

FREEDOM

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'It is preoccupation with possession, more than anything else, that prevents men from living freely and nobly.'

BERTRAND RUSSELL

ANARCHIST BALL

25th JAN

Fulham Town Hall

SWINGIN'

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

Strike at the Roots of War!

AT the Oxford Conference of non-aligned organisations working for nuclear and general disarmament one of the delegates from the United States, Dr. Homer Jack who is "Executive Director of the United States National Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy" made the following realistic observations

All of the activities of all the organisations now represented at this conference did not prevent the Cuban crises—and will not prevent a full-scale nuclear war. That is why something more—some new ideas, some new international organisations—is necessary. And this something more is terribly urgent.

And the speaker—according to the *Peace News* report of the conference—urged that delegates should spend some portion of their time on substance "not so much denouncing war or projecting organisational plans, as evaluating the world situation and deciding what kinds of negotiations and initiatives are needed to arrest quickly the obvious drift towards World War III".

Full reports of the debates that followed are not yet available, but the *Peace News* summary refers to A. J. Muste's contribution "as one of the few people who rose above this rather arid debate when he said that in the present world crisis there are fundamental reasons for supposing that existing solutions of disarmament by negotiations are inadequate, and that a new factor—of mass popular actions against governments—needs to be introduced to revolutionise the situation". And the report adds that "this appeal evoked a powerful response from all sections of the conference", even if the discussion that followed on policy "produced no real concrete result".

★

THE fundamental weakness of the pacifist movement in general and the nuclear disarmament movement in particular, is their faith in government and in the practical possibility of nuclear or general disarmament in a world divided by national frontiers and, within the national frontiers, by economic and social classes, as a first step. They seem to refuse to recognise that war is not an end in itself but simply a means, one of many, which the privileged minority within the nation or in society as a whole resort to in order to defend or to further their power and privileges. If one recognises this as an historical fact, it follows, we think, that disarmament

is the last step any government would take. And before such a situation could be reached there would be no government in office to take such a decision! For war will be abolished only when the people destroy the system of privilege, political and economic, which divides them and provides the *raison d'être* of government. In other words, war will be abolished only when government becomes superfluous. Conversely, so long as governments exist, so long as a majority of the people believe in the necessity for government, the complicated machinery of force, of which war is one of the many buttons that can be pushed when the "necessity" arises, the threat of war cannot be eliminated by sit-downs, petitions or mass demonstrations by well-meaning, peace-loving citizens-of-the-world.

New-look pacifists, it would seem, are obsessed with the problem of war (some specialise only in "nuclear war", and are prepared to forget conventional warfare, rather like the "abolitionists" of the death penalty who sigh with relief every time a murderer is saved from the

rope and close their eyes to the fact that he can as the alternative, spend the rest of his "life" in prison!) and not with the daily violence of government, if one is to judge by the complete lack of response in the correspondence columns of *Peace News* to the following passages in an interview between John Papworth and the President of Tanganyika, Dr. Julius Nyerere (*P.N.*, Dec. 21, 1962):

Papworth: Foreign observers are puzzled by the recent passing of the Preventive Detention Act which enables the government to imprison people without trial. In your view of the massive popularity enjoyed by the government and the ruling party (TANU), as evidenced by the enormous majority vote which you yourself received in the presidential election, why was this step regarded as necessary?
Nyerere: Your question is not properly posed. It tends to suggest a particular conclusion which takes no account of particular circumstances. Of course a government must decide whether power to detain without the ordinary process of law should be in its hands or not. What sort of government ought to have this power? This cannot be determined by whether the government is popular or not; it is a necessary power and any government must have it. The real ques-

tion is "When do you use it?" Some governments use it in time of war, as Britain used regulation 18b when fighting Hitler. In exceptional times the government has to decide when a particular individual is a danger to the nation. In deciding the conditions which justify this power we in Tanganyika must be the judge of our own circumstances. . . . Primarily the Act is concerned with our national security. We have 400 miles of coast, but we have no navy and no air force. We are bordered by Kenya, Uganda, Ruanda, Urundi, the Congo (including Katanga), N. Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Mozambique. Some of these countries are friendly, others are in an unsettled condition. . . . As the government, we have a responsibility to our people for their security. A small group can do enormous harm, and a Congo situation arising from foreign interference could easily be repeated here. We have a police force of about 5,000 and an army of 1,100, and in an emergency the government would have to rely solely on these numbers. You just cannot do it with such a small force. . . .

Our security rests on our own small forces; we have no money for more, but we can legislate and use other measures quickly. "But power could be used to suppress political opponents," you will say, as though the argument on the bad use of a law is an argument against the use of a law, any law. The government

has judged this bill to be necessary in the light of our circumstances here. With the passage of time perhaps traditions will develop which will enable us to dispense with it.

Neither Papworth nor *Peace News* challenged the President's views yet are not the latter, at least, proposing to achieve disarmament by non-violent action? Why then did they not seek to question and to probe Dr. Nyerere's argument that the Preventive Detention Act is "a necessary power and any government must have it" (our italicised "any" because it is an admission that "popular" or "unpopular" all governments rely on force to implement their policies)? Why did they not criticize the President when he bemoaned the fact that he had such a small police force and army? Why did they not remind him when he declared that "our security rests on our small forces" that "love" was the real basis of "security"? Dr. Nyerere has our sympathy: it's an uphill task for a handful of men to run the lives of millions of others without adequate force to coerce, to control, to regiment them to respond to orders like good soldiers or robots. Dr. Nyerere clothes the wolf of naked force in the sheep's-clothing of law, and neither Papworth nor *Peace News* can even work up a bleat of protest!

We "sympathise" with Dr. Nyerere and all the other "Doctors" (mainly of Law!) whose grip on the pulse of Africa's hungry millions is with the connivance of the former colonial powers, only because we are realists. And because we are realists and anarchists we oppose them, and denounce them as vigorously as we denounced the colonialists who have exploited Africa up to now.

Believers in Revolutionary Government had (or should have had) their lesson with Russia and Spain; the hopefuls in Nationalism got a basinful with India, and are getting second-helpings with Africa. What are these believers in good-as-opposed-to-bad-government waiting for? Confirmation of their faith in government from outer-space, Castro or Chou-en-Lei? The next elections? The emergence of the Liberal or Fellowship parties? Another Bertrand Russell?

Work-to-rule by Power Men

THE unofficial work-to-rule by power workers has gained further support this week. In the north east of England, 300 men at Dunston, near Newcastle and 50 men, of a staff of 300, at Blyth power stations have joined in. Workers at stations in South Wales have also given their support and more power stations in the London area are affected.

At Tilbury, power station workers came out on unofficial strike in solidarity with nine men who had been suspended for "refusing to carry out their normal duties". They later returned after the nine men had been re-instated by the management.

This last week, the work-to-rule has really taken effect. Men in the Power Industry have for a long time suffered low basic wages, with overtime as the only means of making ends meet. Overtime in this industry and in others, has been relied upon, not only by the workers themselves, but also by the management. It has become the accepted thing and in itself has helped to keep the basic hourly rates low.

The men taking part in the work-to-rule are themselves making great financial sacrifices. This banning of overtime not only brings pressure on the management, but also shows that the industry is in a disorganised mess. In what sane society would we have to work excessive hours in order to supply the country with electricity? All this goes on while the Government talks of getting firms to create more jobs in areas of unemployment.

The men are claiming an all-round increase of 4d. per hour, which is hardly the earth. This would add only an infinitesimal amount to the cost of a unit of electricity. With the fat salaries paid to the management board and the huge profits made yearly, there is no doubt at all that the industry could easily stand this increase themselves.

Because workers have taken direct action in support of their moderate wages claim, they have been viciously and unjustly attacked. The press has seized on certain happenings in hospi-

tals in order to direct the public against these men. There was a front page report in the *Evening Standard* of a woman in an iron lung who pleaded that the power should not be cut. She said that she was lucky in having hospital staff to operate the iron lung manually, but what of the people in lungs in their own homes?

How low can you get to print a sick woman's story and use it as an attack against the power workers? Obviously, a person in an iron lung couldn't be left alone even when the power supply was normal, and would have someone in attendance all the time. Of course the *Evening Standard* knows this as well.

Then there has been the letter to the *Times* from Mr. Musgrove, a Consultant Obstetric Surgeon, in which he wrote as follows, "That as a result of the power cut, one baby lost its life and the mother's life hangs in jeopardy." Later, Mr. Musgrove said that he thought that the death of the baby was not directly due to the power cut. On the BBC he spoke of having written the letter after having driven home in the early hours of the morning. He was annoyed and tired after the death of the baby and in his anger had written this letter.

This was just the thing the press monopolists wanted for their headlines, and even with the denial, the damage had been done and the work-to-rule men were made to look responsible. The reports of inconvenience and hardship to different hospitals in the country have gone on all week. It has been one attack after another, mentioning the danger to the Blood Banks and the lack of power to carry out normal hospital duties, until the whole thing has been blown up into a national disaster.

This surely is the crux of the whole matter, that there is enough power being produced for these hospitals, but it is not reaching them. The Electricity Board is therefore at fault and the whole rotten system of planning. Hospitals of course should have priority, but it isn't the power workers who decide where the electricity should go. In fact Mr. Doyle

a steward taking a leading part in the work-to-rule has said, "If it is a question of supplying hospitals, we will work for nothing, but we can only produce emergency power supplies. The electricity, we cannot direct it there. All hospitals have or should have, tricity authorities have the choice of directing power from one place to another. We suggest that there should be a public inquiry into why there was plenty of electricity for West-End night-clubs and none for a hospital."

When it comes to national disasters, it is the State with its highly paid bureaucrats, that is guilty and not only in the care of the sick but also in the running of all services and industries. They save, cut down, economise, use inferior materials so that they endanger the lives of every one of us. Not only are they guilty of national disasters but also of world-wide ones.

Men who ban overtime are attacked,
Continued on page 3

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THE LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS and FREEDOM PRESS will hold

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is about University Autonomy

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Anarchist Principles

1. Anarchists want the greatest possible happiness for every individual.
2. They think that the happiness of an individual is inseparable from the amount of freedom that he has.
3. Since every individual depends on others for many of his needs, co-operation and social responsibility are also essential for a free and happy life.
4. Anarchists aim ultimately at a free society: that is, a society organised for the equal benefit of all its members. They think that worthwhile steps can be taken now towards the creation of such a society.
5. The achievement of a free society will involve a revolution in the way people live, but more important, in the way they think about themselves and others. Some aspects of this are as follows.
6. *Government.* Anarchists are opposed to any social organisation that involves one person, or a group of persons, imposing their will on others, however the power to do so may have been achieved. Therefore, they do not vote in elections. They refuse to take part in, and actively oppose, those activities of governments that are particularly harmful.
7. *Social organisation.* Anarchists favour organization in the form of self-governing communities, sufficiently small for every member to retain his individuality. Decisions important to the community as a whole should be taken by an assembly of all its members. Many successful approaches to this type of organization are being made at present, both when the purpose is mainly therapeutic—that is, to repair the damage done by the existing society—and when the purpose is simply the achievement of a full and satisfying life.
8. *Law.* In a free society, no laws are envisaged. Contracts would depend upon mutual respect. Under the present

ANARCHIST PRINCIPLES

DEAR SIR,

The suggestion is sometimes made that a short statement of the principles of anarchism would be desirable. What follows is offered as a basis for discussion. No doubt each item will provoke strong disagreement. But I should like to suggest that any one setting out to draw up a better statement should first consider these criteria: the aim is to give information on the essentials, and the statement should therefore:—

1. be short;
2. be understandable;
3. cover as wide a range of the topics as possible;
4. should mention both what anarchists aim at in the future and what they do now;
5. should be objective rather than political.

I do not claim that these are the only possible criteria, nor that my fourteen items embody them perfectly. A worthwhile short statement of so complex a thing as anarchism may be impossible, especially since it is, by its nature, non-dogmatic. But I think it is useful to try.

system, anarchists particularly oppose, and where appropriate ignore, laws that arbitrarily restrict the liberty of the individual (for example, those concerned with national boundaries, conscription, marriage, and censorship).

9. Economic organization.

INDUSTRY. Industries should be controlled by those who work in them, or by the community of which they form part. Production should aim at filling the needs of the community, and if possible those of less fortunate communities, and not at making a profit for the few at the expense of the many.

MONEY. Ultimately, anarchists think that money may be dispensed with, since all essential goods would be freely available to all. At present, the function of money should be to lessen inequalities rather than to preserve or increase them.

10. Crime. Anarchists think that most if not all crime is due to the existing social organization, and would disappear in a free society. Crime in the sense of purely legal offences would of course no longer exist. Anarchists favour the development of open prisons, and the increase in social responsibility for those condemned by existing laws that this entails. The death penalty is opposed; the state has no right to take anyone's life.

11. War. War would not occur between communities of responsible individuals. War is almost inevitable when national states exist. Anarchists oppose all activities of the state that make war more likely.

12. Education. The aim of education should be to allow the individual to develop to the full his potentialities for

good. Children should be prevented from harming themselves or others, but otherwise not restricted. They should be given free access to all the sources of knowledge, presented as attractively as possible. Some anarchists send their children to independent schools; others make use of the better state schools, supplementing their obvious deficiencies in a free home environment.

13. Religion. In a free society, all religions would be tolerated, but attempts by the supporters of any dogma to impose their ideas on others would

be resisted. In fact, most anarchists are not religious, since they consider that nearly all forms of religion contain an element of authoritarianism.

14. The basis of anarchism is the belief that every individual is able, and has the right, to run his own life, and that happiness is inseparable from this right.

No man is good enough to be another man's master. Human beings will only fulfil themselves when this is understood and practised.

London, W.C.1.

J. K. R.

GOOD FOOD OR PROFIT?

"THE HAUGHLEY EXPERIMENT." Issued by the Soil Association, 8F, Hyde Park Mansions, Marylebone Road, London, N.W.1, 5s. 9d. including postage.

LIKE most minority movements, the advocates of organic food spoil their case at times by claiming too much for it, and blaming every evil within sight on the thing they are against.

In the introduction to the report on the first 25 years of the Haughley experiment it is claimed that the change to organically grown food has resulted in the disappearance of rheumatism, allergy, susceptibility to colds, dental caries; and cures of heart complaints, and on the social level, its adoption in boarding schools has reduced absenteeism, quarrelling and delinquency, and brought deficient intelligences up to near normal.

Nevertheless, the experiment is a very worthwhile undertaking, not only for the direct results which it reveals, but because it is an attempt by a group with unorthodox ideas to redress the concentration of scientific research and expert knowledge in the hands of governmental and monopoly interests, by seizing the initiative and carrying out their own investigations despite all the difficulties facing them.

In view of this it is a pity that the writers of the report cannot resist the occasional unjustified anti-scientific outburst, such as their antipathy to statistical analysis which they share, consciously or not, with large numbers of perfectly conventional biologists, and which is irrelevant since no one would dream of suggesting that a broadly conceived long-term exploratory study should be fitted into the framework of a replicated experiment on small plots.

The experiment, which is being carried out at the New Bells Farm, Haughley, Sussex, consists of dividing the farm into three sections. One of these is farmed on fully organic lines, each field having a ten year rotation. No chemical fertiliser is used, but the crop residues and dung from the grazing animals are all returned to the soil. Another section uses these methods, but the addition of chemical fertiliser is permitted as well as the organic material, and insecticides are used on the crops. The third section carries no stock, and is fertilised entirely by chemical means.

Very briefly, as far as production is concerned, it appears that cows on the organic section give a consistently higher milk yield, while the fertilised sections produce a greater yield of cereals. The workers at Haughley also claim to have noticed that animals on the organic section are more healthy, and the point is made that the additional crops secured by adding fertiliser to the mixed section, do not quite make up for the cost of the fertiliser.

Of course, one of the important points made in favour of organic methods is that the yield in itself is not the only criterion to look at, and that they produce food of far higher nutritional quality, and that looked at from a long-term point of view, chemical methods exhaust the soil and will eventually lead to an impoverished land, and an unhealthy population, if they have not already done so.

It is obvious that agriculture and food production have to be looked at in terms of health and nutrition in general, and the organic food movement is clearly prepared to face that problem.

However, they also need considering in relation to our way of social living and our economic system as well, and at this point there is a serious gap.

In fact, in an introductory pamphlet on the Soil Association, the body which is responsible for the Haughley Experiment, the president boldly asserts that Merrie England only ceased to be merry at the industrial revolution, and that the death knell of good agriculture sounded when the Labour government's death duties forced the break-up of many large estates.

Since high yields of poor quality food, obtained by chemical fertilisers, are the best means of making a high profit, the philosophy of natural methods of farming implies a rejection of capitalism, and its philosophy that the search for financial gain leads to the best of all possible worlds. It requires on the contrary, that the community should be able to decide rationally what it needs to produce, what are the best ways of achieving its needs, and then being able to carry out its decisions. The contradiction between production for profit and production to meet people's needs could not be more clearly demonstrated than in this question of food production, which is undoubtedly why anarchists, of all currents in the socialist movement, have paid particular attention to agricultural problems. It would be interesting and valuable if the supporters of the Soil Association would devote some attention to the economic aspects of their theories. P.H.

AROUND THE GALLERIES

TALENT, like a small bright flame within a sullen fire, throws forth its tender light within places least expected and at times that are least rewarding, for this is a period of stagnation and decay within these islands and the craftsman and the creative artist must play the role of handservant to any fool or poseur who can command an audience, or cull a monied mob into a gallery.

It is useless to mourn these things for this is but the temper of the times in which we live, and if the charlatan amuses and the fashionable dauber of the moment pays the gallery rent, who are we to frown our disapproval? For the charivari of crooked dealers, sycophantic critics, and contracted mimics will be paraded the length of Bond Street as long as there is a fool with money to spend or a creeper waiting to crawl on to a cultural council across the backs of those who bend before him.

The Woodstock Gallery of 16 Woodstock Street, W.1., has in its time played to many a cynical or bemused gallery clique, and many an innocent has adorned its walls with accumulated rubbish of many a diligent and dedicated hour, for it has sheltered the clown and housed the talentless nonentities for a fortnight's fleeting glory. But, for all its past sins the Woodstock has by the very catholic accumulation of works upon its walls been forced to show the offerings of artists who, by the forces of fashion and economics would be denied a window in the more conservative galleries. There is within the store-room of the Woodstock Gallery the wood carvings of a thirteen-year-old boy that possess the maturity and the ability of a trained craftsman.

Tony Cole is thirteen years of age and, unconsciously as yet, carries all the stigmas that our venal society can offer as its social gauge, with regard to the circumstances of birth, race, colour, and economic background.

But this small boy has a talent that should be the envy of all the Bond Street hacks whose ability lies at the tip of an acetylene-welding flame, whose studio is the nearest junk yard and

whose bible and inspiration is the latest copy of an American mass circulated art magazine. It was purely by chance that I saw Tony Cole's work and it took two written requests to glean the slight information that I have made available but they that are interested in helping to nurture flowering talent should demand to see this child's work. With his female figures it is the love of the unfolding curves that hold him, for he is too young to give them any sensuous connotation, just as with his masks it is the grotesque and not the caricature, that peals beneath the blade, for time will add the bitterness and age the knowing laughter to his amoral faces. Here, at the moment is a developing artist who loves the wood and the tools for their own sake and who finds his pleasure in the shaping of the block and the changing pattern of the grain at the dictate of each succeeding cut, but within a few brief years he will feel the demand to make his personal statements and the wood and the steel will be his public voice. But in this industrial age of mass production and consumption, who will seek his service, for what place has the artist in wood in a society of concrete and plastic? Yet Tony Cole has a rare talent that we should shelter and preserve if not of necessity, then as a luxury that our slaughterhouse civilization can well afford and let those pale and pretty gentlemen whose slim pinkies control the nation's cultural purse-strings forsake the sherry and the soft palms of the art establishment and make a rare and beautiful gesture by seeking out this child before his talent becomes perverted or discarded.

The tattered durmmers of the Tate, the Biennales and the art council shindigs can wait a week before exhibiting the latest piece of rubbish to be hawked to the nation, for if in doing so they allow this child to flower into his true artistic heritage, I for my part will turn a blind eye, for a week or so, to the latest overpriced, badly painted and over exhibited masterpiece to head the country's cultural expense sucker list.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

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STRIKE AT THE ROOTS OF WAR!

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S resignation from the Presidential chair of the *Committee of 100* comes as no surprise in view of his recent epistolary activities with the heads of government, involved in what historians will give pride of place as the "Cuban crisis". Of course we admire Russell, and for the wrong reasons! He will rightly be remembered as a mathematician; we admire him as a member of the privileged class who was never a conformist in his personal life, and who showed a flash of revolutionary understanding, a mind that had outlived the wear and tear of old age! But our admiration of the lucidity of Bertrand Russell's mind, the deep influence on this writer in his youth of "Why I am not a Christian" should not, must not, blind us of the fact that in spite of his unorthodox views, he is an 'elitist', politically, a supporter of the establishment, an authoritarian even if he would refuse to accept office in any government. His resignation from the Committee of 100 is from the political point of view a set-back (the Committee of 99—as the *Guardian* put it, has lost its most newsworthy personality); it has gained, if it has the revolutionary understanding and the militancy, the freedom of action which may permit it to function as an undivided movement. The Committee of 100 with Russell was a contradiction. One has only to analyse his letter of resignation to Helen Allegranza, coupled with his activities in connection with the recent Cuban "crisis" to be aware of it. Russell gives two reasons. The second—living in Wales makes it difficult to participate in the deliberations of the Committee—as obviously a valid one, though it could be argued that if he thought the future of mankind depended on the Committee's deliberations, and the whole basis of his activities is that mankind should be protected from annihilation—then he would consider moving to London as a minor inconvenience! But Russell obviously considers the first reason the more important: "I have become very completely occupied in a kind of work somewhat different from that upon which the Committee is engaged though directed towards similar ends". In fairness to Russell, we must quote the following from his letter: "I am, however, still a believer in mass civil-disobedience, and will, of course, support the Committee whenever I can . . ."

Bertrand Russell is to the end of his life an honest man in that he believes in 'mass civil disobedience' only when he considers that government and mass-communications are deaf to the pressures of even a minority "public opinion". Fundamentally he is authoritarian. He believes in the most authoritarian government of all—world government, naively believing that a world power is the alternative to many national powers (it may well be preferable, but it is no alternative to freedom as such, as well as from government).

The Committee of 100 might well say "Russell est mort; vive la Revolution" and proceed to take note of the observations of Dr. Jack and A. J. Muste with which we opened our editorial.

Before they think of "new organisations" we suggest our friends concentrate on "new ideas". Do they still believe in disarmament through the medium of government? In which case they must recognise that

though they may be anti-militarists they are not absolutist advocates of non-violence. Do they believe that government can be influenced by love and example; and if so why have they ignored the appeals in the name of humanity from their worthiest citizens and have chosen instead the road of power politics? And last but not least, is war a cause or an effect?

AND if it is an effect may we suggest that the basic cause is social and economic inequality. This is the root of the problem of war. Today, in the thousands of homeless and the hundreds of thousands of unemployed we have the living victims of the system that protects the interests of the few—even by driving the many to engage in bloody war—at the expense of the majority. A revolutionary movement which, in Dr. Jack's words, "evaluates the world situation" should now direct its message and all its energies not to M.P.s and V.I.P.s, but to the 600,000 homeless and unemployed, educating them politically (underlining the artificiality of unemployment and the wastefulness of "defence programmes"), encouraging them to resistance and direct action not only to force the government but to make their more (financially) fortunate wage-slaves aware of the precariousness of their own situation and the need for solidarity among all wage-earners.

The outstanding feature of 1963 which will overshadow the diplomatic wrangles between the Powers, is growing unemployment in the midst of increased production. The marked "disunity" among the major nations of the West, coincides with growing trade recession and unemployment. It is such a trend which in the past has led to war, and it is against this trend that those who want to "arrest quickly" the obvious drift towards World War III should now concentrate their activities.

Today in this country more than half a million workers plus their families have had their illusions about full-employment shattered. These people are receptive, though not necessarily militant, to "new ideas—they have the leisure to ponder and to digest new ideas—just as, of course, they are at the mercy of fascist demagoguery! All things being equal the natural intelligence of people will predispose them towards libertarian ideas. To our minds the anarchist and anti-militarist movements should seek to direct all their energies to the unemployed and homeless, taking advantage of their receptiveness without exploiting their misery.

The government by its appointment of Lord Hailsham as Minister for the North-East has openly indicated the seriousness with which it views the situation. We would be missing a golden opportunity of furthering our ideas if we did not do all in our power to propagate our ideas among the unemployed now.

There can be no "negotiations" between the people and their oppressors without prolonging, or simply postponing, the problem. Our purpose must be not to seek to persuade governments by arguments, to which they are as impervious as a rhinoceros' hide. Instead we must force the ruling class to retreat step by step in face of a militant people who press their demands with the kind of direct action

IT WAS DENIED that Mr. Macmillan and President Kennedy were tailor's dummies, it was denied that the British had successfully bombed Washington; it was denied that Mr. Tshombe was under house arrest but it was thought he might know what had happened to five million pounds missing from the Katanga Central Bank in Elizabethville. . . .

THE GOLD SPELL coincided with a work-to-rule campaign by power-station workers for an extra 1½d. an hour. The statements that a baby died, a mother's life was endangered, and a kidney machine failed to operate because of power cuts due to the strike, were half-way round the world before the truth that these things might happen had time to put on its boots. The gas industry warned users that economy was necessary, for free as they were from industrial trouble, they could not guarantee to cope with all the increased cold-spell demands. . . .

NATURAL CATASTROPHES apart, Mr. P. J. Halahan, head of Westminster Civil Defence admitted that for the man-made catastrophe of nuclear war, civil defence was a "misnomer". "We are not a civil defence force but a rescue force. I'm not talking about defence, but about cleaning up the bits and pieces. This is a good Samaritan service." If a 100-megaton bomb fell on Westminster, he said, there would be total destruction for up to nine miles around. Beyond that, and for up to 37 miles, there would be "a tremendous rescue task" Marshal Timoshenko estimated that nuclear war could kill at least 800 million people. In Costa County (Calif.) it was decided that a polio immunization drive was part of the Civil Defence exercise and hence required a loyalty oath. *The Industrial Worker* feels this to be the re-enlistment of witchdoctor incantations in the cause of medicine. *The Sunday Express* learns that the Cabinet have given approval to a booklet giving householders instructions what to do in the case of nuclear attack. People, the Ministers believe, should be told as much as possible now—regardless of any political dangers from being frank—for instance, a ten megaton bomb would cause a crater with a two-mile radius. Air-Commodore Sir Arthur Harvey said in Los Angeles that we will be practically naked in the face of atomic attack for several years, without the Skybolt missile. *Newsweek* (USA) of Dec. 12th, 1962 carries an advert by the Douglas company "Air Force Skybolt is expected to be one of America's most powerful deterrent weapons. This air-launched ballistic missile will save billions in taxes by extending the useful life of our B.52 and British Vulcan II Bombers", etc., etc., etc. Medical authorities in the areas around the War Office's anti-germ warfare laboratory have been refused lists of deadly organisms involved in experiments. The *Herald* columnist reported a friend visiting an atom power station who spoke to a nuclear scientist about CND. Said the scientist "I rather sympathise with them." "Then why don't you join them?" The scientist replied "Because I have a wife and two children". Savannah Reach, Georgia claims to be the "most nuclear-safe community in the nation. "By converting into fall-out shelters," said the Mayor, "five abandoned coast artillery batteries, we have space for 3,000 to 5,000 people". . . .

BERTRAND RUSSELL resigned as President of the National Committee of 100. Firstly because he has "become very completely occupied in a kind of work somewhat different from that upon which

which aims at affecting the ruling class without unduly disturbing the life of the community. We, the people, must also take their initiative in supplying the services, and basic necessities of life. The more we leave to the State, the greater its power and our dependence on it.

BUT what has all this to do with Oxford and the problem of disarmament? War, whether it is nuclear or conventional, is only a branch of the tree of authority and privilege, feeding on it, growing again however much one may seek to lop it. One can only abolish war by destroying the tree of authority and privilege. And it is only by striking at the roots, first by starving them of nourishment then, at the right moment uprooting the whole "edifice" of power, that war can ever be banished from our lives.



the Committee is engaged, though directed to similar ends". Secondly, he is isolated in Wales and cannot take an active part. He remains, however, a believer in mass civil disobedience. Lady Russell sent a similar-letter. The *Sunday Telegraph* avidly construes this as a split in the movement since there exists a Welsh Committee of 100 of which Bertrand Russell is a member. This disassociated itself from the National Committee they say, on two grounds; the flight into Western Ireland and a proposal to campaign amongst troops which amounts to "direct subversion". The resignation of Miss Vanessa Redgrave from the London Committee was also announced. She wrote "I believe that a moment may well come when mass civil disobedience demonstrations would be a great many people's way of saying "No". I don't believe that what I should be doing now is preparing "demo" after "demo". The *Daily Telegraph* reported the unmasking of an "anti-nuclear cell" in the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Foulness. The nest was initially fouled by an anti-bomb poster on the barrack notice board. Security officers were led to the former secretary of the Bradford Committee of 100 who has been in the Royal Artillery for six months, during which time he has been distributing CND literature to fellow soldiers and to teenagers in Southend coffee-bars. He approached a gunner who approached security officers who approached special Branch. Security checks were ordered. Miss Pat Arrowsmith said that the Committee of 100 was in favour of CND discussions in the Forces. The Russians too, have their troubles. According to the Army paper *Red Star* the Far East Military College has been permeated with loose talk such as "it is wrong to talk in general about the nobility of the military calling, because this is to propagate militarism. There could be no nobility where men are trained to kill men. The harshness of military life, the need for constant subordination, the restriction of freedom—all these, preclude any 'nobility'". The college lecturer in philosophy had tried to correct these views by citing "just wars" but the officer cadets were not convinced. At the 22nd party congress Marshall Golikov blamed writers "in whose work even elements of pacifism are sometimes permitted". A play by Alex Shteyn sought to correct this unfortunate ten-

KEEPING KIWIS KLEEN

NOW that South Africa has been blackballed from the club, New Zealand could appropriately be awarded a lead medal for the Commonwealth's most oppressive book censorship system. *Landfall*, the country's premier (and State Literary Fund-supported) literary magazine, recently performed a service by publicizing the titles of some books clamped down on in 1962. They include *The Dharma Bums* by Jack Kerouac, *A Way of Love* by James Courage, *The Best of Henry Miller* (edited by Lawrence Durrell) and Gore Vidal's *The City and the Pillar*. The technique is simple. The Customs Department circulates list of prohibited or restricted books to librarians and booksellers; if the books named are subsequently displayed the librarian or bookseller concerned is liable to prosecution. Naturally the books disappear from the shelves. The lists, incidentally, are confidential. Thus, as *Landfall* notes, ". . . the Customs Department operates unchallenged an extensive, secret, irresponsible censorship."

The system was challenged a year or two back by the Council for Civil Liberties on behalf of *Lolita*—without success. *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was put under ban at about the same time (also Onstott's *Mandingo* and an issue of *Evergreen Review*). Which is probably a Commonwealth record so far for the 1960's. K.M.

dency. A naval lieutenant in the play complains that he was taught 'to think'. It was bad for military discipline "but good for mankind—because when a man thinks, then naturally, thought come into his head. In other words—he becomes an intellectual". Luckily the young lieutenant is argued out of these views, in the play, that is. Ilya Ehrenburg, a leading Soviet intellectual and other pacific members of the Communist-inspired World Peace Council had some difficulty at Oxford in conferring with decadent western petty-bourgeois pacifists. . . .

LORD HAILSHAM was hailed as the wonder-man placed in the forefront of the battle against unemployment in the North-East of England, exclusively. On Thursday he was present at the christening of his daughter and had some difficulty carrying that baby. He turned to his wife and said "Here, you take her." . . .

THERE ARE 23,000 more telephones than people in Beverley Hills. A man living in a tree in Hongkong for the past thirteen years has been ordered to quit to make room for buildings to house refugees. . . .

WE ARE TOLD by the *Sunday Telegraph* that "Mr. Gaitskill is making a steady prevented his visit to Moscow. He has prevented his visit to Moscow. He has not however entirely abandoned a prospect of Russia. His bedside reading has included two works by Dostoevsky—*The Possessed* and *The House of the Dead*". Fair enough but it concludes mysteriously "Among comic writers he has also enjoyed Evelyn Waugh, Ian Fleming and John Strachey". . . .

IN A JOINT letter to U Thant, the U.S. and Russia said the understanding they had reached over Cuba removed the need for further Security Council action. They hoped it would lead to adjustment of other differences between them and a general easing of tension that could cause war—though they had not been able to resolve all the Cuban problems. JON QUIXOTE.

POWER WORKERS

Continued from page 1

even though there are 650,000 men unemployed. Around Christmas time, the papers were full of articles on the unemployed, but now they are saying that the work-to-rule power workers are causing a national disaster.

The decision to work-to-rule has been taken by the rank-and-file, organised in the National Shop Stewards' Movement. Control of the work-to-rule must remain in their hands, if they are to win their demands. The Union leaders should be told that they are not wanted any longer and the rank-and-file should rely on their own strength and solidarity. The intervention of the unions with talk of compromise can only split and divide the rank-and-file, leading to the collapse of the work-to-rule.

The Union leaders have tried and will try again to destroy this rank-and-file movement. Carron, A.E.U., and Cooper NUGMW, have warned their members not to take part in any unofficial action, for if they are unable to control the work-to-rule movement they will try to smash it.

Not only must the rank-and-file fight the Electricity Board but also their own union leadership. They must spread the dispute to other power stations in order to gain support and strength and if necessary to take further action to win this wage claim and fresh demands. P.T.



Committee of 100 to protest on housing

DEAR SIR,
The South East London Working Group of the London Committee of 100 announces today that it has called a public assembly at the Newington Lodge reception centre, Westmoreland Road, S.E.17, for 2.30 p.m., Saturday, January 19th.

Supporters of the Committee will attempt to enter the Lodge to hold a meeting inside the Dining Hall. If entry is refused the assembly will take place at the gates outside.

During the past few weeks supporters of the Committee of 100 have visited Newington Lodge to speak to the people there.

We are deeply concerned at the millions being spent on warfare purposes and the abysmal neglect of welfare. We aim to encourage the homeless to take direct action to improve their conditions.

The inmates of Newington Lodge live in conditions similar to those in Victorian England's workhouses. There is a complete lack of privacy; mothers and adolescent children of mixed sexes live, sleep, dress and undress in the same room. Normal marital relations are completely disrupted for husbands cannot live with their families at these reception centres.

The public assembly which we are holding will be part of an extensive campaign which cumulates in a mass non-violent civil disobedience demonstration in Whitehall on May 12th, organised by the London Committee of 100, against warfare expenditure and the need to put this money to the proper constructive use of welfare.

We will be pleased to supply further details and copies of a leaflet which will be distributed.

For S.E. London Working Group,
London Committee of 100,
SIDNEY GOLDSTEIN,
Convenor.

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
Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

'Faith Renewed'

COMRADES,

I suppose the issue is a dead one but since Comrade Beams has raised it once more I feel I must write again on the subject of Mr. Budd, the Catholic whose Faith Was Mystically Renewed by the almost wholesale death of his family by fire.

We (Diana Shelley and myself) wrote to complain of the bad taste of FREEDOM's headline "Faith Renewed".

To clarify this we must add we did not know about the Renewal of Faith experienced by Mr. Budd. Unlike the editors we do not read the Express or the Guardian but then we don't HAVE to (we read FREEDOM because we prefer our punishment that way). The editors did not mention that Mr. Budd said his faith had been renewed.

It may be paradoxical, but if I had known of Mr. Budd's statement I would have considered the headline admirable.

We considered the editorial really quite good!

Mr. Budd has touching faith in the Good God. For myself, it has to some extent renewed my 'faith' in 'God' too. But then my 'God' is a big, bumbling, irresponsible, mentally underprivileged celestial politician who juggles with life as devastatingly as his earthly counterparts.

I still don't think Mr. Budd's story, as printed in FREEDOM, is unduly relevant to anarchism, though it did give the editors a chance to air their views. It seems to me that religion is relevant precisely to the extent that it shackles people and leaves them mindless. I fear FREEDOM did not show as well as might have done the extent to which Mr. Budd's mind had become subordinated to his superstitious beliefs.

What worries me far more than Religion itself are the ideas or superstitions it helps develop. Paternalism, authoritarianism, etc., are all aided and abetted by Religion. "The greatest obstacle to anarchism is the doctrine of original sin" (or words to that effect), wrote Donald Room in his free access article for Anarchy. I agree. But this is a superstitious hang-over of religion, not religion, held by many people who call themselves agnostics, atheists, etc. This is our enemy. After all, the people who go to church on Sundays are not religious of necessity. (The anarchists seem more religious than most Christians, though this is a different story altogether. After all few Christians have a religious belief in absolute freedom as being the *sine qua non* of a healthy society.)

But anarchist ideas are needed everywhere and in all parts of society. Where can we start if we don't start everywhere; in the office, in the home, in the bed?

London, N.W.3. CHARLES RADCLIFFE.

Wrong Priorities

DEAR EDITORS,

By relying on two thousand year old philosophies which have obviously failed, Francis Ellingham himself furnishes the proof that his priorities are wrong.

As to which is the cart and which the horse, throughout the existence of life on earth, social and moral conditions have always been determined by the material structure. With the passing of economic domination, profit and power under Anarchist Communism will be terms without meaning.

Yours sincerely,
Surrey, Dec. 24. F.B.



He's already bought his tickets.....

No Comment ?

DEAR EDITORS,

In the FREEDOM editorial "Congo Shuttlecock" Peace News is criticised for not commenting on "the price of government from above as the president of Tanganyika pointed out to Peace News' correspondent, John Papworth."

The subject under discussion was the Preventive Detention Act. Peace News did not comment on it because the comment had been made in John Ball's column three months previously (Oct. 5) when it was still the Preventive Detention Bill. There seemed little point in repeating this.

RICHARD BOSTON.

Peace News,
5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Puzzled

DEAR COMRADES,

I am puzzled by Lourens Otter who finds it curious when a contributor to FREEDOM has views which differ with editorial opinion. If he had read some of my articles in recent years he might have discovered that I had strong disagreements with the editors over the "first-aid" aspect of the United Nations activity in the Congo. If he thinks anarchist opinion is dictated by editorial views then he can have paid scant attention to FREEDOM. The point is that whereas Laurens Otter and seemingly FREEDOM's editorial writer see a distinction between the executive committee of the ruling class and a body central to class rule. I do not.

I am sorry that Laurens Otter thought that I considered syndicalism lacked relevance today. I cannot see that my review indicated this, nor do I feel a reading of my articles in the past could lead one to such a conclusion. The trouble with the SWF pamphlet is that it is not good enough. Perhaps if it were compared with either of April Carter's recent pamphlets on Direct Action and the Common Market, this would be evident—given a modicum of perceptive ability.

A small point is that it would seem that "someone who subjects the interests of radical movements, to those of the ruling caste or class in the Soviet Union" could either be a Stalinist or a Kruschchevite, and it is my experience that some CPers are Kruschchevites and not Stalinists—others seem to be neither.
Hull, Jan. 12. J.W.

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Weeks 1 & 2	EXPENSES: 2 weeks at £70	£140
Sales & Sub. Renewals:	£	£
Weeks 1 & 2	71	
New Subscriptions:		
Weeks 1 & 2 (13)	13	
		84
		DEFICIT £56

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1963 TOTAL TO DATE £24 6 2

*Denotes regular contributors.
1962 FINANCES

As soon as the books can be "closed" for 1962 we will publish our final accounts for the year with our usual report.

Capture the State ?

SIR,

Surely Laurens Otter (FREEDOM 5/1/63) means "exploitation" not "oppression" when he attempts to make out that Marx held that "the state was not central to oppression"? To Marx the state was the instrument of oppression! Has not Laurens Otter seen the famous passage in the Communist Manifesto which reads "political power, properly so-called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another"? If we make this change, the argument begins to make sense: one hundred years ago the state was not central to exploitation. But now with the growth of state capitalism this is no longer so. The state now exploits as well as oppresses. Hence "capturing the state can only mean running capitalism". Fair enough?

Let's get clear what we mean by "state" for a start. All communities, however small or decentralized, must set up some body, even if only temporary, responsible for executing its decisions. As soon as these executive bodies become permanent and centralized into one body which can enforce its decisions on an unwilling populace by the use of armed might, then they become the state, the instrument of oppression. But they do not thereby lose their character as means of social control. So that under capitalism the machinery of government is at one and the same time the instrument of oppression and the centre of social control. And this is why the workers must capture the political machinery. For those who wish to change society must first be able to control it. This is common sense. Or perhaps Laurens Otter does not agree that the state has executive as well as oppressive functions?

And when once the workers have captured this machinery how do they run capitalism? They don't! They set about abolishing it. What is state capitalism anyway? Surely it is state exploitation of wage-labour for the benefit of the capitalist class, these benefits taking the form of interest on government bonds, bloated salaries or reduced taxes. As soon as the workers have executive power this presents no problem. They need only repudiate the national debt and cease paying bloated salaries to government officials. Nothing could be simpler. State exploitation would cease forthwith as would private exploitation as soon as society had assumed ownership of the means of life and organized the running of industry as it thought fit. From their very first day of power the workers can discard those parts of the state apparatus they choose to find objectionable—capital punishment, the monarchy, nuclear weapons, the House of Lords, perhaps, who knows?—using what's left to enforce their decision to socialise ownership if this proves to be necessary. When all the capitalists have been dispossessed the oppressive features of the government machinery will have become superfluous. The armed forces can be disbanded. All that will remain of the machinery will be its administrative functions, its role as centre of social control. In the words of Bakunin (oddly enough) the state "renouncing all its oppressive power, and falling to the subaltern role which Proudhon assigns it, will no longer be anything but a simple business office, a sort of clearing house at the service of society". The people will use this business office, organized as they desire, to control and carry out their plans for building a decent world to live in. Many (most?) anarchists would reject this social control. How, we may ask them, do they intend to provide, for instance, decent homes for all if there is to be no social plan or control of such work? Perhaps everyone builds his own house, or, more likely, these anarchists have never thought about the problem.

Clearly Laurens Otter cannot back up his claim that capturing the state can now only mean running capitalism. The time has come for him to consider once again the argument of, to use his words, "the intelligent Marxist".

Yours faithfully,
Newport, Jan. 7. A. L. BUICK.



.....he hasn't

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.

JAN 20 Jack Robinson:
Were the Luddites Ideologically Correct?

JAN 27 Oonagh Lahr:
Is Non-Violence Against Human Nature?

FEB 3 Jack Stevenson:
The Only Union

FEB 10 Ken Weller:
The Industrial Struggle in 1963

FEB 17 Bob Green:
Why Frances's Cat Likes Olives

FEB 24 Brian Hart:
Nestor Makhno

MAR 3 Tom Barnes:
Psychology and Anarchism

MAR 17 S.F.:
The Great American Myth

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.

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

Third Wednesday of the month, at 8 p.m. at Albert Portch's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.

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

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Please note that the meetings at Fellows Road, N.W.3 are now on the third Friday, not the third Wednesday as hitherto.

Last Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at George Hayes', 174 Mcleod Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2.

Notting Hill Anarchist Group (Discussion Group)

Last Friday of the month, at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Road, (near Notting Hill Station), W.11.

OXFORD ANARCHIST DISCUSSION GROUP (gown, town and district)

Meets Wednesdays, 5.30
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