

WHAT can be hoped for as a result of a successful—as we assume it will be—sixth annual "Aldermaston" march this Easter, can perhaps be assessed by drawing up a balance sheet of what has been achieved by the previous five.

From the point of view of the objectives of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament a most eloquent answer is provided in the first paragraph of the editorial in this month's issue of *Sanity* (organ of the CND):

In case we have forgotten: the twelve months between Easter 1962 and Easter 1963 was the year of resumed nuclear testing, the year of the Cuba crisis and the Indian-China war. It was the year in which the Soviet Union exploded in the upper atmosphere a single nuclear device more than six times greater than all the explosives used in the second world war. It was the year in which Mr. Kennedy sanctioned 900 Minuteman missiles, each one with a nuclear warhead capable of an explosive power 100 times greater than the Hiroshima bomb.

It seems clear that the ruling classes of the world are not deterred (or disarmed) by good people tramping 53 miles in their thousands, supported by possibly millions more who will be with them in spirit, even if the few days respite from life's routine will be spent in other ways.

As a public demonstration; as a gathering of age and youth with the accent on youth, remarkably free from the antagonisms and incompatibility that divide them in Committee, group and branch meetings; as a human protest against barbarity so extreme that atheist and Christian, anarchist and Trotskyist, socialist and socialist, Communist and Conservative, employees and some employers can rub shoulders, tread a common path and share a sausage-roll . . . these are some of the positive aspects of the Aldermaston

Aldermaston A HUMAN SUCCESS STORY BUT A POLITICAL FAILURE

March. Apart from their attraction *per se*, there is the incalculable, invisible, long-term importance of this confrontation, this "cohabitation" of classes and creeds.

"Aldermaston" attracts this writer too from the purely organisational point of view. Many anarchists react to the inhuman, and over-organisation which character-

ises the authoritarian society we live in, by going to the other extreme, and assuming (or hoping?), that in a free society, because there could be a real community of interests, the day to day affairs of the community could be settled as if by magic, without organisation. This is the dream-world utopia of the individualist, the island inhabited by the

smug, introvert, who believes in the self-sufficiency of the individual as the key to happiness. The reality is that the moment two, let alone 20,000, people decide on common action, they must "organise" their actions. "Aldermaston" is a major feat of organisation, and the fact that it has been so successful so far with a minimum of centralised

organisation should be, for anarchists, a source of considerable encouragement. Writing of the second march in 1959, Colin Ward was even then (*FREEDOM* 4/4/59) drawing attention to the effectiveness of this non-authoritarian form of organisation:

When you think of the enormous authoritarian structure required to move a regiment of soldiers 50 miles and then think of the limited resources of the organisers of this march, its *ad hoc* system of baggage wagons, despatch riders and support vehicles, and its reliance on the purely moral authority of its marshals over a crowd of people who were the very antithesis of an army, you can imagine what an immense fund of goodwill and responsibility has been drawn from this "unruly mob . . . this rabble" as a correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* called us, even to the extent, unprecedented in an English crowd, of leaving no litter behind.

The feature of the 1963 March, if one were a hack for our "free" press, is surely the dust-cart which will bring up the rear of the March. We read this piece of "news", and the organisers' appeal for a "qualified" driver, with pleasure. For even a dustcart can make some sceptics pause and think

INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

Busmen Get Increase—BUT . . . !

London's 39,000 busmen have voted to accept at 10/- per week increase all round, offered by the London Transport Board, but they turned down flat the "package deal" which meant more money but introduced productivity concessions.

The negotiations with the L.T.B. have been a long "back-and-forth" affair. Busmen originally demanded a 14/- a week rise for both conductors and drivers. This was turned down and the L.T.B. offered the "package deal" which increased the pay differentials further. The offer was for increases of 11/- per week for conductors, 12/- per week for country bus drivers and 13/- per week for central bus drivers, and the introduction of one-man buses and the larger Routemasters.

The L.T.B. offer of 10/- per week, which the busmen voted to accept, is an increase with no strings attached. At the same time L.T.B. say they are going ahead with the introduction of the new type buses and stress that if the busmen do not co-operate with the scheme, buses will be reduced in number or taken out altogether. A further threat is to hand over certain routes to private operators.

Busmen have been very patient. At one time, unofficial strike action for one day every week was contemplated, but the union leaders dissuaded the men from doing this while negotiations were in progress. Mr. Cousins, who has taken over these negotiations personally, is not at all keen on the idea of strike action. He feels that the bus-strike in 1958 damaged the Labour Party's chances in the last general election, so any form of strike action by busmen to prevent the L.T.B. productivity schemes from being worked, is out as far as Cousins is concerned.

As is usual when busmen get more wages, the old cry goes up that these increases cannot be met and that the passengers will have to foot the bill by paying increased fares. This claim by the L.T.B. is totally unfounded. In a leaflet issued by 41 bus branches, Transport and General Workers Union, addressed to passengers and set out in question and answer form, this L.T.B. lie is unmasked. The leaflet states that "during the past two years, passengers have paid £6,964,000 more in fares of which the busmen have taken only £676,000 in increased wages. This means that from every extra £1 paid by passengers, the busmen received 2/- in the shape of increased wages while the

remaining 18/- went to the London Transport.

As bus-drivers only get a basic wage of £11 16s. 6d. and conductors even less, busmen are entitled to this extra 10/- and more.

The "package deal", which L.T.B. claim will provide better services, is answered in the leaflet as "the biggest deception of all". This L.T.B. scheme was rejected by the busmen for this reason, it "is not to improve bus services but to reduce them." The leaflet goes on to say, "London Transport wanted to introduce the new "Routemaster" buses and cut services by 9 % in the process. They wanted to run 10 Routemasters for every 11 standard buses displaced. This would have meant that every passenger would wait longer and queue longer for fewer and overcrowded buses."

The non-co-operation of the busmen in regard to such a scheme has meant that the Routemasters have replaced the older buses on a "one for one" basis. This has brought a slight improvement in some bus services. If the L.T.B. had its way, more services would have been cut. The one-man bus would also lead to a slower service with more time spent in queues and more men unemployed.

The reason put forward by the London Transport Board for the cut in services during recent years, is the increased use of cars. The busmen, in their leaflet, say that it is the other way round, be-

cause of L.T. cuts, more people are buying their own method of transport. "Since the London Transport Executive took over (in 1948), one bus in every four has been taken off the roads". It has become quicker to walk the minimum fare distances than to wait for a reduced bus service. "The cutting of bus services is a calculated and deliberate act. The principal of public service has been cynically abandoned for a purely profit motive". The railways are next on the list.

Another reason given by the L.T.E. for cuts in the services, is the lack of staff. The leaflet points out that many busmen leave the job because of the poor wages. "The busmen's working week is supposed to be of 42 hours—but London Transport insists on its right to employ men for 16 hours overtime each week. This results in thousands of men working the equivalent of 15 days every fortnight in an attempt to take home a reasonable pay packet."

In the recent "package deal", bus drivers were offered a "scarcity bonus" of 2/- per week, showing that the L.T.E. have no intention of engaging more staff.

Only with higher wages and better conditions will more staff be available, bringing more buses and improved services on to the roads. "The interests of the bus staffs and bus passengers are thus identical."

Direct Action Needed Against Closures

Leaders of the railway unions have been voicing their words of protest this week, after the publishing of Dr. Beeching's proposed plan to make the railways profitable (on Government orders). Words of protest are alright if they are followed by effective action to back them up.

Calls for strike action have come from union branches throughout the country. Mr. Greene, secretary of the largest railway union, National Union of Railwaymen, has said that strike action should be limited to one day. Others are thinking of two or three days and even a week. What of the rank and file union members? Some know that they are to be sacked and others are uncertain. The figure of 70,000 has been given as the number who will be sacked, but this is by no means certain. It is likely to be far above this when the full

cuts take effect.

As is the case with the busmen, strike action on the part of the railwaymen, it is thought, might be detrimental to the chances of the Labour Party's becoming the next Government. Mr. Tallon, chairman of the railway sub-committee of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, reckons that the way to solve the problem of the railwaymen, was to vote in a Labour Government. Union leaders are putting more faith in the next Labour Government than its own action. M.P. Ray Gunter and the President of the Transport Salaried Staffs Association share this view and another Labour M.P., Patrick Gordon-Walker, thinks that the Tories would not have time to close stations before the elections, "a Labour victory will stop these closures."

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IN the current issue of our *confrère* ANARCHY, one writer (Charles Radcliffe) deploras the fact that CND shows a tendency to becoming a "membership organisation" and "are attempting to get us to march without banners of a political nature", and turn us into a liberal-minded procession of lollipop lug-gers.

That they should be showing a tendency to becoming "a membership organisation" is not surprising. For the first five years of its existence the CND was ignored by the Communist Party of Gt. Britain; in its fourth year its "respectability" spawned the Committee of 100, an interesting (and valuable) mixture of idealists, exhibitionists and revolutionists.

The fact that the CND in the first five years of its existence can boast that its "influence" is expanding whereas the Committee of 100 has enjoyed, by contrast, a short-lived "popularity", could lead one to draw conclusions which do not stand up to analysis.

The CND like all amorphous bodies is the prey of the highly organised, centralised, political min-

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ANARCHY 26

ON SALE NOW
examines
CND

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THIS IS JUST TO LET YOU
KNOW WE HAVE JUST FIRED
500 H-BOMBS IN YOUR
DIRECTION. BUT PLEASE
DON'T RETALIATE - IT WAS
ALL A MISTAKE!



FUNNY YOU SHOULD RING
JUST NOW - I WAS JUST
GOING TO RING YOU TO
SAY THE SAME THING!



Free to do What?

THE activities of men need only be bounded by natural law. Within this vast framework there is scope for an almost infinite variety of modes of living determined by environment, tradition, sheer chance and the social consciousness and will to change of the people. Anthropological surveys of primitive tribes have had important results for anyone wishing to understand human social development.

One thing that stands out in the development of the various ways of life of these tribes is that only the first three determining factors came into play, and sheer chance played no mean part. Environment determined the broad trend of activities, it is true, but it left plenty of room for variety, and variety occurred. And the activities and attitudes of a tribe became traditional, part of a built-in thought pattern, until after many generations a certain pattern of behaviour became ingrained. At no time did socially conscious tribesmen deliberately plan for the future except maybe a few odd details. Things just happened as they happened and more tribes developed along authoritarian lines than along libertarian ones. There are more tribes with chiefs, witch doctors, etc., than there are tribes like the Zuni Indians of New Mexico who are completely non-competitive and non-aggressive and would have no chiefs if the white man's laws permitted.

I use the word 'libertarian' to describe tribes like the Zuni although it is not a word some anarchists would use because these people are not consciously libertarian. They behave as they do because it is all they know and a Zuni is no more capable of behaving in what we would regard as an authoritarian manner than a hidebound British Tory is capable of voluntarily taking part in a sit-down. For both Zuni and Tory have no awareness of choice: the thought processes simply never get out of the rut.

But can one be in a 'libertarian rut'?

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or must people in a non-authoritarian society be constantly aware of choice—consciously free. An extreme example of conscious freedom is described in Morris's 'News from Nowhere' where people even spent much of their time saying how much 'freer' they were than their ancestors.

While in the long run such a state of affairs is not impossible (i.e., it is within the bounds of natural law) it could only be long after the last vestiges of authoritarianism had disappeared. For in the opening stages of anarchy not everyone will be consciously free. Because anarchists whether evolutionary or revolutionary are hardly likely to wait until everyone is 100% socially conscious, etc., etc., but will push forward as and when they can.

As social consciousness-will to change develops people must agree on the organisation of society—collectivism? communism? syndicalism? something new? For this anarchist society won't have to rely on blind chance as the primitive tribes did. There will be social consciousness and technological know-how to alter the environment, and people will realise that if they want responsible co-operative behaviour, they must create a society which promotes such behaviour. This means plans with a built in bias towards libertarianism.

Once the novelty of the absence of authoritarianism had worn off, society might slide into a 'libertarian rut' and people accept it as unquestioningly as the Zuni accept theirs. So what? It will still be a sight better than the preceding capitalism and authoritarianism. And maybe liberty will beget liberty and conscious freedom become widespread.

The gist of all this may seem obvious but there are two approaches to anarchism which seem unaware of it. Firstly the view that present society can go on with governments mysteriously removed (most of the "who would clean the sewers" type objections come from this approach), which is as naive as the view of some pacifists who see present society going on with armies mysteriously removed. Any change of relationships (and anarchism is just that) will reflect in the organisation and activities of society and conversely changes imminent in the activities and organisation of present society (such as automation) may cause a change in relationships.

Secondly the idea that an anarchist society is by definition indescribable, that planning is 'un-anarchistic' and that an anarchist society cannot be an organised, tranquil thing. This version of anarchism boils down to saying that if people say 'balls' loud enough and often enough all will be well.

The so-called negative side of anarchism is necessary in breaking down authoritarian relationships but the positive side is surely essential after this has occurred otherwise society would develop into mere chaos and authoritarianism quickly reappear. For just as tribes left to blind chance usually become authoritarian so individuals with no clear idea of what they want and no idea of how to organise for it even if they had will quickly become slob. Unless, that is, it is believed that people will 'federate spontaneously' when they don't know the principles of federation and 'society will organise itself' when organisation is a dirty word.

Let's have it realised that at some stage along the way plans, however temporary and tentative, will be needed. The only reason I can think of for not having any right now is if it is thought that present society is in such a state of flux that any plans made now would be obsolete long before a free society became anything approaching

'I AM glad we sent that dirty comedian back. We don't want any obscenity here!'



attainable. If the anarchist movement is to make headway it must know what sort of society it is aiming at. Free??? Yes we know all about that, but free to do what? Otherwise in two centuries time 'productivists' and 'simple-lifers' (irreconcilable in the opening stages of anarchy in small over-crowded countries like Britain) will be at loggerheads.

FREEDOM is constantly stating that when authoritarianism is removed people will behave in a responsible manner. For 'will' substitute 'could'. Would the Spanish comrades have got as far as they did if they had not had clear, preconceived ideas of the organisational framework of a free society. For instance, something must be done in the opening stages of anarchy about anti-social attitudes left over from authoritarian society. These things don't just vanish because the authoritarianism

which caused them has vanished.

It is my belief that the nineteenth-century idea born of scientific, rational, humanism and finding its fullest expression in anarchism—that humanity has certain basic needs and aspirations and these can only be fully realised in a free environment, should still be the driving force of the mainstream of anarchism. When there is more kindness, co-operation, smiling faces, mutual orgasms, responsibility, etc. then society must be moving in an anarchistic direction for these things are among the fruits of freedom.

Finally please note that I am not suggesting we go in for an orgy of utopian pipe-dreams but for a realisation (or should I say occasional acknowledgement) of the fact that somewhere along the way, hard, positive thinking will have to be done. JEFF ROBINSON.

Great Potential

"TRAVELLING LOADED", by Ron Berry, W. H. Allen, 16s.

"Bunion-footed father, clean collar every morning, clean shirt twice a week. Washed out mother, drugged by cooking, cleaning and whist. Three sisters training for upstairs and downstairs, and four square meals a day, with cups of tea in between. No kids if possible; house apiece, car each, telly each, fridge, Butlin's holidays, respectability, Daily Mirror for stimulation. Three crypto virgin Guyend girls at the ready for Mr. Right, him with the lolly."

WITH such a dreary proletarian home life as this it is small wonder that each-year Brinley Guyend and his friend Tosca set out on a rucksack tour of the Southern Counties when winter is over. Ron Berry's novel tells the story of their last tour together. How they set out from the South Wales steel town where they live, hitch lifts to Bristol and then to London, where Tosca dies of consumption. In the manner of a Rene Clair film, the friendship of the two men survives all the affairs and adventures they have on their way.

"Travelling Loaded" is less coherent work than Ron Berry's first novel "Hunters and Hunted" and the richness of the latter is thinner and less satisfying in this book. At times he seems to resort to the quasi-melodramatic to make his point and overloads the incident he describes. This is particularly the case with regard to Brinley's affair with Lalanie Foam, a girl he meets in Bristol. Not only has her anarchist father died in prison for refusing to put on a uniform, but her rich and successful elder brother tries to break up her relationship with Brinley by threatening them with a trio of plug-ugly toughs.

The two friends' adventures in London are treated much better and this is the most satisfying part of the book. His picture of Germaine Blight, a forty-ish spinster longing for a lover and a child is especially good. So is his account of Tosca's death and Brinley's anguish—an anguish which does not stop him from having an argument about symbolism with the vicar who preaches at Tosca's funeral, however.

Despite its weaknesses, "Travelling Loaded" is a very readable and often amusing piece of writing, with a saving touch of madness. Ron Berry has the potential for a really startling work if the economics of the literary world do not beat him.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

S. E. PARKER.

The Guilty try the Guilty

"A SOLDIER MUST HANG", by John Deane Potter, Muller, 30s.

WHEN the Turks took Cyprus in the sixteenth century they skinned the governor alive, and slung his skin, stuffed with straw, from the yardarm of a ship and paraded it around the fleet, while everyone cheered. When the Americans retook the Philippines in the mid-twentieth century they hanged the Japanese commander, and some of his staff, though it is true they refrained from skinning them. Thus we progress.

The putting to death of conquered leaders used to be considered a custom of barbarians. It still is, but we are the barbarians now. General Yamashita, whom MacArthur hanged, after a farce of a trial, was executed ostensibly as a "war criminal", but his real crime was that he had held up the American armies too long. This is the old excuse. It was the excuse for the Cromwellian massacres at Drogheda and Wexford. If the garrison resists when there is no longer any hope of ultimate victory, and so causes a larger loss of life in the attacking force than would otherwise occur, you are entitled to massacre them, or, if they are too numerous, hang their leaders at least.

As with the English in Ireland, so the Americans in the Philippines, the victorious side believed themselves to be fighting an uncivilised, and perhaps not even fully human enemy. So anything goes.

The reversion, in the twentieth century, to the practices of the Romans, and other ancient peoples, would be interesting if one was safely ensconced on another planet. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries surrendered officers gave up their swords, and there was a lot of rather foolish ceremonial and exchange of compliments. But at least this was preferable to the modern practice, which insists that the enemy, when defeated, are "war criminals" and then executes them.

Who is not a "war criminal"? Did the Americans never massacre Japanese garrisons? Norman Mailer's "The Naked and the Dead" ends with the description of a slaughter that would have delighted the Assyrians. I have never heard anyone accuse the author of lying about this. All the attacks on the book concentrated on the sexual descriptions, which were held to be "obscene". Killing is never obscene of course.

General Yamashita was a product of the new Japan, a middle-class boy, a village doctor's son, who rose to be a general in the semi-westernised country. He seems to have been a solid, hard-working, not outstanding professional soldier, with a few eccentricities. He was however entrusted with the task of invading Malaya. He achieved a brilliant success, outmanoeuvring a force of 100,000 men with only about 30,000, making him one of the greatest Asian generals of all time. The fall of Singapore really marked the end of the British Empire. The loss was never made good in the psychological sphere, despite the Japanese subsequent defeat. It is interesting to speculate that perhaps the general did as much as Gandhi to bring the British Empire to an end.

He appears to have been opposed to the enforced prostitution of young girls. He exhorted his troops to behave humanely, probably without much hope that they would do so. He wanted Manila made an open city, but the fanatical Admiral Iwabuchi disobeyed orders, and dug in with his sailors and fought to the death. (The Japanese Army and Navy operated like two separate and distrustful allied states). At the end the city was a shambles, and as Iwabuchi was dead Yamashita, as supreme commander (in theory), had to pay the price. This at least was the excuse.

He also appears to have been harsh with the Filipinos, who were waging a guerilla war. He arrived in the Philippines towards the end, when it was already too late to mend matters. His predecessors having been a golf addict who preferred to let things drift. This charge is rather neaseating, since the Americans had already treated the Filipinos with cruelty and treachery, particularly just after they had taken the islands from Spain. (The Spaniards too had... but why enlarge on this topic of endless oppression?).

"In the bitter post-war atmosphere, atrocities related by a sad and pitiable procession of survivors had a great influence on the court's attitude. . . . Each story was worse than the last. The pitiful, often mutilated witnesses made such an impact on the tribunal that the generals sitting in judgment often found their eyes wet with tears. . . ." The hypocrites! Or were they so utterly stupid that they did not realise that non-combatants, helpless civilians, had been mutilated and tortured by the bombs they had ordered dropped, or the shells they had ordered fired? Why is it wrong to kill a child with a bayonet, right to kill him or her with a bomb dropped from a plane?

There seems to be only one answer. In war the only thing that counts is victory. No one suggests that the Duke of Wellington should be considered a "war criminal" because his soldiers got out of hand and sacked Badajoz, a city inhabited by his Spanish allies. No one is going to put "Bomber" Harris on trial as a mass murderer (though even Churchill now has his doubts about the wisdom of obliteration bombing it appears). Why not? They won!

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Fragment of an Unholy Requiem for World Warmongers

When two obscure defence experts had ecstatically advised the government to blow up the world and parliament had assembled to give its regretful but unanimous approval. . . . All citizens who had never owned scientific deep shelters or operated unscientific early warning systems received free subscriptions to the not-so-exclusive "Sunday Times" colour supplement, advising them to die manfully for freedom, nationalism and democracy. When automatic button pushers had been successfully installed and time mechanisms unsuccessfully regulated and every known politician had discretely disappeared, leaving behind static and loyal bureaucracies and symbolically understaffed hospitals. . . . All undesirable citizens with conscientious objections to war, death and genocide, and other symptoms of patriotic irresponsibility, and all other sensitive citizens who failed to project a suitable sacrificial image, were shot efficiently and unceremoniously and their bodies accused of treachery. When one not-so-holy not-so-immaculate unpromised presidential conception had been diplomatically informed, and had wept, chanting an atheistic unamerican prayer backwards. . . . All pacifists, anarchists, communists and innumerable private unclassifiable dissenters heard stray alien rumours of the planned annihilation, but didn't bother to protest having their own internal troubles at the time, distributing endless printed revolutionary pamphlets and longer duplicated manifestoes. When even cybernetic button pushers, having subversive second thoughts about radiation hazards, suffered contamination of reflective mechanism and dispensed with sub-liminal stimulation. . . . All citizens who had never read radical-liberal quarterlies or marched angrily on London or signed uncountable unreadable petitions or picketed sinister obsolescent bases or refused to buy South African tinned pineapples, received leaden civil-defence badges and authorised inflammable do-it-yourself outfits. Despite frantic suicides and joyless rapes and hideous drunks and the tragic despair of all those who had devoured stale unrepentant hope and finally lost all happy illusions, some citizens wore pressed suits and sickly publicity smiles and sang unapologetic hymns and claimed to be actually unafraid and acted like television actors acting like smug mercenary angels, and awaited knowingly for a miracle or a vision. Yet the expected unwise prophets failed to materialise or speak and no miracles were substantiated or even reported and the terrible truth of the reality of imminent death was universally noted, and almost assimilated, too late. DAVE CUNLIFFE.

FREEDOM

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ALDERMASTON

Continued from page 1
 orities such as the Communists and other minority Marxist Parties and Sects (e.g. Trotskyist, I.L.P. et alia). The feature of last year's "Aldermaston" was surely the C.P. participation. This writer, for the first time (at Aldermaston), had to contend with the "Party" objections to the anarchist case. We can appreciate the alarm in St. Paul's as a result of the threatened kiss-of-death from King Street!

★
 THE gloomy picture presented by comrade Radcliffe in ANARCHY is justified only if one ever cherished illusions, in the revolutionary potentialities of a body such as the CND. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has succeeded in expanding in spite of dismal failure so far as its objectives are concerned simply because it advocates the most popular and uncontroversial of all causes and because it seeks to achieve its aims by "respectable" means. It is not surprising if at a certain stage an attempt should be made to discipline it and use it for political ends. Everybody else is having a go, so why shouldn't Canon Collins and his friends?

If the CND is to become effective as well as being impressive, it must either transform itself into a revolutionary movement or enter the political arena as an organised party. Naturally, we anarchists would prefer to see the former happen. The attempt made by the Committee of 100 to do this failed in so far as it resulted not in a revolutionary transformation of the CND but a break-away by the very people who could have been expected to exert a revolutionary influence within the CND. Perhaps they calculated that their "direct action" would galvanise the rank and file of CND into similar action. If so they have, unfortunately failed. The Committee of 100 is floundering, and hoping for an inspired gimmick to catch the head lines once more. The CND remains with its illusions. As *Sanity* puts it:

This Easter, in 1963, the Aldermaston march and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament want the British government to give Aldermaston and Parliament and all they stand for, which the men and women of this country made but cannot use, back to the people.

Way back, at the first March in 1959 we quoted from the *Manchester Guardian* the following comment:

Sprinkled more thickly than report has given out are obstinate ones who insist on thinking. An Oxford under-

graduate complained of "All this guff of Britain giving a moral lead". He admits the truth of the "moral stuff"—but what we want to know is what political action we can take to change the Government's policy even by a little—and nobody here has said a thing about that."

CND is no nearer to being able to give an answer in 1963 than it was in 1958. It would be churlish to deny that CND has done valuable educational work in making a large number of people aware of the consequences of nuclear war, and persuading them to support any constitutional steps to abolish these weapons. Its failure is that after six years it still talks in these terms:

Politics begins with something we can do. The renunciation of an independent deterrent, and of Britain's part in a NATO deterrent, is something Britain can do. It is something which a rapidly growing proportion of the British people—far, far greater than it was when we first marched—think we should do. It is something we, collectively, can will to happen this year.

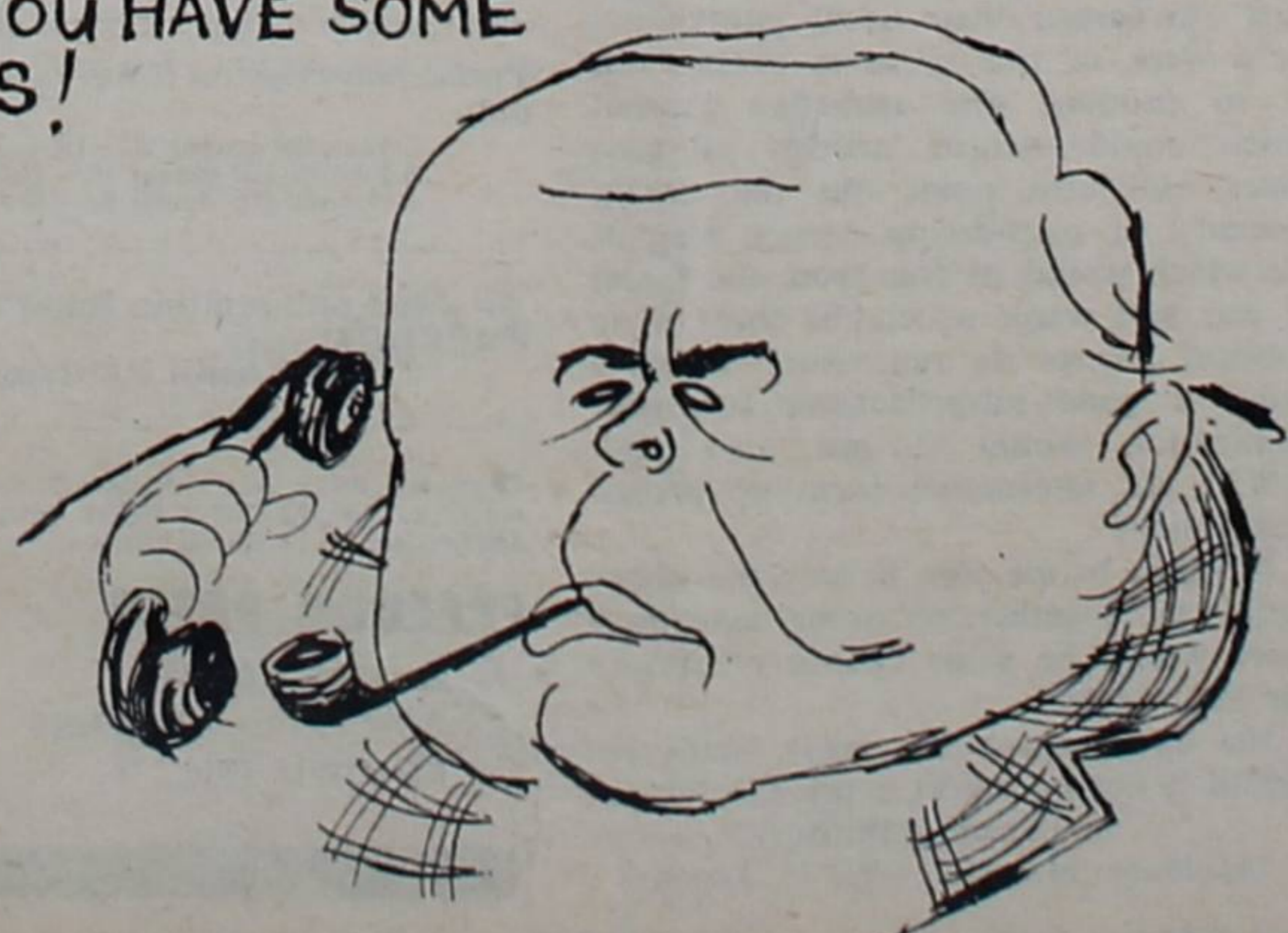
CND will still be "willing" things to happen when the British nuclear deterrent will be scrapped by the government as obsolete or impractical! As we write, Mr. Wilson the Labour Party's shadow Prime Minister has stated in a broadcast to America

"You are not a military Power if you are dependent on somebody else for your weapons." But Britain could be a very important military Power if she concentrated on conventional forces. Britain's "so-called deterrent" added nothing to the West's strength. What it did was "to use up so much of our resources . . . that we are unable to make an adequate contribution to NATO ground forces in conventional terms."

"If we were to drop this pretence," he said, "of being an independent nuclear Power, we should have more resources in order to strengthen British forces in Germany, to see that they are properly equipped, to see that they are properly mobile and could play a full role in NATO." He was not proposing that Britain should accept the status of a second-rate Power. "We are proposing that we come to terms with the facts of the world."

And when this happens, CND may well try to take the credit, but who is honestly going to fall for that one? Governments are not influenced by orderly protests, and disciplined marches. The only language they understand and take into account is that of revolution, of direct action which disrupts the economy and upsets the status quo. True, they dispose of the force to combat such movements, and it will be pointed out that most times they succeed. But not always!

BUT DON'T WORRY, DR. VERWOERD. IF WE DO SELL OUR ARMOURD CARS TO NATO INSTEAD OF TO YOU, I'M SURE DR. ADENAUER WILL LET YOU HAVE SOME OF HIS!



Large—Yes; Small—No

If an Israeli kibbutz is about the nearest we can see today to an anarchist social group (although such members as I spoke to recently hadn't heard of anarchism—not that this matters much, provided they're living it), we may notice how Israeli wisdom provides an answer to one constant hostile criticism of anarchism, namely that it may 'work' on a small scale, but never on a large.

Now it is true that in the commercial and industrial sectors, the Israeli economy is chiefly capitalist. Also that, in agriculture, the production by the village co-operatives now greatly exceeds that of the kibbutzim. Nevertheless, Israelis have not fallen into the vulgar error of supposing that the fewer, and smaller, kibbutzim are, the more productive—and, for their members, happy—they will be. In other words, by keeping production from the soil out of the capitalist sector, and insisting that, even if farmers do not wish to join kibbutzim they should at least be co-operators, and not become landed proprietors, the Israelis have recognised that the greater the area of non-capitalist agricultural economy, the more productive it will be.

Of course, some of the motives the Israelis have for denying the land to private exploitation might not be acceptable to anarchists; for the kibbutzim are military outposts, and strongholds of nationalist sentiment, as well as, in their strictly agricultural function, voluntary egalitarian communities. All the same, I never met anyone in Israel who supposed that the kibbutzim were eccentric 'show pieces' like Owenite islands in the capitalist sea.

Among the arguments of the 'it won't work' variety that I have heard advanced to refute anarchist ideas, I must say the 'Small scale—yes, Large scale—no' one has always seemed to me the most absurd. In the first place, it presupposes that there is some kind of absolute numerical limit to the possibility of effective human co-operation: 5, or 50, or even 500 men will organise themselves and work together (so this reasoning goes), but never 5,000 let alone 50,000. In the next place, this argument denies what seems to be a natural principle of all human activity, which is that the more men behave in one way, rather than another, the greater likelihood there is, in any society, that others will want to behave in this one way too.

For example. Without considering, for the moment, the relative merits, humanly and productively speaking, of feudal agriculture and

the oases of monastic farming that co-existed in the middle ages, it is surely apparent that, when the monks began to build their abbeys and till their farms, the more of these abbey farms there were, the more there were likely soon to be. Or again, when small capitalist undertakings began in the 17th century, it was not until the concept of capitalist exploitation became general in any country that this mode of economy achieved its greatest successes.

Now today, if one considers Ford's of Dagenham, this complex clearly produces cars (after a fashion) as a consequence of managerial and shop floor initiatives (or frictions). But if its prime motive were not profit-making, but production for communal use, and if its management and TU structure were not authoritarian at both ends (both large 'ifs', of course), I still cannot see the theoretical reason—leading to the practical—why these same men, with different social motives, and acting under different social impulses, could not produce as effectively—and more so—as they do now.

I mention Ford's because yet another 'it won't work' argument is that yes, it does in agriculture (and it is even admitted by some sceptics that it might do in large scale farming), but that no, it would never work in industry. Now it is true that if men live together as well as work (as in a kibbutz), the instincts in favour of co-operation are far stronger. And clearly, the difficulty of co-operative life is greater when the factory is vast, and the homes of its workers sometimes miles away. Yet if ('if' again) the factory—however large—were communally owned and organised, and if the housing of its members were felt to be just as much a communal responsibility as the work done in the factory itself, I cannot see why the problem of size and distance could not be overcome.

As a footnote to the kibbutzim, I would add that, so far as I could discover, two further minor arguments against anarchist theory were refuted by their experience. The first is that with a non-money economy you can eat and be housed, yes, but you can never for instance buy fags, travel, get your wife a sewing-machine and so forth. They all hooted with laughter when I suggested this, and explained how these normal human desires for rational 'surplus' needs can easily be satisfied; though they admitted that in the primitive kibbutzim it used in fact to be a case of two pieces

of soap per month per person—and take it or leave it, mate.

The other notion is that kibbutz life must mean a puritannical, censorious denial of joy and individual freedom: the danger, that is, that 'law by mutual consent' can become as tyrannical as law imposed from without. Clearly, this would be the danger in an anarchist society—or so I imagine; and gazing into my private crystal ball, I foresee the day, in anarchist communities, when the men and women who live anarchism will have to rid themselves of those who preach it. But so far as actual kibbutzim I visited go, I can record that I stayed the night at one (Ayelet Hashahar) in a comfortable, unaustere guest house, ate (and drank) in a gay and non-institutional restaurant, went to the pictures (open air)—and none of the kibbutz members seemed to regard this as unnatural. The fact is, I believe, that just as communal life might lead to a 'rule of the saints', so also can voluntary co-operation lead to a real toleration—and not just the 'toleration' of our Society which is so often another name for indifference.

But now—a final contradictory admission: which is that were I an Israeli, I do not think I would like to live and work on a kibbutz. This is partly, no doubt, because of my unregenerate nature, conditioned by capitalist society, which would beckon me from the severities of the Negev to the bright lights of Tel Aviv. But, on reflection, may not this reluctance in fact prove my opening point—namely, that communal life is much more attractive when it is universal? For if, in Tel Aviv, the social structure were the same as out on the kibbutz—that is to say, if a city organised itself on anarchist lines as well as an isolated farm did—I do not believe I'd feel that isolation to the same extent. It is surely because kibbutzim, are in the total Israeli economy, exceptional, that their social life may tend towards undue austerities or self-congratulation; and it is surely for this same reason that the Israeli young (to the great grief of David Ben Gurion) do not volunteer for them in sufficient numbers. It is not that the young of the cities (or those I spoke to) are so much enchanted with a capitalist economy; it is rather that, since most of us are not idealists or pioneers, we prefer the norm to the exception. Were the norm in Israel communal and co-operative, I expect most young Israelis would prefer that too.

COLIN MACINNES.

Industrial Notebook

Continued from page 1

If the future of the jobs of railwaymen is left in the control of union leaders or a prospective Labour Government, the chances of these men having jobs and the people of this country having a railway service, are very slim. Even if the Labour Party is returned to power, there is no guarantee that they will not go through with Beeching's plan. Wilson will be under strong pressure from industrial interests whose profits are made from road transport.

Strike action for a few days as a means of protest will not alter a thing. Passenger sympathy has to be gained, for here as with the busmen, the interests are the same. As the profit motive is uppermost in the mind of the Government, they should be hit in the pocket, for it is there that it hurts them most. The railwaymen's most effective form of action would be to continue running

the trains, but at the same time not take any fares. This would not antagonise the public but would win their sympathy. Short lightning strikes could also be used and would give passengers an idea of what to expect if the closure plan goes through. Liaison between railway workers and passengers could be established in order to inform them why these actions are being taken.

The Government, in total disregard of human needs, plans to eliminate the railways. In the same way it manufactures and tests nuclear weapons, thereby endangering life. In making the railways pay, more money becomes available for the destruction of life.

The railwaymen's struggle for his job, and ours in the nuclear disarmament movement (and as passengers on the railway) is the same. We both have to help one another and to unite to abolish the state which threatens us both.

French Miners Go Back

The French coal miners have returned to work after their long courageous stand against de Gaulle's requisition order. It has been a hard struggle and because the miners' full demands were not won,

feelings are running high against some of the union leaders. These leaders accepted the 6½% immediate rise (the miners demanded 11%), with further increases to reach 12½% by next April.

The miners will also get longer holidays and an immediate advance of about £7.

M. Leon Delfosse, union negotiator for C.G.T., was greeted by miners at Lens with shouts of "Traitor" and "You have let us down". Other union leaders from nearby districts have supported M. Delfosse.

It seems that the miners wanted to carry on with the strike and although they have gained 6½%, this will leave them behind other industries. With the likelihood of further increases there and the expected cost of living rise, the miners will soon be back in their old position.

Once again union leaders have shown their inability to win their members' demands. Compromise has again been the rule. Perhaps the union leaders were losing control and feared for their jobs, for the miners and their wives were determined to win their demands. The miners' leaders did not consult their members, but just accepted offers which they could have agreed upon before. This capitulation has shown a complete disregard for the rank and file.

In France, as here, the nationalised industries bear the brunt of any policy of wage restraint and any attempts on the part of the workers to fight this policy are frustrated by their leaders. P.T.

CAROLINE MAUDLING, who by a sheer coincidence was discovered to film *The Chalk Garden* on the day her father unleashed his pre-election budget, missed her film test because of a high temperature caused by the excitement. No excitement from papa's production. Abolition of owner-occupiers' property tax, increase in allowances, remission of duty for license to sell tobacco and remission of duty on home-brewed beer. . . .

RAILWAY UNIONS threatened strike in response to Beeching plan. *Guardian* reader suggested that railway staff should allow free-travel, carry parcels at a cut rate, leave all level-crossing gates permanently closed to road traffic. French miners went back to work, New Yorkers went back to the Sunday work of reading a seven-hand-a-half-pound newspaper. London Passenger Transport Board considered doing a "Beeching" by turning over uneconomic routes to private enterprise. . . .

THE RHODESIA and Nyasaland Federation seceded from Sir Roy Welensky. Sir Gerald Nabarro asked in *Any Questions* if the team would like their daughters to marry a 'big buck nigger'. Dick Gregory, the Negro comedian, was not arrested when he marched with others to Greenwood, Mississippi courthouse to register as voters, fifteen others were. Mr. Gregory who has said in the past that he would not work in the southern half of a room was man-handled by the police. He said he was cancelling his night club appearances to stay in Greenwood. Mississippi's two senators said yesterday that outside agitators and professional trouble-makers were to blame for the situation. Dr. Cheddi Jagan used armed police, tear gas, and had the Coldstream Guards standing by when a lock-out on the loading of Russian ships with rice precipitated riots and looting. Dr. Jagan said that foreign elements exploiting union-racketeering were responsible. . . .

LONDON CIVIL DEFENCE rehearsed the evacuation of 250 'casualties' from Hackney across the Thames to Woolwich. The French Government confirmed that

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French tactical aircraft would be armed with U.S. nuclear weapons. Britain initialled agreement to buy between eighty and one hundred Polaris missiles from the USA. Mr. MacNamara contemplates withdrawing US bombers from British and Spanish bases. France is preparing for a nuclear test in the Gambier Islands. America exploded an underground nuclear device in the Nevada desert. The disarmament con-

ference at Geneva came up with an idea for direct telephone or teleprinter communication between the White House and the Kremlin with no branch exchanges for Mr. Macmillan or Bertrand Russell. A teleprinter was favoured to eliminate emotive content of the spoken word and to ensure the possibility of checking messages. A corporal in an ammunition depot called at a WRAC camp with three live grenades after a 'tiff' with his girl friend, he was arrested before he could do any harm. Firework firms have agreed not to make any more penny or three-halfpenny bangers which cause so many accidents to children. . . .

THE PROBLEM of how to dispose of organic waste in space flights has been solved. The Russians failed, or didn't try to land on the moon. An American negro has been selected for a future US space flight. The authorities in Zermatt were said to have kept the fact of the outbreak of typhoid a secret for six months. . . .

TWO SOVIET POLICE were sentenced to death for beating up a young com-

munist so severely that he died from his injuries. Protest was made in the *Daily Worker* at the aggressive attitude of the police in an unemployment demonstration outside the Houses of Parliament. Five policemen manhandled a coloured jazz singer who tried to speak to Christine Keeler, when she arrived at the Old Bailey for estreatment of her recognisances of £40. Mr. Profumo is suing *Paris-Match* for libel. . . .

MR. MACNAMARA said that Canada's ground-to-air-missiles would be useful to draw off Russian missile fire from other targets. . . .

AN ENQUIRY into violence and ill-treatment in Durham prison opened. Earl Jellicoe, the Minister of State, Home Office, said that criticisms of prison life in *Inside Story* were exaggerated or distorted or indeed untrue. "They had their legs pulled by old lags". Catering would be improved since an eminent member of Lyons' catering firm had recently been appointed honorary cater-

ing adviser. The porridge supplied was "Pin Head No. 1" which had been confused with "Pig Meal No. 1". Lord Jellicoe said "the diet is certainly not luxurious; it would be wrong that it should be. Chlorophyll deodorants were found to be ineffectual by Consumers' Research. . . .

TWO NEW nuclear power stations were opened. These can only be partially dismantled even when finished and a radio-active 60 foot cube of concrete and steel will remain for a century or so. . . .

THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH is working out a scheme to issue health identity cards to everybody. . . .

PROFESSOR C. S. LEWIS believes that if we get to outer space "We shall enslave, deceive, exploit or exterminate [the inhabitants]. At the very least we shall corrupt this race with our vices, and infect it with our ideas. We are not yet fit to visit other worlds."

JON QUIXOTE.

Conservatism and Anarchism

DEAR EDITORS,

I feel that Paul Robertshaw has missed the whole point of K.M.'s article to the point of misrepresentation.

I do not get the impression that he is trying to paint a picture of anarchists as "mere bomb throwers, picture smashers, etc.," but rather to illustrate how the revolutionary anarchist argues that unless all existing institutions are destroyed he cannot go on to build the free society.

It is then pointed out that this view stems from a set of social circumstances peculiar to western societies. The argument then being that if our anarchist lived among the Nuer or some other ruler-less people, he would then oppose any move to change the *status quo*. For example today with culture contact from Europeans there is pressure to adopt modern methods of agriculture which would bring about the collapse of old social relations, and if adopted would bring about a set of social relations and institutions revolving round private property. Our anarchist in this context can then be expected to oppose this change regardless of any benefits to the people concerned. As he is now disposed to maintaining the existing social system I would suggest he is a conservative in the context of this society.

The writer then goes on to say that in societies where institutions and old values have been "snapped off", these have had lamentable effects on them.

He draws a parallel here with the advocated methods of revolutionary anarchism mentioned earlier in the article and calls for a more detailed look at the institutions in our own society, this type of anarchist is out to destroy. The implications being that wholesale destruction of existing institutions in our society may have lamentable effects. I would therefore suggest that this cautious anarchist can be called conservative as he would undoubtedly oppose a number of changes proposed by the other. Auckland, N.Z., 31 Mar. T.J.K.

Get Disciplined?

DEAR EDITORS,

Comrade Arthur Uloth always writes an interesting and well-thought-out letter, but one feels that in this meditative and discursive essay on 'Freedom' and Violence he has not as yet completed his thinking processes, and was not quite ready to write. This is a pity because of his obvious ability as a writer and a thinker, so it is to be hoped he has not said his last word.

If "the anarchist movement has received a new lease of life from the non-violent anti-bomb movement" is it not possible that non-violence rests at the very heart of anarchism? If "there are situations where non-violence is hardly applicable," how could non-violence be so vital to concrete life-situations?

The "stock question" about the man with the gun is rather easily answered by a pacifist. My answer would be: "I would throw my gun away." What was I going to do with this gun in the first place? Evidently then I had already abandoned a position of non-violence! Arthur Uloth is honestly troubled by his own answer, but is forced to make a solution for himself by claiming that there is a difference of degree between



personal violence and war, and "hence" a difference of kind! Is war a "different kind" of violence? Or is this only an attempt to excuse something by divorcing it from any practical and immediate situation and making it an abstract? Then, as an abstract, it can then be applied to "any" situation? Nonsense! And this is why the "stock question" is nonsense and deserves or demands a nonsensical answer.

Personally, I favour non-violence not because it is "humanitarian" (whatever that means) or practical, but because I do not agree that I or anyone else has the right to produce pain, suffering or death. I cannot accept that non-violence is practical right here, but less practical

far away from here. Unquestionably non-violence is a force, a superior force, and in the end a more effective force than the decadent, negative violence of our "governments", who baldly pledge themselves to kill. Yet will any government massacre 100,000 non-violent anarchists in a group? What can they even do to 50?

If, as Arthur Uloth says, "the Angolans, Kurds, Nagas, South African Negroes, etc. do right to fight" in order to only "achieve a mitigated form of slavery," do they then "do right to fight?" If all this only achieves an undesired end, would not a non-violent force do better? Yet, Arthur Uloth seems to agree with this, too!

It is amazing to me that Arthur Uloth can wish to cut off personal life from political life, by asserting that one is not committed to "non-violence in one's personal life." This is precisely why people have so little to do with non-violence, and do not know what to do with it when it is presented as a possible technique. Non-violence is an extremely difficult and dangerous discipline which must be approached on a deeply personal level, and as such, might even alter one's basis for being an anarchist or pacifist. One might even have to give up one's hatred of one's parents, teachers, M.P.s, etc., and even discover it was deeply satisfying to have real reasons for doing things. Otherwise, when a real situation presents itself, we revert to our old ways of hatred and violence despite our elegant and labourious abstractions! As Ernie Crosswell says, we'll only "have the posthumous satisfaction of having killed one of the bastards—and it could be a brother or a son we were killing."

The adolescent rebels, the teddy-boys, the professional complainers who sputter about their constitutional rights, the sensation-seekers, the sight-seers and the class-war addicts were out in force last Wednesday night for the "March on Parliament", make no mistake about it! They were not interested in non-violence, and neither were the police. Five, ready to become martyrs over a torn-up poster, sat down, but were up fairly sheepishly after fifteen minutes. The police were united, disciplined and ready to do their job and pay violence with violence. What will happen when the non-violent become united and disciplined, ready to do their job and pay violence with non-violence?

ALBERT H. CODDINGTON.
London, N.W.3. April 5.

Get Together?

DEAR SIR,

In view of the coming General Election, would it be possible for FREEDOM, "Peace News" and the "S. Standard" to forego their usual publication for a week or two so as to enable you all to produce one attractive journal which could include articles of past issues and also point out the urgent necessity of considering a new way of life which would be free from the threat of war and want, which the three main political parties do not offer? Besides being a good advertisement for your publication would it not also offer C.N.D. an alternative form of protest and policy?

It seems to me that if only the above could get together on some agreement there would be some chance of success for your ideas.

No doubt there are many snags but would it not be worth a private debate?

Yours faithfully,
E. Molesey, Mar. 11 W. H. MOORE.



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

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