

'Civilization is Man's hopeless effort to cover up and conceal those traits of himself which he regards as specially animal-like.'
HAVELOCK ELLIS

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Redundancy & Revolution

IN the years ahead one can expect "redundancy" in Industry and some of the public services to assume ever greater proportions. The present crisis affects two industries, Rail Transport and coal-mining, both of which being nationalised, that is the employers being employed by the State, the problem of what will happen to those who lose their jobs is viewed as a matter of public concern for which solutions must be found especially for the older workers whose prospects of finding other work are remote. But what will happen to those employed in private industry who are thrown out of jobs in the course of a programme to "streamline" industries, or production costs, or as a result of technological changes—i.e. automation, as a result of the disappearance of certain industries in the event of this country entering the Common Market?

obvious to all concerned, are not used by the public. This, to our minds, is the strongest argument against the capitalist system of production. No system can claim to be efficient which on the one hand streamlines production so that the highest mechanical efficiency is achieved while on the other hand is unconcerned with what it produces so long as production is profitable in money terms, for the latter invariably cancels out the former. And it is because the worker has no control over what he produces or the services he provides, and the consumer likewise has no direct voice in establishing what are the public's needs, that for the former what matters is to hold down a job irrespective of its uselessness or usefulness and the latter has to be subjected to a psychological bombardment, a brain-washing campaign by the advertising tycoons (to the tune of more than £500,000,000 a year) to make them want what the industrialists want them to want!

An insult to our intelligence

"REDUNDANCY" as applied to people is an insult to human dignity and intelligence. Only in a society where the skills, the brawn and brains of men and women are subordinated to the profit motive; where half the nation's wealth is possessed by 1 per cent of the people, and used and developed

basically in the interests of that one per cent, could it be said, and be accepted as an unfortunate but understandable fact by most people, that "redundancy" is an inevitable aspect of the modern industrial age we live in. And in spite of the fact that such an attitude defies all logic and commonsense. But then, of course, if you try to talk commonsense today you are labelled a "utopian". To say that if our needs can now, thanks to modern methods, be supplied by a half the existing labour force, it would be better to reduce the working day by half, than to have half the working population idle while the other half works a full week, seems obvious to us, but we will be told that the

economy cannot afford to reduce the working week.

It can afford to have people idle; it can afford to employ them to produce nothing—e.g. advertising—or to waste valuable materials, plant and human skills—e.g. the armaments industry; it can afford to keep people alive (just about, or, for a minority, in luxury), but the moment one suggests that the obvious thing we, today in the West, can well afford to do, is to spend less time working to produce what we need, and have more leisure to live, and develop, some "experts" will raise their hands in horror, others with a commiserating smile will point out that only anarchists could be so naive as to believe that we could enjoy our present "high standard of living" on a 20-hour working week. We will be accused of wanting to put back the clock of material progress.

Now the implication of such criticisms is that anarchists advocate a reduction in production whereas the capitalists are always seeking to expand production. Well, a moment's reflection will show that this is not true. The capitalist "utopia" is one where demand will always exceed supply—that's a seller's market. We believe that the natural resources, and the means of production should be used as economically

as possible and with the aim of supplying in full the needs of the
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Peking-Taipeh Pact?

THE *Observer* last Sunday published from its correspondent Dennis Bloodworth in Singapore a report that a secret agreement has been reached between the Chinese Communist leaders in Peking and the Chiang Kai-shek family, which controls Nationalist Formosa.

According to sources in Hong Kong and Portuguese Macao, whose statements have since been checked with confidential documentation now in the hands of certain responsible overseas Chinese in Malaya, it has been agreed:

That neither side will launch any serious attack against the other during Chiang Kai-shek's lifetime;

That after his death, his family will seize the first available opportunity to implement an accord with the Communists whereby Formosa will remain under Kuomintang control but will formally become an Autonomous Region of Communist China, enjoying a status similar to that held by Tibet;

That between 10 and 20 years later, a "referendum" will be organised to determine whether Formosa should be an independent State or part of Communist China proper;

That in the meanwhile the Nationalists may safely reduce to nominal proportions their heavy garrisons on the offshore islands, since these will not be attacked. As soon as practicable, Quemoy and the Communist-held port of Amoy on the mainland opposite should be integrated into a buffer administrative district, and free movement allowed between them.

This is the outcome of seven years of tenuous contact and tentative negotiation, hampered by mutual distrust and

numerous private reservations, which began shortly after the Bandung Conference when Mr. Chou En-lai revealed that Peking was ready to deal directly with Formosa.

Officially, Kuomintang spokesmen in Taipei still protest that so far the exchanges have consisted exclusively of a flood of proposals from Peking which have been met with a wall of rejection in Formosa.

Monday's *Guardian* was silent on the subject and the *Herald's* small item consisted mainly of denials by official spokesmen in Washington. However, London spokesmen knew that there had been contacts between Peking and Taipei for several years.

Now, it remains to be seen whether the *Observer* report is accurate, or proves to be a rumour. Whatever it turns out to be, the fact remains that no-one in "high places" denies that contacts have existed between Peking and Taipei these past seven years—that is way back in 1955, at the time of the first Formosa crisis, and the shelling of the island of Quemoy which we were told was a threat to peace in the Far East. Did FREEDOM perhaps guess right when we called it "The Phoney Formosa Crisis",* and refused to join the chorus of war scaremongers?

*"The Phoney Formosa Crisis" (FREEDOM, 5/2/1955). Reprinted in *Selections from FREEDOM*, Vol. 5, 1955, pp. 30-32.

ON THE SEVENTEENTH anniversary of the atomic bomb attack on Hiroshima, Russia resumed nuclear testing with the detonation of a device in the 40-megaton range in Novaya Zemlya. CND members held a twelve-hour vigil at the cenotaph in commemoration of Hiroshima. 200 CND supporters paraded outside the Russian Embassy to protest against the tests. At Helsinki the communist-organised eighth World Festival of Youth came to a rowdy end with forty East German delegates claiming asylum; the Helsinki police chief (in plain clothes) being hit over the head in a riot by one of his own policemen; CND campaigners banned by the festival's commission, from carrying banners which said "Stop the tests in East and West"; an East German girl planning to escape, being restrained by her delegation, and it was alleged that an elaborate hand-linking ritual was a means of restraining deserters. . . .

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH at Porton Microbiological Research Establishment succeeded in killing by pneumonic plague Mr. Geoffrey Bacon. Ten per cent of the work carried out there is for the War Office and it is a prohibited place under the Official Secrets Act. Part of the work, according to the *Daily Telegraph Science Correspondent* is 'to take well-known germs such as plague, small-pox and botulinus and then not only to devise ways of growing them in large numbers but to change them. . . . This work is important because thereby the possibilities of biological warfare can be more accurately assessed. The scientists are seeing if the virulent forms can be made still more virulent or more effective.' A board of inquiry has been convened by the War Office which will not be open to the public. . . .

THE BRITISH NATIONAL Socialist Party camp in Gloucestershire was broken up on Police advice after the villagers' democratic ire had (after closing time) reached sufficient pitch to fight and rip down tents. Press photographers were present and Mr. Colin Jordan was selling 'exclusives' to Fleet Street. The *Mirror*



bought the 'scoop' interview with George Lincoln Rockwell. Mr. Andrew Fountaine, president of the British National Party who held a rally on his 5,000 acre estate in Norfolk said: "Our membership in the last fortnight has gone up by 140 people" . . . previously, he said the party had been static because "we had the burden of Mr. Jordan on our shoulders". Two youths were arrested at a Union Movement meeting at Southend. The organisers of the meeting was the leader of the Southend group, which has seven members. He had previously informed the local Jewish community that there would be no anti-racial speeches. . . .

A NAZI GENERAL was sentenced in Nuremberg to life imprisonment for murder and incitement to murder in 1933. He was a key witness in the trials of leading war criminals, his son is now a naturalized American citizen serving with the American Army and his daughter is serving in the Red Cross. The *Guardian* reports that the Russian authorities have prevented nine out of twelve students at the only Jewish seminary in Russia from continuing their studies. Martin Luther King and three other leaders of the Negro de-segregation movement were convicted in Albany, Georgia of breaking city laws by holding prayer meetings. The court

suspended sentence of £70 fines and 60 days' imprisonment and placed them on probation. For six months Albany negroes have prayed occasionally outside the City Hall for justice and equality. They are then asked to move on by the police and those refusing so to do are arrested. Two hundred have been arrested so far for picketing restaurants and the city hall. The segregated Transport system has been forced to cease operations by a negro boycott. According to Murray Kempton in the *Spectator* among those picked up in the police sweep at City Hall was a nine-year-old negro boy called 'Freedom F. Freedom'

IN DUDLEY THE MAYOR found it impossible to attend the Jamaica Independence Day celebrations. "He declined before he was invited and before he knew the exact details" said Mr. Woodward, Welfare Officer of the Wolverhampton and District Citizens' Association. Mr. Woodward is planning to get members of his association to persuade their fellow West Indians to modify rowdy weekend parties and to tone down full-on radios which are a cause of complaint. . . .

TWO RUSSIANS WENT into space, but Dr. Soblen, convicted of giving information to the Soviet Union was unable to travel beyond the confines of Brixton Prison largely owing to technical hitches on the part of El Al, Israeli air lines. Dr. Soblen is now due for deportation against which he will appeal. The El Al spokesman says: "We are no longer directly concerned." Ben-Gurion has explained that the Act permitting every Jew to immigrate to Israel does not mean that. It has already been established that extradition laws are inapplicable to espionage. . . .

SEVENTY-NINE PEOPLE LOST their lives in Bank Holiday road accidents. Eighty-seven people were killed when the typhoon Opal hit Northern Formosa, forty-two people died in a fire in a tenement building in Kowloon, Hong Kong. Prince Philip, The Duke of Edinburgh, Continued on page 4

ANARCHY 18 is all about

Comprehensive Schools

The World-Wide General Strike A MINORITY MOVEMENT

never done a day's work in my life. You should strike because I say so." The New York Committee, in making periodic calls for a general strike, consciously distinguish between their *ostensible final* object, a coercive strike, and their *actual short-term* object, a thundering demonstration. And their January demonstration, small as it was in numbers, thundered at least loudly enough that the "official" Peace Movement has decided to join the next one,

It seems to me that political opinions do matter in regard to certain jobs. I have never understood why the Communist fellow-travellers have always complained so bitterly about being "screened" for jobs which have a direct bearing on war with Russia. I am perfectly prepared, as an Anarchist, to be rejected—out of pure political prejudice—for any position with the Metropolitan Police or the Prison Commissioners. It seems to me that the holding of libertarian views (even in the past) would disqualify one for being suitable for such a position. Nor do I even think it unreasonable if CND-ers found themselves excluded from any of the top scientific jobs, not because in this case they would be necessarily unsuitable, but it is quite clear what their employers would now or later expect of them.

This has nothing to do with free speech; the exercise of free speech merely reveals the unsuitability for certain positions whereas its non-exercise would not (witness the German Communist who became Nazi Germany's consul in Japan).

It may be argued, as it no doubt would be by the C.P. in the latter case, that in view of the nature of the employment, one should get into it and sabotage it. This, however, underlines the view that political opinions can make one unsuitable for certain jobs, and a Fascist or Neo-Nazi teacher would be incapable of doing his job because of his prejudices. The issues of ANARCHY on education clearly show how a teacher—whether Communist, Socialist or Tory—can do useful work when he leaves his political views behind (as he invariably does) and to the extent that he allows freedom in education. A Fascist cannot do this; and it is an idealisation of children to suggest that a race-hating master cannot cause distress among minorities in his class. One of the off-

with its more than 50,000 supporters!

Activists in this country have arrived independently at the idea of having a week of industrial activity. Pat Arrowsmith, at the first meeting of the new CND Council on July 22, proposed on behalf of the Merseyside CND TU Committee that the Council should initiate a "national CND Factory Week". (A watered-down version of the resolution was passed, but Canon Collins immediately told *The Times* there would be no industrial action, so Pat Arrowsmith and Michael Scott resigned).

A splendid idea. And how much more influence the week would have if it were not limited to national factories, if it were a week of individual and group activities of many kinds, in many countries, supported by flat-out international publicity.

The sit-down is losing its publicity value. The first few were well-reported

but the press is now losing interest, partly because sit-downs are old hat (people now sit down in protest against high rents and whatnot), partly because, for various reasons, recent sit-downs have been smaller. The massive September 9 sit-down will of course attract attention; but then activists in this country will need a new trick.

The So-Called World-Wide General Strike may be the trick they need.

The next strike is called for Monday, November 5 "through" Sunday, November 11. US election week may not be the most convenient time for action here, but the only way to achieve international co-ordination is for somewhere to respond to a call from somewhere else. (Of course there is no need for everyone to use the same name for the enterprise).

The New York Committee, or some of them, seem to think these periodic strike calls may lead to a real, coercive General Strike. I do not agree. And to join the minority strike I don't have to agree.

DONALD ROOM.

Garry Davis

The Editors, FREEDOM.

DEAR SIRS,

I see that the editors of FREEDOM, have not lost their ability (shared by editors all over the world) to take remarks out of context and attribute to those remarks meanings that were far from those intended.

Garry Davis did NOT set out to "make the headlines". He set out to do something about the drift to a final war and if the press chose to regard his activities as material for sensationalism, that must not be blamed on Garry Davis. He chose to "withdraw his support from the state" and the measure of his success was not that he filled the Vel d'Hiver with "20,000 people demanding his leadership", which he rejected, as I made plain in my review, but that stateless people were recognised as human beings. A not inconsiderable achievement!

Garry Davis did not set out to build up any personality, particularly his own. "The future is in your hands" he wrote, and this is the main theme of his book. Individual action, not leadership, was his idea, not words without deeds but words as well as deeds. The failure of his movement is the failure of his supporters, true. But Garry Davis did all that one man could. He made his life one of total commitment, without any intention of becoming a personality cult (flair for the dramatic gesture was my phrase not his) and his plea is essentially the same as mine and the writer of the editorial that occasioned this letter. WHAT ARE YOU PREPARED TO DO? Davis withdrew his support from the state, and in my opinion, and perhaps unwittingly on his part, he pointed the direction in which anarchists should begin to move. Who else is prepared to do the same. Personally I make excuses and I suspect that the editorial writers of FREEDOM do the same.

Finally may I point out that the correct title of Garry Davis's book is "My Country is the World". The title you printed over my review "My Country is My World", creates an unfortunate impression that is the very opposite of the one that Davis intended to convey. Yours, etc.

J. M. PILGRIM.

Our correspondent misses the point we tried to make; viz. that in spite of the outward success of the one-man campaign, when it comes to working for an idea there are very few people willing to even give their time.—EDITORS].

Miller's Mysticism

DEAR COMRADES,

The title "Air Conditioned Mysticism" given to my review of Henry Miller's book was not chosen by me. It rather suggests that I was poking fun at Miller's philosophy, which was not my intention. It only seemed odd that a book with such a title should in fact, apart from one or two sections, be so mild. Instead of another Orwell we have almost another Lin Yutang.

Miller's Taoist philosophy has a strong appeal to me. It is a surprising thing that he should have arrived at it after going through the hell of squalor and brutality described in his "Tropic" books, which I suppose are autobiographical more or less. Many men who have been through similar experiences would have been soured. Celine, a writer who is sometimes compared to Miller, who also had somewhat similar adventures, became a supporter of Fascism I believe. Perhaps it was his Taoism which enabled Miller to survive. If so it would rather suggest that his mysticism, however woolly, has an element of psychological truth. Yours fraternally, London, Aug. 13. ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

a currency we reject. The real struggle is the struggle for individuality, for a freedom which is not general and abstract, contingent upon a social transformation destined to take place in the indefinite future—but is personal and particular. We therefore have to make our war against the whole complex of authoritarian beliefs and practices perpetrated by both rulers and ruled, exploiters and exploited alike whereby patterns of domination and submission are both imposed and accepted. The impulse to liberty is an individual impulse—not the property of any social category. What hope there is for a free life lies with free individuals—with those who, realizing that anarchism is a force for liberation which individuals carry within themselves, make the kind of insurrection of which Stirner spoke. For me, the real division lies not between the mass and its rulers, but between those who believe in liberty and those who believe in authority, between the anarchists and the archists.

S. E. PARKER.

EMPLOYING FASCISTS

shoots of Nazism (and any form of race prejudice) is this making people unhappy and uncomfortable—quite regardless of their interest or non-interest in political systems—and one has only to look at the youngsters roaming through Europe nowadays, hitch-hiking or cycling, to realise how much unnecessary discomfort was caused before the war. Despite political tyranny in Eastern Europe, one does not find Czech boys being beaten up when wandering into Polish districts, and all that sort of thing, which was common in the twenties and thirties.

However, whilst disagreeing with the editorial comment on Colin Jordan, I must also disagree with M.D. of Ilford, who seems unaware that after all, in reality this phoney Nazi has not in fact been guilty of any such anti-semitic behaviour in his classroom as described, and a professed Fascist would in present circumstances probably avoid it much more so than the type of anti-Semite whom M.D. was unfortunate enough to encounter in his schooldays. What depresses me is that M.D. does not seem to realise why that schoolmaster was able to transform the classroom into "a place of adult hatred and bitterness"—it was not the schoolmaster's assaults on the Jewish children in his class but that they apparently tolerated this persecution. Unless M.D.'s schooldays were before the first world war, when sadistic schoolmasters had a much freer hand and working-class parents were totally inhibited from interfering, it seems incredible that neither the children rebelled nor the parents protested. It would be easy to give many instances from London where Jewish, or other

minority group, children fought back against a master of this mentality, which has got much rarer in the schools (partly for this very reason), but I would like to give M.D. one example from anti-semitic (and near-Fascist) Poland in 1929. A friend of mine at school near Lodz was also—in almost the same way as M.D.—"taken by the ears and banged against the wall" being taunted with her ancestry in the same way. This was the culmination of many such incidents—previously always against boys. On this occasion, the Jewish youths revolted, chased the master after school and threw him in the muddy stretch by the river. Incidentally, they were all flogged by their outraged parents, to whom the headmaster complained, for lack of respect, and also lectured by the Rabbi. (As most of them were Bundists and freethinkers, this latter did not trouble them overmuch).

I am not suggesting what could be done with Nazi teachers, but the point is that the Polish scholars were overjoyed with this incident, none of them liking the sadistic master, and the classroom was transformed into one of mutual friendship at a time when thousands of other classrooms in Poland were being transformed into hatred. It is a gloomy part of psychology that people hate the persecuted, and while I appreciate M.D.'s view that Fascists do not make good teachers, at the same time, all Anti-Semites do not have national press coverage of controversial activities, and if his children have their heads banged on the wall I hope he will teach them that even adults have vulnerable spots in their anatomy, too.

INTERNATIONALIST.

Revolution-Mass or Individual?

diminish.

I believe that this subjection of the individual to the whole must occur in all undertakings involving large numbers of people—unless they are purely temporary and spontaneous in character. And I cannot conceive of any mass movement aiming at radically transforming society as being anything but long-term and hence fraught with the dangers I have mentioned.

But if I do not accept mass revolution as the path to freedom, what do I suggest? Well, I counterpoise the concept of individual insurrection against that of social—that is, mass—revolution. The difference between these two attitudes was clearly outlined by Max Stirner in his book "The Ego and its Own", and I make no apologies for quoting it here:

"Revolution and insurrection must not be looked upon as synonymous. The former consists in an overturning of conditions, of the established condition or status, the State or society, and is accordingly a political or social act; the latter has indeed for its unavoidable consequence a transformation of circumstances, yet does not start from it but from men's discontent with themselves, is not an armed rising, but a rising of individuals, a getting up, without regard to the arrangements that spring from it. The Revolution aimed at new arrangements, insurrection leads us no longer to let ourselves be arranged, but to arrange ourselves, and sets not glittering hopes on 'institutions'. It is not a fight against the established, since, if it prospers, the established collapses of itself; it is only a working form of me out of the established. If I leave the established, it is dead and passes into decay. Now, as my object is not the overthrow of the established, but my elevation about it, my purpose and deed are not

political or social but (as directed to myself and my ownness alone) an egoistic purpose and deed.

"The revolution commands one to make arrangements; the insurrection demands that he rises or exalts himself."

It seems to me that such an attitude is far more compatible with the anarchist conception of self-liberation, of self-ownership, than the socio-political myth of the "revolutionary masses", or the possibility of their organization without the creation of an oligarchy. If one may talk of an anarchist revolution at all, it is only in terms of a continuing process of individual insurrection in which free relationships are a product of individual action, and agreements are made on an inter-individual level without mediators or the intervention of authority in any shape or form. Such a view, I know, is far removed from the apocalyptic vision which animates many of our predecessors, or the modified populism that is still current in some libertarian circles. It holds out no certain hope of a free society just over the horizon. But it is more rooted in our reality and our condition and, therefore, less likely to prove a source of disillusionment and capitulation than that idolatrous dream which invests social abstractions with the qualities of saviours.

I realize that I have but scratched the surface of some complex problems, but perhaps the questions I have raised may be more useful than any blueprinted answer could have been. Let me conclude in this way:

The basic anarchist struggle, as I see it, is not to be found in that of the working class and the capitalist class. They are two sides of the same coin of

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Indeed, it seems to be an inevitable tendency in all organizations that, once they grow beyond small groups based on affinities and face-to-face decisions, the seeds of oligarchy and uniformity are sown and the raising of hands at the word of command becomes a logical conclusion. The larger and more established the organization becomes and the actual decision-taking—as opposed to mere ratification of decisions taken—becomes concentrated into the hands of committees and "councils of co-ordination", the more these seeds take root and flower into the leaders and the led, the élite and the mass, whatever formal constitutions may state.

Not even revolutionary syndicalist organizations have escaped from this "iron law" of oligarchy with its inevitable throwing up of a bureaucracy, of a strata of "leading militants" as they were called in the C.N.T.

Again, even specifically anarchist organizations have foreshadowed this kind of subordination of the individual to the collectivity and thus to the manipulators of the collectivity. In the statement of the "Organization Basis" of the A.F.B., issued in 1945, we not only find that, if unanimity cannot be achieved, majority opinions become the "decision of the organization", but that "The most important duty" of the member "is to carry out the decisions of the organization irrespective of personal convenience and feeling." Although this is immediately followed by the statement that "The basic right is to partake in all decisions and to freely express their point of view or raise questions before the organization," it does not require much imagination to visualize that as this kind of organisation grew in size the "duties" of the member would swell and his "rights" correspondingly

THE idea of a world general strike against the Cold War, this year, is impractical to the point of assinineity. A true general strike would involve a majority of people; and if a majority were sufficiently opposed to weapons to go on strike about them, the government might well reflect their attitude anyhow.

Meanwhile the anti-war minority must seek for some effective minority action, or some rapid means of increasing their number.

When I was invited to take part in a "World Wide General Strike for Peace, Monday, Jan. 29 through Sunday Feb. 4" (by means of a printed poster which arrived from New York on Saturday, Feb. 3), I thought it must have come from a group of naïve middle-class youngsters, who had just noticed how powerful the workers are, and had not yet discovered that the workers were as immobile as any other group. I showed the poster to a few friends, and we all had a good laugh; then I threw it in the dustbin.

Not until June, when Julian Beck and Judith Malina turned up and spoke to our off-centre discussion group, did I realise that the (so-called) World Wide General Strike for Peace is a minority proposal, an activist publicity gimmick akin to the Committee of 100 sit-downs.

The majority of the 10,000 who stopped work in the States in January were self-employed, in trades which had nothing to do with weapons. But they put posters up, saying "This establishment is closed during the General Strike for Peace", making the maximum impact on their customers and the press. Housewives informed suppliers that they weren't buying anything for a week (one woman stretched a point and visited eight dry-cleaning shops).

A few industrial workers stopped work for one day during the week, or for a couple of hours. And the organisers of the "strike" were especially grateful to them because they were understandably embarrassed about approaching workers: "I'm an actor. I've

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REDUNDANCY & REVOLUTION

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 people. Because it is a fact that the physical barriers which literally isolated man from man for most of his history have been broken down by the growth of modern communications, it is no longer possible to think of human needs in terms of the tribe, or the village, or the province or the nation. Knowledge of the conditions in the world around us, should make us aware, on the one hand, of the uneven distribution of natural resources and population, and on the other, conscious of the injustice of gearing national production to the satisfaction of the particular needs of a nation only. Human needs are the needs of mankind, and if we believe that all children born into this world have an equal right to the means of life then we can no longer think in terms of national frontiers and production for profit. We are obliged to think of how to harness all the natural resources to provide all mankind with the necessities of life. Today half the world starves because the other half neither utilises its natural resources to the full nor allows those who need it access to it. Professor Dudley Stamp in "Our Undeveloped

World" (London 1953) has shown that the area of the world at present cultivated could support, "if fully farmed by known best methods, at least 3,000 million people on an adequate nutritional standard". And he adds:

If the lands at present unused or inadequately used could be brought into production on the same basis, potential world population climbs to over the 10,000 million mark.

At the same time science is adding constantly to the sum of human knowledge, and there is every reason to expect advances which will simplify the problems of feeding the human race—if only man can overcome the barriers he himself has erected between the nations.

Today world needs are not for more motor cars, steel plants, and air lines, but for more food. Yet in almost every country of the world today the acreage under cultivation is shrinking, and people are leaving the land for industry and . . . eventually, "redundancy"! Today every country should be utilising every acre of land to produce more food and frontiers should be broken down to allow the hungry millions to settle on the uncultivated acres of the N. American continent, of Russia, Argentina and Australia.

The TUC's vested interest

MALATESTA wrote in 1920:
 We must produce, say the government and the bourgeoisie.
 We must produce, say the reformists.
 We must produce, we anarchists also say.
 But produce for whom? and what? And for what reasons is not enough produced?
 Some say that one cannot make the revolution, because there is a shortage of production and we would risk dying of hunger.
 We say that we must make the revolution in order to produce, and in order to prevent the majority of the people from living in a state of chronic hunger.

Today we know that science plus a full utilisation of the land could ensure what Professor Stamp calls an "adequate nutritional standard" for all mankind. But to produce "we must make the revolution". But we cannot make the social revolution until enough people have experienced a revolution in their ways of thinking and acting. When workers reject "redundancy" not by demanding to remain in their jobs as before but campaigning to reduce the working week, or better still, demanding that unhealthy and dangerous industries such as coal mining should be abolished and that every man, woman and child has a right to the means of life, they will be taking the first steps in the direction of the revolution Malatesta talks about, which will ensure that production will be adequate to satisfy all human needs. The danger today is that in spite of widespread dissatisfaction and frustration among working people in the "prosperous" as well as the "underdeveloped" countries the revolutionary spirit is lacking or at most is a negative one, and that before the discontent can be crystallised into a desire for action and responsibility the ruling classes will take over the initiative of solving this major contradiction of the capitalist system of production and distribution their way.

Even the Trades Union Congress

in its recent discussions with the Government over the proposed National Incomes Commission has shown an unusual toughness and outspokenness which indicates that it is aware of the dangers to its own status of allowing the government to take all the initiative. For instance the TUC statement demands "Social justice", by which it means a more or less drastic redistribution of wealth;

Stable prices, which it sees (with all the implications that this has for profit margins and dividends) as the chicken that comes before the egg of wage restraint; and

An expanding economy.
 And the General Secretary, Mr. Woodcock, accused Ministers of "ignorance" of what was involved in wage negotiations, and added that it was "extraordinarily difficult" to determine what was the national interest in "this very unequal society." The reason that Government and union spokesmen often seem to be speaking different languages about wages is that the Pavlovian reaction of most Ministers to the word would be "inflation", while a TUC man would immediately murmur "equality".

But the TUC will never make the revolution. They will seek better conditions for their members, better schemes for those dumped on the slag heaps of redundancy but never the revolution which in sweeping away the capitalist system will automatically relieve the workers from the need for the Trade Union hierarchy. In a word, for the T.U. leaders revolution means redundancy and like the miners and railwaymen today, they will resist it with all their might!

Obviously workers must fight to keep their jobs so long as the pay packet is the guarantee for the livelihood of themselves and their dependants. But unless at the same time, they are fighting for the abolition of the pay packet, they are condemning themselves to the insecurity of dependence on a boss who is, first and foremost, interested in making profits, and in maintaining the *status quo*.

(A Talk Delivered At The Summer School, 1962).

NO-ONE acquainted with radical literature in general—and anarchist literature in particular—can fail to be struck by the frequency with which appeal is made to the "people", the "workers", or the "masses". In the nineteenth century and in the first part of the twentieth, revolutionaries based their hopes on the impoverished masses rising in revolt against those who ground their faces and it was confidently expected that the social revolution was not only inevitable, but just around the corner. "The social revolution is at the door", proclaimed Kropotkin, "it stands before us at the end of this century," "it will be here in a few years" and so forth. Louise Michel and many others wrote plays, novels and poems in which they depicted in glowing language the victorious workers triumphing over Capital and State and establishing the reign of freedom and equality. The masses were thought to be just waiting for the Word and when they were told it the apocalypse would be at hand and the kingdom of heaven created on earth.

Lured by this image of the masses as the key to a free society, anarchists have, for a hundred years or more, preached their message to the "workers." Who knows what energy, ingenuity, passion, devotion, have gone into this task? And the results? They are plain to all who care to see—to those, that is, to say, who have freed themselves from the mirages and myths of the nineteenth century.

How many workers in this country, for example, are anarchists or even genuine sympathisers? Anarchist papers of one kind or another have been published here for some eighty years. What is the circulation of FREEDOM, of ANARCHY, of World Labour News of Direct Action in proletarian circles? If we issued a call for a general strike against the clear and annihilating threat of nuclear war, how many workers would respond? To ask these questions is to answer them. Indeed, the readership survey of FREEDOM showed that the younger its readers the less likely they were to be workers. If these figures mean anything at all it is that workers are becoming less and less interested in anarchist ideas, and that the dreams of such people as Bakunin and Kropotkin were founded on nothing more substantial than the populist myth so fashionable amongst the Russian intelligentsia of their time.

The belief that the working class, because it is at or near the bottom of the hierarchy of economic privilege, will therefore be more responsive to anarchism than other social classes can, in the light of history, only be sustained by what Julius Braunthal once called: "The mystic cult of the Masses, who always feel the right way, but always act the wrong way."

Workers not only believe in and support the coercive and punitive institutions of the State—they also staff them. They provide the bulk of the personnel of the armed forces and of the police and prison services; they build the barracks and the prisons in which they know they can be penned; they make the bombs and the guns and seemingly do not care that they are thus fashioning the instruments for their own oppression and destruction.

Mass revolutionaries try to explain away these things by asserting that the workers do not understand their "true" interests, that they are ignorant and need to be enlightened. It is here that the difference becomes apparent between the "ideal" and the "real" worker.

The Anarchist Summer School 1962

The fourteenth Anarchist Summer School run by the London Federation of Anarchists (formerly L.A.G.) passed off without unseemly incidents, the only fights being a contest between a Free School product and a 'self-regulated' child, in which victory was allocated in moral and physical proportions. Our American visitors came in quite legally and departed by orthodox means. There was no rabble-rousing, two thought-provoking lectures were given, one by Syd Parker (which will be published in FREEDOM) and one by Albert Melter; Nicolas Walter was unable to be present, but the gap was filled by a discussion on "Violence and Non-Violence".

About forty people were present, a contingent from Glasgow was unable to attend, and there was one cancellation because of a broken leg, and one be-

Revolution-Mass or Individual?

What the ideal worker wants is a chance to overthrow his masters. What the real worker wants varies: some want to be capitalists, some want to win the pools, to be good Christians, some to become members of the professional classes, etc. "What the workers want" is, in fact, what the revolutionary believes they *should* want. To put it another way, the revolutionary has certain interests which he thinks should be the workers' interests also. Since the bulk of the workers usually show no inclination to identify themselves with these interests, he has to draw this distinction between the interests they manifest and their "true" interests. The reality has to be cloaked by the dream.

But, it may be said, haven't the masses risen in revolt in the past? Haven't the workers been known to occupy the factories and the peasants to seize the land?

It is true that now and then some workers have rebelled against a particular government or a particular set of bosses. It is also true that large numbers of them have fought to get higher wages, better working conditions, or to defend trades unionism. But they have never, as a whole, wished to *do away* with rulers, or *abolish* their economic servitude.

On the contrary, if their actions have overthrown one government, they have accepted its successors. And if they have battled against their bosses it has not been for any really revolutionary object—as anarchists understand "revolutionary"—but to make their conditions *less* oppressive, to induce their bosses to be *less* hard, to *reduce* the hours spent in wage slavery. Now, do not misunderstand me. I do not say that they are *wrong* to act in this way. As a worker myself, I am all for shorter hours and more wages. But I fail to see why these activities should be considered anarchistic, or that there is any intrinsic connection between them and the struggle for self-liberation, for individual autonomy, that, to me, is the essence of anarchism.

It seems to me that those who have correctly diagnosed that the workers are exploited by capitalists and that an antagonism exists as a result—the worker trying to work less for more money and the capitalist trying to pay less for more work—have confused this fact with that *theory* of the class struggle which, without any real evidence, supposes that it will inevitably lead to the creation of a classless society.

But even if the "mystic cult of the Masses" were to turn out to be based on reality and mass revolution became the order of the day, I would question if anarchism could be realized by mass action. In his book, "The Psychology of the Masses", Andre Joussain writes:

"The most complicated operations of the intelligence cannot be carried out by all at the same time and in the same manner; the simplest can. You may be able to make a large number of men execute the same movement at the same time, such as raising their arms at the word of command; but if you require

a series of very complicated and extremely exact movements you must renounce the attempt at unity and let each one take his time, choose his means and get on as best he can. One could hardly expect a hundred men to be capable of disentangling the Gordian knot if they were all obliged to keep time with one another. Now, to form an opinion on questions as complex as political, economic, financial and social problems, is decidedly to undo the Gordian knot, and one can only do it by a series of very personal reflexions. It follows that, in masses as in crowds, the most sketchy ideas and the most primitive instincts predominate: whatever is mechanical or instinctive in our mental or affective functioning will overwhelm thought and considered voluntary activity; association of ideas will be more powerful than reason, spontaneous imagination than rational and constructive imagination, blind faith than critical intelligence, and emotion and passion will form a barrier to self-possession."

(Quoted by Doris Langley More in "The Vulgar Heart").

One need not accept all of Joussain's juxtapositions to see the point he is trying to make: that action in the mass overwhelms individual judgment and denies individual autonomy. To make a mass of men execute the same movement at a word of command may be the desire of the communist, the fascist, or the totalitarian democrat, but it is hardly in keeping with individual liberty.

Not only this, but every organization of the masses or any large body of people has invariably produced a situation in which there is the mass-man and the boss-man, the organized and the organizers, with the consequence of crushing individual initiative and will.

Continued on page 2

We must take back our consent

(A copy of the letter delivered to the Russian Embassy on the evening of Monday, August 6th, 1962.)

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR,

On August 6th, 1945 two atomic bombs were dropped on the defenceless people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The end of World War II was to signify the beginning of a new world where war would be forgotten.

Exactly sixteen years later your government commenced on a new series of nuclear tests—more deaths, more mutilations, more misery and suffering. You do this in the name of justice and freedom; so do the Americans, but it makes no difference if the Strontium calls us "buddy" or "tovarich"; it makes no difference if the two-headed monsters of the future live under capitalism or communism.

The four of us are young. At the time of Hiroshima our ages ranged from six months to four years. Our lives are what interest us as we alone can live them, and it is a stupid thing that we should have to appeal to a distant government that we be allowed to live our lives to the full. Richard and Rae Wallace have a child, just ten months old. Fortunately he is normal, but, as your tests continue, we can't tell how his children will be born, if indeed, he is allowed to live that long.

It seems useless to ask you, sir, to do anything. Your humanity has been appealed to before—with no result. Now, even if the rest of our country's population do not join us, we must take from you, or any other, government the consent by which they assume the right to gamble with our lives.

Signed,
 RICHARD WALLACE.
 MARTIN SMALL.
 BARRY WALKER.
 RAE WALLACE.

cause of illness. It seemed at times that children were in a majority at the camp but this was an illusion, nevertheless, the camp has increasingly become a family affair—and a 'free family' at that.

Special thanks are again due to Mary Stevenson for organizing and catering and to her numerous helpers, also to Alan and Ann Albon for use of the field and cowshed (which a group from L.F.A. had converted into a kitchen—next year they hope to repair the roof!)

The rain on August Monday washed out plans for a poster picket in Hailsham and on the Hailsham-Eastbourne Road but theory most fittingly culminated in action, when six campers left for London and handed in protests against tests at the Russian Embassy. Two of them sat down in the porch and were removed by British police after high-level consultations. J.R.

Wage equality only transitional

DEAR COMRADES,

I was interested in A. L. Buck's letter (FREEDOM, August 4) about "Solidarity". In our previous letters, Eric Morse and I were not protesting at the exploration and discussion of genuine differences between us—of which there are quite a few—but at the uninformed and rather stupid comments in the original FREEDOM editorial. These comments had no relation to our real ideas. A. L. Buck's letter however has the merit of discussing a point of view which we actually hold.

Yes, 'The Meaning of Socialism' does put forward the idea of equal wages. In several pamphlets on industrial questions, I have myself called for a struggle now for the equalisation of wages between workers. We feel this strengthens solidarity and makes it more difficult for employers to pit one section against another.

Our reason for putting forward the idea of equal wages in the future is almost an 'anarchist' one. We feel it will be quite a while before the future Anarchist/Communist society achieves an abundance in everything (i.e. the wherewithals for the satisfaction of all social needs for everyone). We think that in the meantime a system of priorities will probably have to be accepted. To some travel will be at the top of such a list. To others it may be rare stamps. Or any number of other things. Who will decide what and how much each individual shall consume? We feel that equal wages—with all its imperfections—would at least allow the individual to decide his own priorities.

In a fully free society the wages system would not of course exist. But in a society where there is not yet abundance will the sacred cow of 'immediate abolition of the wages system' mean more freedom . . . or less? I want freedom, not a mad scramble or regimentation.

Is not the real issue between *Solidarity* and comrade Buck how long such a 'transitional' society may last? And how on earth can we decide this now? We can only assure FREEDOM readers that if the economic basis for the aboli-

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

tion of wages exists *Solidarity* will not be found opposing it.

Fraternally,
London, Aug. 4. KEN WELLER.

Everyman III and Adventure

DEAR COMRADES,

FREEDOM's editorial on "Everyman III" seems to me to strike a rather sour note. A schoolboy's prank? Well, surely there is in most people a romantic streak which finds satisfaction in such things? I agree that day to day propagation of our ideas is important, but cannot we do both this and have our stunts (if you like to call them that) as well? There are many paths to the same summit.

Some years ago, in FREEDOM, a contributor accused me, with some justification I now believe, of being "unadventurous". In my ideas of a future society I stressed a "well integrated community life and lots of loving", but failed to take into account another side of human nature. It seems to me now that he was right. People have a need for the colourful, the exciting, the adventurous. The idea of an ocean voyage has an appeal that no amount of good work in Birmingham will ever have. Maybe it's a pity, but so it is.

There is of course another reason why this expedition deserves support. We are always being accused of restricting our activities to "free" countries, and not going to the totalitarian ones. Everything should be done to correct this impression.

Yours fraternally,
London, Aug. 13. ARTHUR W. ULOTH.
[We are not denying that the public is more interested in "adventure" than in propaganda. It does not follow however that if you provide them with an adventure story you will be putting over propaganda at the same time. Our argument is that you won't; or that the little you will do will be ephemeral and expensive.—EDITORS].

Neutralism on the Common Market

Oh dear that Editorial we! Have we Anarchists always opposed the Common Market? Curiously the ones I have talked to have all either: considered it as a matter of irrelevance to an Anarchist (as since it will mean greater exploitation if we go in, and—given the continuance of Capitalism—starvation if we don't; it is unpleasant both ways); or—as for instance Ken Morse—incline to support it on the grounds that this inevitable piece of Capitalist rationalisation will facilitate combination against Capitalism. My own feelings are that while I tend to oppose it, I am neither prepared to align myself with Beaverbrook or the CP and as these are the main stems of the opposition I prefer to remain neutral.

Krishnan Kumar tells us that the C of 100 has not considered that the State will grow more oppressive as the movement grows and becomes more revolutionary. An interesting bit of information which I fear I find it hard to believe; partly since it is some four years since I heard a speaker on a DAC platform say that we would be able to consider that we were getting somewhere when the Government starts building Concentration Camps, and partly since much of the theoretical analysis that has gone with the DAC and the C of 100 has been based on the experience of the Negro Integration Movement, and it has frequently been stressed in "Peace News" and elsewhere that in India and in the Southern States of the USA, precisely this did happen.

Yours fraternally,
London, Aug. 4. LAURENS OTTER.

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.

Positive libertarianism wanted in Cambridge

In the argument which continues to rage in the columns of FREEDOM between those who advocate an unmitigated practice of non-violence and those who defer to what they consider the practical necessity of a minimum of force, a shared assumption heretofore has been that the state, and the power élite generally, is an enemy to be vanquished or overcome by one means or another. Now enters Krishan Kumar (FREEDOM, August 4th), to tell us that what we really need is to "have enforced on ourselves, a law against violence". One can only suppose that despite Kumar's approval of Lenin's statement that "there must be no police, no bureaucrats that stand above the people; there must be no standing army, only the people universally armed", in practice Kumar, like Lenin, would have to employ police, bureaucrats and standing army to enforce his law. In the end this legal negation of anarchism, in the name of anarchism, leads Kumar to his vigorous approval of similar negations by Kropotkin and Rocker, who gave their support to the allied governments of 1914 and 1939, respectively.

It is unfortunate that organised "anarchism" has been brought to Cambridge recently principally under the banner of this crackpot legalism (mind you, Krishan is a likeable enough chap personally). The original large and very enthusiastic response to the new anarchist club last winter has dwindled to a pathetic handful of supporters, hardly representative of the large body of

libertarian opinion at the university. It can hardly be expected, for example, that a form of anarchism which stakes its all on the passing of a law should be sympathetic to, or continue to elicit sympathy from, the practising anarchists in the Committee of 100. It is to be hoped that in the future other more serious versions of current libertarian thought will manifest themselves more fully in the Cambridge anarchist club.

Returning to the controversy of non-violence, I think that Holley Cantine has advanced the level of the argument by pointing out that employment of non-violent tactics need not be "based on the assumption that governments can be influenced by love and reason". In fact, there are many Committee of 100 members and supporters who adhere to the practice of non-violence without making any such assumption. The argument should be continued with this fact in mind.

Cambridge, Aug. 7. NORMAN EPSTEIN.

The ruling passion within the self

When you suggest "revolutionaries" be "prepared on principle to use violence" (June 16, 1962), it sounds precariously close to the Pentagon argument: We do want Peace, but should at any time be ready for war—which little statement gives rise to the whole H-bomb mentality.

But with non-violence only, you ask, what ruling group can be dislodged?

Maybe none, maybe some—I don't know. But at least the ruling passion within the self might be dislodged—and I do mean *ruling*—what we pick up as of the cradle—the (however subtle) bent

for violence, the anger, hatred . . .

To conquer the self—that, it seems to me, ought to be the first order of business, or at least the simultaneous one—the compulsively violence-oriented self. And what goes with this conquest—to love your enemies. Perhaps sentimental or next to impossible. But I think it is the crux.

Anyway, who was it that said "the more violence, the less revolution?"

Sincerely,
Detroit, July 29. SAM COHEN.

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 19 S.F.
The Individual and Politics

AUG 25 Chris Farley
Moscow and the Disarmament Congress

SEPT 1 Brains Trust

Hyde Park Meetings

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

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

Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortia Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).
Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m.
3rd Tuesday at Brian and Doris Lelie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

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OUT OF THIS WORLD

Continued from page 1

missed being hit by about three inches (*Daily Sketch*), one foot (*Daily Telegraph*), by inches (*The Guardian*), by the 30-foot (*Guardian*), 25-foot (*Telegraph*) long (*Daily Sketch*) wooden boom of a crane which was lifting his yacht "Coweslip" out of the water after it had sunk in a race. Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy was merely ducked after a few hundred yards water-skiing at Ravello. The sixth fleet is reported to have lowered an anti-submarine net against sharks but there have been no precautions against photographers. . . .

MARYLIN MONROE DIED at the age of 36, leaving the world sadder if only for a wiggle. Captain David Jones died in Swansea aged 92. He returned to sea

Money Matters

UNHAPPILY!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT AUGUST 10th, 1962

WEEKS 31 & 32	
EXPENSES: 32 Weeks at £70	£2,240
INCOME:	
Sales & Sub. Renewals	£
Weeks 1-30	1,148
Weeks 31 & 32	28
	1,176
New Subscriptions:	
Weeks 1-30 (225)	252
Weeks 31 & 32 (5)	7
	259
	1,435
	DEFICIT £805

DEFICIT FUND

Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Glasgow: J.H.* 9/-; Wellington: G.B. 6/6; Woodford Bridge: J.S. 10/-; London: S.B. £1; Watford: Anon. £1; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/6; Hounslow: L.* 2/6; Manchester: J.D.McE. 7/-; New York: A.S. 14/6; London: B.S. 1/6; New York: B. & P.C. £4/5/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Shoreham: M. & D. 2/6; Hailsham: L.S. 1/-; Southend: P.O.* 5/-; Detroit: Libertarian Group, per J.S. £5/5/-; St. Helena: S.S. 15/-; Scarborough: C.M. £1; Blethley: R.S. 2/6; Alberta: W.G.* 6/5; Needham, Mass.: Gruppo Libertario (per L.T.) £7/14/-; Leeds: G.L. 2/6; Rensselaer, N.Y.: G.T. £3/10/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* £4; Lagos: O.H. 2/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Bilston: J.W.P. 3/-; Shoreham: M. & D.* 2/6; Hounslow: L.* 2/6; London: M.M. 5/-; Little Sampford: A.R. £5; London: C.W.* £7/17/6; Surrey: F.B.* 10/-.

TOTAL 47 1 5
Previously acknowledged 738 19 10

1962 TOTAL TO DATE £786 1 3

*Denotes regular contributors.

at 65, running the Franco blockade with 1,000 tons of potatoes. He continued running the blockade through the Civil War, and built up a fleet of five ships. . . .

AN AMERICAN COUPLE visiting relatives at Barnoldswick cut short their holiday because everyone was too busy watching 'Coronation Street' on television to go out. "And if they weren't watching it, they were talking about the programme". One of their hosts said, "Every word they have said is true. I am not ashamed to admit it. 'Coronation Street' rules my life, and I would not miss a programme for anybody." A vicar at Ilkerton cutting down ivy with a sickle, cut the relay radio cable and put 200 wireless receivers out of action for twenty-four hours. He said, "The listeners were released and given another two hours to choose for themselves something to do. Alas, unable to delight in such freedom, their limbs so hopelessly drugged from years of watching and listening, their only instinct was to telephone at once to headquarters. They reported that the "drug's" main supply had been cut and must be restored immediately. A man at Marlborough Street magistrates' court was charged with stealing at £7 10s. book from a bookshop. He had been released from prison in May after twelve months' sentence for stealing books. He said, "When I drink, a sort of craving for books, particularly works on archaeology comes over me." In a West London Court the magistrate sentenced a 22-year-old secretary, a registered drug addict to six months for possessing Indian hemp. The magistrate said, "I have never felt able to deal with the use or possession of dangerous drugs lightly because I thought years ago and still think it is a thing which, if allowed to spread, rots the community." At Clerkenwell Court eleven people were charged with being in possession of a dangerous drug, Indian hemp, without authority. Six were remanded in custody, one was sent to prison for six months, three were fined ten, fifteen and twenty pounds respectively. The defence council for one stated that he had been led astray. He could not be described as a drug addict. He had become interested in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and had gone on marches. The magistrate said, "It is a pity some of them do not join the campaign for personal cleanliness." After falling sales due to cancer warnings, the Imperial Tobacco Company introduced gift-coupon schemes, another cigarette firm is giving a chance of a football pools win with each packet whilst a third is knocking a penny off the packet, whilst making a 'marginal shading in the length of the cigarette'

TWELVE TRISTAN DA CUNHA islanders left Southampton to study the prospects for a general return to the Island. . . .

JOHN QUIXOTE.

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