over the real nub of the question, the human degradation which is slavery. He would not have liked it if he had had to live in the middle of it, so why now does he indulge in sophistries to defend it? The fact that new evils have taken the place of the old does not make the old innocuous.

And of course much of what he says about the United States also applies to some European countries. The antagonism to the artist, which he describes as being so prevalent in his own country, don't we know it too in England? And as for the mass society, isn't this a world-wide problem, a product of modern economics, technology and medicine (which has helped to increase the world's population by combatting the diseases which kept it down)? This is not a peculiarly American problem. It may well have reached heights (or depths) in America which it has not anywhere else yet, but it is a problem for the whole world to solve—if it can!

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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FREEDOM

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PROPAGANDA & EVERYMAN III

Continued from page 1

in effect, no more than a rattling of [Indian] sabres — Kashmir and China, not to mention the all-consuming India-Pakistan problem; Bayard Rustin talked of the sit-ins by the negroes of America's South and, in our opinion, exaggerated the significance of the student demonstrations in Spain; Barnaby Martin, blue-eyed and bubbling-over with youthful irresponsibility tried to persuade us that Everyman III was our baby and not his whim. Only A. J. Muste and the German delegate, it seemed to us, attempted to enlighten us. But we found the meeting valuable in one important respect, which was, that the V.I.P.s had, in effect, very little to say! We say this not with the intention of underestimating the intellectual capacities of the speakers concerned but in order to underline the fact that the solution to the world's problems is not dependent on an inspired formula but on the "mass" participation of the people; an awareness at "street level" as to the steps to be taken.

We live, it is true, in an age of mass communications. To believe, however that an idea will not make its way if it is ignored by the organs of mass communications is contrary to the facts. The opponents of capital punishment just as the opponents of colonialism have virtually succeeded in their aims in spite of meeting with the more or less unanimous opposition from the organs of mass-communications. They have succeeded because sectional prejudice has been overwhelmed by reality—the reality of life, illumined, pin-pointed and propagated by an activist minority, legally or illegally, non-violently or violently.

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MASS communications breeds mass superficiality and this is its weakness as well as its strength. To be successfully bamboozled by the politicians and the boss class, the people must be "flexible"—that is they must be in the frame of mind to accept that white is black or vice versa as "policy" demands. On the other hand the power struggle at all levels requires unswerving blind loyalty—that is fanatics. They expect people to be both flexible and fatical; in spite of the efforts of mass communications they are neither; they are just apathetic.

If Beaverbrook, as he admits, has more political opponents reading his *Daily Express* than supporters wherein lies our hope in these organs of mass communications? Even assuming they published the real facts about the social problems that concern us, and even expressed sympathy for the activities of the militant groups, the public might well be influenced superficially, as it is in so many other directions, but would still be incapable of doing anything to change the situation. It is significant that revolutionary movements in our time have existed in the inverse ratio to the strength of mass communications. The political stunt, however much publicity it gets, at most will attract public attention as a stunt, or by some sensational aspect that emerges from it. In the case of "Everyman III" obviously if it were to sink en route with all hands the news would be flashed across the world, and for a day or two it would have its place in people's minds. But if it carries out its projected programme without incidents most of the Press will ignore it as un-newsworthy.

Now, let it not be said that we are opposed on principle or otherwise to the organisation of political stunts as a means of drawing the public attention to a cause. We have repeatedly pointed out that, in our opinion, the initial sit-down demonstrations achieved more publicity in a short time than the limited means available to the Committee of 100 could possibly have done by other methods. But whereas the novelty and success of the first demonstrations was such that neither a hostile press nor an apathetic public could ignore them, or not discuss them, or resist having a sneaking sympathy for them, the mass communicated public soon gets tired; for them now the sit-downs are a nuisance, a public expense, etc. . . . In the circumstances this is inevitable, and it was with this fact in mind that in our appraisal of the sit-down after the December 9th demonstrations, we were suggesting in these columns that what was needed now was an attempt to consolidate the (minority) flood of goodwill that had been released by the movement of the Committee of 100.

We feel however, that the trend has been towards more and more stunts and less and less of the solid day-to-day propaganda, without which it is impossible to build up a social movement based on conviction, militancy and a deep understanding of the problems that face us. This needs to be emphasised when even for some anarchists (as reference to our correspondence columns in the past months will reveal) "doing something for the cause" now means taking part in these headline-catching demonstrations and stunts, and publishing and distributing a paper of ideas week in week out is just "talking and doing nothing"! Our view is that there are hundreds of different ways of propagating ideas and that it is a mistake to dissuade people from doing what they can or feel able to do by implying that only that which is "sensational", daring, which invites arrest and imprisonment, is significant, or worthwhile.

If parents were to succeed in communicating to their children a deep love of freedom and a respect for all their fellow beings; if school teachers were to succeed in developing in the minds of their pupils an insatiable intellectual curiosity; if doctors not only relieved pain but sought to liberate the minds of their patients from the sexual and other taboos of our society; if every factory worker sought to create a feeling of brotherhood and solidarity with the men working on either side of him; if every intellectual used his gifts to communicate with, and inspire, the people rather than prostitute them to the highest bidder . . . within one generation there would be a new mood, and different values would guide our daily lives, in spite of the ruling social and economic superstructure of society. Then, "withdrawing support from the State" would be a reality and not what a contributor to this issue describes as the "glib talk" of "arm-chair anarchists"!

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THE subject that occasioned our comrade's minor outburst, was his reading of the memoirs of Gary (World Citizen No. 1) Davis. Now, without having read the book, but from our comrade's review of it, we feel that the "Davis story" could well illustrate the main point we

have tried to make in this article. Gary Davis, as our reviewer puts it "had a flair for the dramatic gesture", by which he means that he knew what kind of "gesture" would make the headlines. The measure of his success was that he filled the Paris Vel d'Hiver with 20,000 cheering supporters "demanding his leadership". The extent of his failure was, to quote our reviewer, that "Of the thousands of people all over the world who gave him their support . . . only Davis was prepared to make the gesture of total commitment". Surely it is self-contradictory to seek to create a movement in which one insists on "individual sovereignty and responsibility" and at the same time to use mass-communications to build up one personality even if only as the symbol of an idea. Unfortunate as it may be, it is nevertheless a fact that the organs of mass communications are interested in personalities and not in ideas. And until this is realised and taken into account by our young "direct-actionists" one will go on witnessing highly- or less-successful actions (so far as public notice is concerned) which leave hardly any trace of ever having taken place.

It may be argued that the efforts of the minority radical press—of which FREEDOM and ANARCHY are but two expressions—has met with even less success. Conscious as we are of the "non-success story" of our efforts as propagandists, we refuse to attribute it—as some of our comrades do—to a failure to "put over" the ideas in a way which will be understood by a much larger public than we have. The failure of the anarchist and Left movements in general in our time is the smallness of the numbers of individuals committed (we prefer the French term *engagé*) to the propagation of these ideas. Those of us who have been associated with the anarchist movement for quite a few years are only too aware of the fact that the number of people we have reached, and who have been influenced by anarchist ideas during, say, the past two decades is many times greater than the present circulation of our publications. From our chance encounters with them at meetings, and at that sentimental journey, the Aldermaston March, it is clear that the idea has left its mark deep down, whatever the change in personal and domestic priorities in the ensuing years may have been.

When anarchists and others ask the question "why does anarchism progress so slowly?" or even "not at all", before condemning the ideas or the way they are presented to the public, let us pause for one moment to examine the means available to us. Firstly the financial means. We produce and distribute FREEDOM and ANARCHY on a budget which is less than our contemporary *Peace News* pays in wages to its staff; or that the organisers of "Everyman III" expect to raise to launch their boat on its "peace-making" jaunt; and not much less than it cost the Committee of 100 to organise their Parliament Square sit-down. Is it surprising if, most years, not being able to balance even such a modest budget, we are obliged to mark time so far as circulation is concerned?

Secondly, the active propagandists. Apart from London, some of the Universities, and a very few provincial towns, and in spite of the fact that we have a wide distribution of individual readers throughout the country, there is no attempt made by comrades to distribute our literature at meetings or by other means, such as selected newsgents, public libraries, house to house canvassing, etc. We, of FREEDOM PRESS do little to stimulate such activity. Agreed. But when will our critics be aware of the vicious circle from which we can never escape if more anarchists do not come forward to take the initiative and assume the responsibility for that initiative? There is a limit to what we can do; with the passing of the years our group inevitably suffers losses, but the tragedy is that we have been unable to replace them with young people. Not because the anarchist movement lacks capable, intelligent propagandists, but because in common with the radical movement in general, they are unwilling to commit themselves to a task which, they realise, is long-term and all-absorbing.

The success of the sit-down movement, the numerous marathon marches, the daring (and foolhardy) raids on nuclear submarines to plant the flag of disarmament, the romantic plans to penetrate air-bases, and to sail "Everyman" to the nerve-centres of the cold war are, to our minds, the present generation's short term substitute for the long-term commitment. If Mass Communications provided the means to bypass the necessary task of revolutionary education we would be the first to welcome it. But Mass Communications is in the hands of the declared enemies of the libertarian society, and to expect the National Press and the Nationalised Radio to speak for Revolution is as naïve as to expect the Generals to believe in the chances of total disarmament!

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WE must therefore reach the people by our own means. If our means are limited we must seek to use them to the best advantage. To our minds the £3,500 and the 15 enthusiasts who will man the "Everyman III" would be better used if they spent three months in say Birmingham doing full-time propaganda. For 15 good propagandists in Birmingham for 3 months will achieve something more solid than the symbolic calls of a few hours duration in various foreign ports where one does not even know the language of the people with which to communicate! We also expressed the view in our Inquest on the Sit-Down (FREEDOM, December 23) that the demonstrator who swallows his pride and pays a fine rather than spend a month or two in prison and then spends the month or two he would otherwise have spent kicking his heels in prison making propaganda is, in certain circumstances, serving his cause in the most effective manner. We must be ready to go to prison when we and the comrades we esteem consider that our gesture is more effective propaganda than words. But at all times, if we are serious, such a decision must be taken on tactical grounds first and foremost.

We were encouraged to read in the correspondence columns of

Peace News a letter from a demonstrator, Michael Shrapnell in which he wrote:

When I came before the Chairman of London Sessions in July 16. I would have been imprisoned for refusing to be bound over and refusing to pay a fine, but my old CND group (the Hammer-smith one) persuaded me that I could do more good for disarmament groups if I was out of jail.

Therefore I offer my services free to any group for two months or so at a time. I will work in the day and campaign at week-ends and in the evenings. Provided I get complete co-operation I can get first-class results in this period I reckon. I'm willing to travel anywhere, do open-air speaking and factory gate meetings, etc. But I insist on a group that has plenty of work for me to do.

If I cannot find a group that requires my services I intend to take part in the next demonstration and break my binding-over order in the name of all the many who have suffered and will suffer from tests and nuclear destruction.

This is the approach which revives our optimism. Such activities as Pat Arrowsmith's in Liverpool, and the C.N.D.'s caravan touring Britain are the less spectacular but valuable activities of the nuclear disarmament movement. The anarchists, if the means and the individuals were available, should be doing similar things for anarchism. We recognise the wisdom of the anarchist opposition to permanent officials and functionaries, but if we are to break new ground we must be able to provide some comrades with the means to live for a limited period while they are doing so. The principle of voluntary effort must prevail, but within that framework we should be able to provide the means to keep comrades engaged in specific assignments. What do our anarchist comrades think? And if they agree, what are they prepared to do?

THE MARCH OF PROGRESS

GENEVA, AUGUST 3 (UPI).

More than 65,000 persons were killed in traffic accidents in Europe during 1960, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe reported today.

Statistics covering 17 major European countries showed that 51,154 persons were killed, but the commission pointed out that, with the addition of 12 countries which did not submit statistics, the number of road deaths was over 65,000. In 1953, 37,312 persons were killed in the 17 countries.

NEW & OLD APPROACHES

Mr. Tom Mboya, the Kenya Minister of Labour, has suggested that different races in Kenya should intermarry.

Addressing the Kenya Indian Congress, Mr. Mboya said racial discrimination either by Africans, Asians, or Europeans could be tolerated no longer. It was not sufficient that the races should meet at an occasional cocktail or tea party. "We must be prepared to associate at all levels as equals," he said.

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Police in Albany, Georgia, broke up a demonstration by several hundred Negroes who defied a Federal Court injunction and marched on the city hall for a prayer meeting against racial discrimination. About a hundred demonstrators were arrested and gaoled.

PEACE WALK IN NEW YORK

(From a Correspondent)

FOR a period of 12 weeks, from August 13 to November 5, there will be a Peace Walk going daily through the streets of New York City, with emphasis on the central, industrial and slum neighbourhoods. The purpose will be to communicate intensively and personally with the people of the city: in Puerto Rican neighbourhoods, for example, there will be at least one Spanish-speaking person in each group and it is planned that other walkers will be provided with Spanish phrase lists, so that no one will be entirely un-

able to overcome the language barrier. The Walk will work in teams of ten or less, carrying the ND standard, other signs, leaflets, stickers and flyers.

The teams themselves will determine their routes, and individual members are encouraged to fall behind to talk to any interested persons. The emphasis will be on communication, encouraging people to join the Walk, inviting New Yorkers to street meetings and to factory gate meetings. Literature will be placed at points where people tend to wait for long periods (clinics; laundromats; playgrounds; queues for theatres, ferries, public welfare offices, etc.)

It is hoped that daily leafletting can be carried on in such places as Times Square and the centre of the garment industry (New York's largest industry and one that employs large numbers of Negroes and Puerto Ricans). Simultaneous Peace Walks in the other boroughs of the city, and in other cities here and abroad will be encouraged by correspondence and the pooling of ideas.

The Peace Walk is sponsored by the N.Y. Committee for the General Strike for Peace and will lead into the week of the second call for a General Strike for Peace, November 5 through November 11, 1962.

New Sherwood

DEAR COMRADES,

The columns of FREEDOM published a good deal concerning the closing of Burgess Hill—much less, if any, concerning the difficulties of New Sherwood in respect of accommodation.

New Sherwood will continue, primarily because a sufficient number of parents are loyal to their ideals of non-authoritarian education for their children and do not, at the first set-back, surrender to the State.

Nevertheless, an interim period of a term remains whilst new accommodation is adapted, during which a minimum number of pupils, if any, can be accepted. This is the only day school of its type; to accept, even temporarily, State education, could be devastating to a child accustomed to freedom, if not licence; nor can children be expected to cope easily with transition from small tuition groups to State-size classes.

To cover this term, I am organising a private tuition group for children in the age group 11 to 13. Through contacts, I already have enough children to ensure that the cost per head will not be more than day fees at New Sherwood; one or two more could be included, reducing the cost per head.

Enquiries so far indicate that there will not be difficulty in finding a suitable teacher; if, however, any readers of FREEDOM are graduates or qualified teachers in search of part-time employment between September and December, I should be interested to hear from them. The group should consist of 4-6 children in the age group 11-13; primary school qualifications would be adequate. Tuition could be in the teacher's home, if reasonably central, or in mine, which is easily accessible from most parts of London and Kent or Surrey.

I would suggest that parents of children in other age groups facing the same problems might well combine in similar plans, and would be glad to put any such into contact with others interested. Please write to me c/o Freedom Press.

London Aug. 1 MRS. M. I. KING.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

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
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Revolution or Slavery

DEAR EDITORS OF "FREEDOM"—and anyone else within reach.

I always look forward to reading FREEDOM, ANARCHY, Liberation, and the rest—including *Solidarity*; and I read them joyfully, almost relishing every word. And now the first volume of selected articles from FREEDOM is lulling me in its deep cushion of enlightenment. "We—and, of course, not we alone—see all around us the malign influence which an imperfect social environment exerts on human character..." (Selections from "Freedom", Vol. I, p. 78). It is all so clear. And then of course there is *The Bomb* to shock, by means of the threat of universal but

universally remote annihilation, all those who have remained impervious to everyday experience into a realisation of the pitiable emptiness and impotence of their traditionally established "freedom", and into an assertion of that only real freedom: to live their own lives and to resist, symbolically and in all other ways, all those and their instruments who would interfere with that living. "Choisissez entre une révolution et l'esclavage, il n'y a point de milieu", said an eighteenth century Frenchman, Mably: revolution or slavery—there's no other alternative.

Where then is the enemy? Who is it that needs the neurotic showmen of the failure of the life-nerve, the guardians of our public welfare? The answer is—oh no! not again!—ORDINARY PEOPLE... I asked him—he was a relatively decent, honest-to-God working man—his opinions concerning homosexuality: were homosexual acts between consenting adults 'morally wrong' or not? No, he said, not "if they can't help it. I mean sometimes nature plays a man a dirty trick, and there's nothing he can do about it... I remember once seeing a film about this sort of thing—you know, about homosexuals and how they get on; and I know at times I felt really sorry for them: well, I saw how they were blackmailed and all that, and had a pretty miserable time... Mind you, I wouldn't have no truck with them myself. I mean, if one of them came up and approached me—you know what I mean—I'd have no hesitation, I'd lift him one in the ear..." Why? Because he has not been taught to show natur-

ally disinclination for one course of action—i.e. by doing something else: the way he has been taught is the way of authority—punishment: not defence or even attack, but merely—retribution for the code's sake.

We all know why. But if we are right (I presume your agreement)—that human beings can, and must, find more interesting ways of living than those to which they resign themselves at the moment—then everybody ought to agree with us, almost at the first word. Otherwise, we are at least partially wrong: even if human beings must find more interesting ways of living, perhaps they can't... But if not the present generation, then their children may—the Russian nihilist Tkachev proposed to suppress and eliminate all Russians over the age of 25 on the grounds that they would be incapable of assimilating the ideas of the new society.

It is possible to put an end to the process of deformation which is the upbringing of modern man without first suppressing some of the already deformed? Or, how are we to rescue all the children starting to grow now in the degenerate shadow of their incapable parents? For they will still grow, whether they are rescued or not: "life" has the capacity to survive the most frightful disfigurement... But I become fascist.

I know that the editors of FREEDOM are always getting letters demanding to know what is to be done, but—what is to be done? How are we to escape what Nicolas Walter calls "the sickness of political onanism—the tendency to

PACIFIC ISLAND POINTERS

FOR over 50 years, since their territory was seized by European capitalists, the Nauruan community has been allowed only one function—that of serving the fluctuating demands of the European capitalist economies. All other activities have been discouraged. The vast Pacific area has followed this pattern.

In the case of Nauru the only role chosen for them was: suppliers of phosphates for agriculture.

The British, Australian and New Zealand governments gained control of the estimated 80 million tons of phosphates on Nauru and Ocean Islands after World War I.

The value of these deposits was described by the original owners, The German Pacific Phosphate Company as "beyond computation". Up to 1960 the State capitalist British Phosphate Commission had taken out of Nauru alone a total of 25 million tons of phosphates. In World War II the Nauruans endured a Japanese occupation (500 died) because of the phosphate workings.

Now the 3,000 Nauruans have been told by the 3 U.N. trustee powers, Britain, Australia and New Zealand that their usefulness is at an end. They must be evacuated as soon as possible. A U.N. commission has supported the Australian Government's plan to re-settle them on the mainland. A Nauruan spokesman visiting Canberra in February told the Press: "We do not wish to be re-settled on the Australian mainland because we believe that it will

result in our extinction." Government officials have since shown the Nauruan representatives some uninhabited islands but they have told the officials that they consider them unsuitable for settlement. On the question of being evicted from their island home a Nauruan medical student in Australia writes as follows to a Sydney magazine*.

"I have taken a great interest in this question of resettlement and the Banaban people have been a lesson to me. These, the Ocean Islanders, had a resettlement problem facing them in exactly the same way a few years ago. So they bought another island—Rambi—in the Fiji group and moved there in 1948. In 1957 and 1959 I had the opportunity of visiting Rambi and I learned that for the last 10 years the Banabans have been the unhappiest people on earth. There is nothing on Rambi but misery. Nothing has come of promises made to them and the result is that the Banabans are lost—stranded would be a better word—on Rambi. I saw 70 of these people taken to a T.B. hospital in Suva in 1960....

What Nauru needs is a Rehabilitation Director, working with a team of experts in various fields. Is there a possibility of a cement industry on our island? With trained personnel and with modern science to help there should be a future in agriculture. Little Niue Island East of Tonga, is virtually nothing more than a coral outcrop with pockets of soil, but the Niueans are very successful agriculturists and even export Bananas to New Zealand....

*The letter quoted appeared in "Pacific Island Monthly", May issue, page 4. We have quoted main points—A.A.G.

Continued from page 1

BUCKINGHAM PALACE has been excused the £21,000 bounty per year it paid to Westminster Council in lieu of rates. The Federal Trade Commission has accused a Kansas City blood-bank firm of restricting "the exchange, sale and distribution of human blood". They had arranged with hospitals and pathologists to prevent the use of blood provided by a competing firm. A Rabbi in Connecticut is to appear in Court on nine charges of slavery. It is alleged that he kept two Mexicans and their five children in peonage and involuntary servitude on a poultry farm. A Hackney lorry diver hanged himself after his television set had been taken away through his failure to keep up payments....

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, visiting Moscow lost his clerical vestments. Crockford's Clerical Directory reports that 143 clergy 'disappeared' in the last seven years. "It is strange the way they simply vanish without trace," said Mr. Butcher, the editor. "They leave their last position in the Church and no one seems to hear of them again... Actually we do know the addresses of one or two of them. They are in prison. But we can't very well put in 'Wormwood Scrubs' can we?"....

THE OTHER GEORGE WOODCOCK, general secretary of the TUC attended the mar-

What is so urgent about Nauru?

Big ships regularly take phosphate from Nauru. Why should not the same ships return with loads of soil from Australia? In other words, bring back the soil to Nauru! And what of the fishing industry in Nauru? The idea has been tried but it met with little success. Yet there are fish by the millions around Nauru.

There is no natural harbour on Nauru but can't something be done by reef blasting? The reef could be blasted at Anibare Bay to make it big and deep enough to accommodate a fishing fleet. [A British Army detachment is, at the moment, engaged on this very activity in the nearby Gilbert and Ellice Islands.—A.A.G.]

"And is finance such a huge problem? What will it cost to purchase and prepare an island for resettlement, to bring it up to a standard which Nauruans will accept? Surely to bring an island, from nothing, up to a suitable standard of civilization will cost much more than improving the present one? There is money put aside for re-settlement. The answer to the Nauruan problem is surely rehabilitation NOT re-settlement."

The Nauruan people are rightly suspicious of the pressure being exerted on them by the three governments to abandon their homes. An expert survey has estimated that the phosphate supplies will last at least another 20 years.

With other actual life and death issues being shelved year after year, by these same three governments in the Pacific area, what is so urgent about the situation in Nauru? Isn't it time the State capitalists put something back into Nauru? A.A.G.

OUT OF THIS WORLD

riage of his daughter Vilja to a wealthy Mexican textile manufacturer's son. After a honeymoon in Greece, the couple will live in Mexico. One in every hundred people in Nigeria is blind, according to an Ibadan lecturer in ophthalmology. The main cause was trachoma but deficiencies in diet, especially in vitamin A also contributed. The New Chelsea Barracks for the Grenadier, the Coldstream and the Irish and Welsh Guards contain luxury flats and an indoor swimming pool. It cost over two millions. Strood Rural District Council agreed to provide a site for gypsy caravans (which have been parked at the side of A2 for a year), near the old sewage disposal works at Meopham. The Council refused at a public enquiry to give Norman Doods, M.P. permission to run a site at Cobham on a derelict Army gun site since they had offered the Meopham site, gypsies would destroy amenities although the gun site was an eyesore, the people of the village had to be considered, the gypsies would be unable to integrate, there is National Trust property in the village and the camp might become a scrap-iron heap, the bursar of a girl's school said "A gypsy encampment is bound to mean that there will be some doubtful characters about. It is undesirable that they should be given a site so close to the school"....

CASSANDRA IN THE "MIRROR" thinks that heavy, high-speed motorcycles should be banned from manufacture since the 'ton-uppers' have so many accidents in riding them at high speeds. One British Britons were killed climbing with an Britons were kinned climbing with an Anglo-Russian team in the Pamirs. One climber was killed in the Hebrides. *The Telegraph* carries a letter that alleges the Spaniards are losing interest in bull-fighting and it is only carried on for the benefit of the tourists contributing 150 million pesetas....

A LETTER TO THE *Telegraph* laid squarely the blame for the rise in crime to 'reformers' and 'abolitionists'. "The abolitionist vogue," he writes "has grown into a world-wide epidemic, although its protagonists have failed to advance any conclusive arguments. After the death penalty, long-term imprisonment, has also become the target of 'enlightened attacks' as 'soul-destroying'. Under such circumstances the enemies of society have been led to believe that they are not really responsible for their greeds, hates and other vicious urges. Moreover, they have been assured of having friends in high places who don't want them to be punished but at the worst 'hospitalized'. If some of the crime-encouraging 'penal reformers' could ever be charged as 'accessories before the fact' the crime wave would soon abate."

JON QUIXOTE.

FREEDOM

believe in one's own propaganda." How are we, readers and writers of FREEDOM and ANARCHY, who meet together every week and every month to establish the world's imperviousness to our criticisms, going to live in that world with all those other people who should be, but for some strange reason are not, anarchists? Is there still time, brother? Is it still enough, even assuming it is possible, to be right and to do right?

Yours sincerely,
MARTIN SMALL.

Hatfield, Herts, July 19.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

CENTRAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at
The Two Brewers,
40 Monmouth Street, WC2
(Leicester Square Tube)
Sundays at 7.30 p.m.

AUG 12 Keith Smith
In Search of Utopia

AUG 19 S.F.
Subject to be Announced

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 Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel). Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m.

3rd Tuesday at Brian and Doris Leslie's 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill Nr. Station).

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Freedom

The Anarchist Weekly

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