

'Wherever there is a man who exercises authority, there is a man who resists authority.'

OSCAR WILDE

**In this Issue:**

LARGE--YES; SMALL--NO  
WAY OUT OF THIS WORLD  
CORRESPONDENCE

**THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.**

THE traditional climax—or rather, anti-climax—of the Aldermaston march is a meaningless mass meeting on Easter Monday somewhere in central London. In 1959, 1960, and 1961 this meeting was held in Trafalgar Square. But in 1961 members of the Committee of 100 staged an unofficial sit-down in Grosvenor Square, and then a fascist group booked Trafalgar Square for the following Easter Monday. So in 1962 the meeting was held in Hyde Park—and was followed by an ominously silent picket in Grosvenor Square and some running fights in other parts of the West End.

In 1963 the meeting was held in Hyde Park again, but it might just as well not have been held at all. Many members of the Committee of 100 had been calling for more radical action for several weeks, and the CND leaders should have known they would never get away with it this time. Then the whole march was dominated by the publication of the RSG pamphlet by the "Spies for Peace" on Friday, and by the raid on RSG-6 by anarchists, left-wing socialists, and members of the Committee of 100 on Saturday. The same sort of thing was bound to happen on Monday.

The CND leaders had planned a round tour of the West End for Monday afternoon, starting from the lunch-stop in Hyde Park and ending at the final meeting in Hyde Park, and they had refused to discuss any alternative plans with the "March Must Decide" group of the Committee of 100. This group recommended that marchers who wanted more radical action should join the CND round tour and then go back to Whitehall afterwards. But the marchers in question decided to ignore both CND and Committee of 100 leaders, quite rightly.

When the CND leaders left Hyde Park on their way to Victoria, they were closely followed by about a thousand anarchists, left-wing socialists, and members of the Committee of 100 (much the same people as those who had gone to RSG-6 on Saturday), who managed to get out of Hyde Park past police cordons. By the time we reached Victoria, the police were getting rattled, and nearly all the fights that accompanied the progress of this contingent were started by police trying to force us to the left-hand side of the road.

One police officer announced that they were going to stop the march altogether and disperse the crowd and it was this comment that brought many of the bystanders into the march behind the anarchist banners. After the solid wedge of people had by sheer pressure of numbers and without any violence that I could see, forced their way through four police cordons and the mounted police barrier, it appeared

## The People in the Streets

*A rehearsal of what they COULD do*

that the march was to be allowed to go forward, but in Whitehall several more attempts were made to tear down the banners and halt the march. Each time the police formed a barrier it either broke through weight of numbers or as in the case of the coach barrier the marchers went around (and in some cases over) the obstacle and formed lines right across the road to continue the march.

The police have since denied that they were trying to stop the march and in retrospect it seems that, due to the FLA banner's prominence at RSG-6 they had decided that it was the FLA who would lead the Committee of 100's reported "break-away" march.

In fact it had already been decided by the activists around the 100 and anarchist banners that no separate demonstration would be run until after the 'official' march had ended, but police intelligence apparently obtained their information from the early evening papers and set out to prevent a non-existent demonstration.

In Victoria Street we were up against a few score foot police and about half a dozen horses, but we soon took over the whole road. In Whitehall we did so again. The police were expecting either an old-fashioned well-disciplined CND march or an old-fashioned well-disciplined Committee of 100 sit-

down, so they brought in reinforcements and blocked Whitehall with two coaches parked right across the road. But we kept the initiative, and after a few minutes and a few arrests we were past the coaches and through the cordons, and we kept the road for the rest of Whitehall and for Pall Mall.

In Regent Street we were getting thinned out a bit, but we took over the road again, and there were more arrests. The police suddenly realised that the London Federation of Anarchists' banner was decorated with the front page of the RSG pamphlet, and tore it off. But we went on. In Oxford Street we were thinned out so much that we were unable to keep the whole road, but we still had most of it. By this time, the police had given up, and were quite content to get us into Hyde Park again. There we ignored the official meeting and went on to join the last meeting of the "March Must Decide" group, which decided that the march had done enough.

The lesson of this closing incident is not that the Aldermaston march is run by teddy-boys, or that unilateralists are violent, or that sinister political groups are trying to take the movement over. In fact there were very few teddy-boys, there was very little violence, and the political groups involved were only doing what they have been doing for years. The real lesson is that about a



thousand of all kinds of politically conscious people in the unilateralist movement proved conclusively that they possessed the road for as long as they wanted. If the police had used truncheons or dogs, there would have been an immediate and effective sit-down. If they had left us alone, we would have held all the road all the time. It wasn't a

riot—it was a rehearsal of what we can do if we want to. It was fun, but it wasn't a joke. The police were helpless. They had no idea how to stop us taking the road, or how to stop us shouting that RSG-6 is at Warren Row, or indeed how to stop us doing exactly what we wanted. This is a good lesson. We must learn it.

## An appeal to the International Anarchist Movement

We address ourselves to organized groups as well as to individuals, asking for their solidarity to engage in an international campaign of protest against the brutal sentences that the Franco regime has imposed on members of our libertarian organizations in Spain.

We consider it is the utmost duty of all militant anarchists to be on the alert and to make all the necessary propaganda to procure and create a current of sympathy and backing for our comrades who have been accused, without evidence, of crimes ranging from violent insurrection to the publication of clandestine literature, for which they have been given terms ranging from 8 to 30 years imprisonment.

In the struggle for the freedom of the Spanish people, the libertarian movement has contributed its maximum effort and sacrifice, being the movement that has, at all times, resisted the most repressive ferocity of the regime.

Our action has always been and is now, more than ever directed towards the downfall of the Franco tyranny to obtain the restoration of freedom in Spain and render possible and effective the struggle of the anarchist movement.

We believe that with the help of our comrades in other countries, we can do something effective to mobilise the opinion of the world against the dictatorial regime that oppresses our coun-

try, exposing their 'justice', and bring pressure for the revision of their cases in which they were given no chance to defend themselves.

To this end, we invite all anarchists of the world and all lovers of freedom, to show their solidarity with our comrades by organizing all kinds of protests and sending letters and telegrams demanding their freedom to U.N.O., Unesco, the League of Human Rights, etc., etc., to interest in the campaign all the personalities of art, literature, and science, to the ends that it will achieve its maximum efficiency.

Also, we appeal to all the international militant anarchists, organized or otherwise, to give all the moral support and economic help possible to continue the fight against Iberian fascism. The Spanish struggle, can and ought to be the flag that will unite the international anarchist movement in the struggle for freedom in the world. CNT-FIJJ-FAI.

## Demonstration

The London Federation of Anarchists are holding a demonstration outside the Spanish Embassy Belgrave Square, S.W.1 on Saturday, April 27th at 3 p.m.

The Protest is against the imprisonment by Franco's tyranny of our anarchist comrades. Turn up to give your support and solidarity.

## Demonstration somewhere in England

THE publication of *Regional Seat of Government Six* and the subsequent demonstration at the bunker, will give the anti-nuclear movement a breakthrough and a new impetus.

The knowledge that R.S.G.6 was only a mile from the route of the Aldermaston March gave rise to an opportunity that was too good to be missed. Hundreds of marchers wanted to see this place for themselves and started to form up for the purpose quite some distance from the scheduled dinner stop.

As we approached the lane leading to R.S.G.6, Peggy Duff, with the help of a loudspeaker, tried to persuade the demonstrators to carry on to the dinner stop, and not branch off to the bunker. She met with little success and several hundreds turned off down the lane.

We walked, crowded together, down the lane. Everyone was in high spirits, with the anarchist banners held high. As we got closer to the bunker, we could hear a police dog barking. Several of the people in front began to infiltrate through the woodland surrounding the bunker. We continued on the road until we reached the front entrance to R.S.G.6.

There were a few policemen at the entrance gate which had no fencing either side and therefore served no apparent purpose. By this time the people who had turned off through the wood, had reached the back of the bunker and were making for the underground entrance. We ourselves left the road and scrambled through the brambles to the bunker. All that was visible was a boiler house and a ramp leading down to a green door which was guarded by the police in company with a dog.

A number of scuffles arose on the mound overlooking the bunker and more as we edged our way down the ramp on our behinds after sitting down. People began jumping down from the mound, landing behind the police, who then turned round to grab them. This gave us an opportunity to shuffle further down getting closer to the doors. Some of the demonstrators were handled roughly, resulting in scuffles. Cries of "sit-down" and "no violence" were heard and one person said, "If the police act like animals that is no reason why we should drop to their standards".

The police were asked if they knew what they were guarding but they declined to answer. By this time they had their backs up against the doors. They were completely overwhelmed and taken by surprise due to the fact that the demonstrators had approached the bunker by devious routes.

We sat completely blocking the entrance, with more demonstrators clustered on the mound and bank overlooking us, all of us singing "We shall not be moved". The police looked very red and flustered. People began discussing and putting their views forward on what should be the next step. Many thought that we had made our point and that after a short period of silence we should leave, while others considered that it was up to the individual to decide for himself when was the right time to leave. The majority of the demonstrators

Continued on page 3

# ANARCHY 27

WILL BE ON  
YOUTH

ANARCHY is Published by  
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# We must remember

ON April the 15th, 1920, at about three in the afternoon the guard and the paymaster of a shoe factory were carrying the company payroll of \$15,776.51 through the main street of Braintree, Massachusetts when they were gunned down by two armed men. A car containing three more men drew up and the two gunmen threw the two boxes containing the payroll into the car and all five drove away across the railroad tracks. On May the 5th, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were charged with the murder of these two unfortunate men and on July the 14th, 1921, each defendant was found guilty of murder in the first degree. 99 witnesses testified the innocence of the defendants while 59 witnesses were called by the Commonwealth to support their case which was one solely of identification but on the 22nd August, 1927, Sacco and Vanzetti in their turn were duly murdered by the State to placate the angry hysteria of that fading age.

Francis Russell, who was ten years old at the time of the shootings, grew up within the emotional liberal faction of the period and accepted the innocence

of these two men more from partisan than rational reasoning but the doubts that he has since felt have crystallized into a book\* wherein he bluntly states that in his opinion Sacco was guilty of the murder of the payroll guard Alessandro Berardelli. Russell produces an arresting array of expert evidence that must shake the confidence of many who have over the years, believed in the innocence of these two men and one must be grateful to Michael A. Musmanno, another American, for carefully examining Russell's claims and assertions and finding them wanting in fact and worthlessness in assessment.

A 32 calibre bullet was taken from the body of the slain Berardelli and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts claimed that this bullet was fired from a Colt pistol found in the possession of Sacco (he carried one as a nightwatchman) though eleven witnesses swore that Sacco was in Boston at the time of the shooting. The State's two firearm experts were both publicly discredited when it was too late to make redress, while in

\*"Tragedy in Dedham", by Francis Russell. Published by McGraw-Hill, \$6.95.

## Virtue in very little danger

IT WAS on the Eve of Aldermaston when two FREEDOM writers repaired to the Mermaid for a couple of hours of a priori refreshment, and it is my pleasure to report that the tribulations of the Twentieth Century disappeared for these two entire hours, giving way to the most licentious period in English letters (and, if art indeed does fairly echo reality) in English life.

Vanbrugh, author of "The Relapse", was an architect—an associate of Christopher Wren—and a man of uncommon integrity, who, upon refusing for aesthetic and historical reasons to conform to the Duchess of Marlborough's wishes in the construction of Blenheim Palace, landed in the Bastille, to which unlovely place we owe the origin of these comic and lecherous imaginings.

Apart from the author's contempt for heraldry and his disapproval of primogeniture, there is nothing political in "The Relapse". It is all frothy sex and a very welcome change it makes from the obscurely depressing and drearily depraved business sex has become in our century.

Consequently, Mr. Dehn & Mr. Bernard are to be congratulated for maintaining the Restoration flavour of the Original. Wherever they depart into more contemporary overtones, and this seems more evident musically than in the lyrics, in no instance are they at variance with the Seventeenth Century; their own contributions, nevertheless, turn it somehow, and I don't know how, to our contemporary advantage. For example, although some of the songs would have made the top ten of the pop list of the earlier period, notably *Fortune, thou art a Bitch; Stand Back, old Sodom; I shall cuckold someone before Morning*; others, like *I'm in Love with my Husband, no matter how he feels about me; Why do I feel what I feel? Wait a Little longer, Lover, etc.* can be as appropriately sung now as they could have been then. The lyrics, despite the family resemblance they bear to Mr. Dehn's other verse, convey incontrovertible authenticity, and the brief interludes of prose repartee are juicy and sophisticated. Despite the immense wit, exuberance and assorted talents of the collaborators, I don't know how this elaborate trifle would have come off if the production hadn't been perfect in all respects. I don't mean this derogatorily. Having only last week seen Peter Brook's "Lear", in which everything—casting, acting, direction, lyric insensibility—was wrong, I acknowledge that is more enjoyable to see a minor work done so well, than a masterpiece so badly.

The direction here, most notable in the superb timing, the stage arrangements and business (a credit to Wendy Toye) the sets and costumes (by Alex Stone; and what a gorgeous fop Lord Foppington was!) and certainly the singing and acting were all splendid. I must single out the hoyden, played by Patsy Byrne, not because she is the best performer—there was no best, although if there were, I rather think it might have been Patricia Routledge, who as Berinthia, the widow, was wickedly naughty without being vulgar—but because Miss Byrne, whom you may have seen on Tele last week, scratching her bottom during her marriage ceremony (as Audrey in "As You Like It") deserves credits for being the lowliest peasant in London.

"Virtue in Danger" is, surely, outside the privacy of one's own bedchamber, the bawdiest affair in London, and I recommend it to all Aldermastons eager to forget their blistered feet.

DACHINE RAINER.

"Virtue in Danger", adapted from Vanbrugh's "The Relapse" or "Virtue in Danger", with book and lyrics by Paul Dehn and music by James Bernard, Mermaid Theatre, Puddledock, Blackfriars.

1927 a third "expert" who had claimed that Sacco's gun fired the fatal bullet, some months later made himself look publicly foolish when he stated, in another case, that in his expert opinion an accused man fired a fatal bullet only to learn that the accused man did not even possess the gun until after the killing and that the gun bore no relation to the fatal bullet.

Nothing daunted, Russell has produced his own two experts, Weller and Jury, and Russell claims that a test bullet fired from Sacco's ancient pistol "determined beyond dispute" that the bullet that killed the guard came from Sacco's gun but unfortunately for Russell, his experts cannot be accepted as unbiased for in 1957 before these two experts had even seen the bullet or the gun, they had gone on public record with a predetermined conclusion that Sacco's gun fired the fatal bullet. Musmanno decided to check Russell's two experts and he found that one, Frank Jury, had openly admitted that in 1957 Jury stated conclusively that a revolver found on an armed robber was the weapon that killed a man in 1954.

The lawyers of the man already serving a sentence for the 1954 killing demanded their client's release but after an intensive inquiry the Pittsburg Police found that the gun could not have been used in the 1954 killing for it was in the legal possession of another person at the time and furthermore their ballistic tests showed that the bullets from the armed robber's gun bore not the slightest resemblance to the 1954 death bullet.

Jury, still undaunted, conducted a second test and agreed with the police that his first test had been hopelessly wrong and now forty-one years after the Braintree shooting this "expert" again offers his opinions. And Jac Weller, Russell's other expert?

Russell describes him as "honorary curator of the West Point Museum" yet he spends the major part of his time as a real estate and insurance salesman and these are the two men who Russell claims as his experts. A firearm test, as Musmanno points out, must be performed when the weapon is in the same condition as when it was used in the alleged shooting and Sacco's gun and the Berardelli bullet have had an odd odyssey since 1920.

In 1923 Russell admits that the barrel of Sacco's gun had become fouled and rusted and after 1927 Sacco's pistol and the Berardelli bullet were no longer in the possession of the State Police and no one seemed to know or care about their whereabouts until they were finally traced to the home of Charles Van Amburg the son of the man who had testified against Sacco as a gun "expert" at the 1921 trial.

.0005 of an inch is used by experts to determine whether bullets from a particular gun match or not and this gun and bullet were found in envelopes was so encrusted with rust that the whose clips had rusted into the paper.

Thirty-eight years after the shooting Weller and Jury, as the "experts", de-

cidated to test Sacco's gun but the barrel barrel had first to be cleaned.

And what did these two "experts" do to clean the barrel? They fired two shots through this rusty barrel and in doing so shot away every shred of evidence, for they altered the entire internal surface of the pistol barrel. The Berardelli bullet had also rusted and the two "experts" washed it. As Musmanno bitterly points out, soap and water would be useless to wash away the rust while acid would affect the very constituency of the metal so that even Van Amburgh, Jr., who had the custody of these rusted pieces of scrap iron went on record that the alleged testing could only be regarded as useless while Lieutenant Collins of the Massachusetts State Ballistics Laboratory said "The way they handled these exhibits from the beginning makes my hair stand on end . . . I don't know whether you could prove anything with them now or not. I wouldn't touch them myself".

So much for the official police view. Throughout his book, Russell quotes hearsay evidence and assumptions that rely not on reason but emotion for their validity so that page after page can only be discarded as worthless by the inquiring student. Russell, to quote one instance, states that Carlo Tresca, a New York anarchist told Max Eastman that Sacco was guilty and Eastman in his turn told Russell, yet in all the collected letters of Sacco and Vanzetti there is no letter to Tresca who was neither a close associate of the two doomed men, a witness to the shooting or as he had openly stated himself, knew anything personally about the facts of the case. Yet Russell who never even met Tresca quotes him to bolster his story and attempts to justify it by stating that even the police who had arrested Tresca 36 times for social lapses that ranged from criminal obscenity to graver or lesser offences never "ques-

tioned his integrity".

Russell also offers Fred Moore, Sacco's dismissed defence council, as a believer in Sacco's guilt though Moore knew no more than the rest of informed public opinion about the case yet understandably felt bitter about his dismissal. Upton Sinclair still stands firm in his belief in Sacco's innocence. Aldino Felicani of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee complains that Russell garbled his statements while Tom O'Connor who placed many authentic documents at Russell's disposal and gave many hours of his time refused in the end to accept the dedication of the book to himself because as he publicly states, the book "contains so many errors, so much malicious innuendo . . . apart from his fantastically wrong conclusions". The Rev. R. D. Sawyer protested to Russell about misrepresentation, Montgomery, a Boston lawyer also protested about misrepresentation, while Russell's major witness for his one-man persecution, Michael E. Stewart, the Bridgewater Chief of Police who was responsible for the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti repudiates Russell completely, for while Russell in this book quotes Stewart verbatim, Stewart publicly states that Russell "never came here, and I didn't talk to him anywhere else", which means that one must be lying and no matter who it is it makes the whole foundation of Russell's shallow polemic suspect. Michael A. Musmanno has taken Russell's facts and they have crumbled between his searching fingers like dry mud but the dust from his assortment of assumptions, conjectures, distortions and misrepresentation will now form part of the armoury of reaction, for this book in its turn will be quoted against the unanswering dead and will be quoted as an "authority" by those who will never bother to seek out or even be aware of Musmanno's findings. But we must remember.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## LETTER

### Where are the individualists?

DEAR COMRADES,

Why is an otherwise excellent editorial marred by a jibe at "the individualist", by which I suppose individualist-anarchist is meant?

In all my years in the anarchist movement I have never once met this character; . . . 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."

Well, there are fairies at the bottom of my garden, as well as little men who visit us periodically in their flying saucer. They come from Mars. Unicorns I have often encountered, and pink elephants every Saturday night. But I have never met an anarchist who does not believe in organisation, still less one calling himself an individualist. Al-

though I have met irresponsible anarchists, who would certainly deny indignantly that they did not believe in organisation. Oh yes, they believe in it all right, only they don't practise it.

Individualist anarchists are as well aware as anyone of the need to organise things. Unless of course they are all humbugs and nothing they write is ever sincerely meant. They want to get together with those of a like mind, to organise things for the advantage of each member of the group. This is what we do already in the anarchist movement, and what the Aldermaston marchers do too, despite the attempts of authoritarian-minded people to change things.

I would be interested extremely if the editors of FREEDOM would introduce me to the writings, or indeed to the person, of any anarchist thinker who does not believe in organisation.

Yours fraternally,  
London, April 13. ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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## BRUCE AGAINST 1984

HARD on the quashing of the Illinois Supreme Court of Lenny Bruce's conviction for presenting an obscene show came the news of his deportation from Britain by the Home Secretary. He was reported as saying that "it would not be in the public interest" to allow Lenny Bruce to work in this country.

Lenny Bruce does not indulge in the kind of satire that enables politicians to laugh comfortably at their own lesser foibles, the *Private Eye*—*Beyond the Fringe* you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours type of presentation that is such a feature of the *New Satire*. Bruce's work is characterised by a hard, bitter anger, his shafts are vicious, and 90% of the time well aimed. Politicians don't laugh at themselves when Bruce is working—as they do with Mort Sahl or Shelley Berman—they walk out, and to judge from the events of the past few months try and rig yet another phoney obscenity charge against the most original social critic of our time. After Bruce's first deportation, the press faithfully noted that he had been arrested seven times for obscenity and the illegal use and possession of drugs. They did not mention that so far not one of these charges has been made to stick. In fact the doctor who treated Bruce in this country has stated categorically that he is not a drug addict and that he does take drugs under strict medical supervision for a painful spinal injury received in the merchant navy during the war.

Three weeks ago, in these pages, I

said that no one who had heard Lenny Bruce work could ever again take quite the same view of the world. This, in essence, is the reason why it is "against the public interest" for him to perform in this country. Lenny Bruce's ability to make his audience question the whole politico-economic and social set-up threatens the *status quo*. "To question the prevailing morality is to disturb the peace", H. L. Menken quotes, "and the disturber of the peace—in the national view—quickly passes over into the downright criminal".

But the attempts to silence Bruce are only one aspect of the reactionary moralistic wave that is beginning to gather momentum in this country and America. The acceptance of *Private Eye* and *That Was The Week That Was* was not due to an increasing liberalism in our society but the last kicks of a liberalism that is rapidly dying as 1984 draws near in the national view—quickly passes over into the downright criminal".

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did sell it, and all attempts to clarify what they may or may not sell, are being blocked by the Home Secretary, who prefers apparently to allow the police to create "criminals" as the whim takes them, the fear of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment being the best means of censorship yet devised in our "democratic" society.

Recently a British firm acquired the rights to the 'Fantasy' label, the American firm that issues Lenny Bruce records in the States. They have announced that they do not intend to issue any of Bruce's records and I have been told by a spokesman for the firm that this is due to fear of action against them by the authorities. The gap between Lenny Bruce and Henry Miller is not very wide. Both have fought against the ever-increasing inroads on individual both time and fact. The Obscene Publication made by a society that is increasingly totalitarian in nature, both have taken the corrupt and perverted values of contemporary society and tried to substitute a system of values based on love, both have seen through the myths of the anti-life forces that Kenneth Patchen lumped together as

" . . . our governments, our civilisation, and all other corrupt and spirit-forsaken institutions".

Miller, being a writer, could afford to wait. Lenny Bruce, direct actionist, cannot wait. In his fight against the kind of future that George Orwell envisages for the world he needs and deserves our support, for his defeat will also be ours.

J. M. PILGRIM.



# FREEDOM

April 20 1963 Vol 24 No 13

## RSG-6: Facts and Opinions

HOWEVER embarrassing the "Spies for Peace" document may have been to the respectable leaders of the Aldermaston March, they cannot surely overlook the fact that it put the March "on the map", at least so far as the organs of Mass Communications were concerned. "Danger! Official Secret. RSG-6" is a duplicated pamphlet purporting to give details of one of 12 Regional Seats of Government which have been set up throughout the country for use in the event of a nuclear war. Each RSG has "an operational staff of several hundred" headed by top ranking military and civil officers, scientists, medical men and civil servants. No politicians are mentioned. "It is—write the authors of the document—not a centre for civil defence. It is a centre for *military government*".

Now this pamphlet is a mixture of facts and opinions. Judging by the reaction of the authorities and the Press, it is probable that the facts are true. But the opinions with which the facts are larded seem to us confused, to say the least. The introductory note opens with the following words:

This pamphlet is about a small group of people who have accepted thermo-nuclear war as a probability, and are consciously and carefully planning for it.

And two paragraphs later we are told that these "professors, top-civil servants, air marshals and policemen" are "quietly waiting for the day the bomb drops, for that will be the day they take over".

Are we to interpret the first paragraph as meaning that this "small group of people" are planning for a thermo-nuclear war in an aggressive

sense, are planning to *provoke* such a war? If so then our second quotation in which it is stated that they are "*quietly waiting for the day the bomb drops*" (our italics) is not indicative of a group of people busily trying to set the world on fire! Is the ambiguity intentional or just a case of slipshod writing?

Let us examine that first paragraph once more. "This pamphlet is about a small group of people who have accepted thermo-nuclear war as a probability". But millions of people in the world share their view. The vast majority feel helpless at doing anything about it and resign themselves to their "fate"; a small minority march, sit-down, protest and resist as best they can. We all know that the "probability" is not removed if this country were to disarm "unilaterally". So long as one power possesses thermo-nuclear weapons the threat of annihilation exists, according to this argument. Would the authors of the pamphlet in such a circumstance consider the fact that "small groups" of people in the various countries "were consciously and carefully planning for it" a sinister move? After all no one *knows with absolute certainty* what would be the result of a Nuclear war (it is not the certainty of annihilation which makes anarchists oppose nuclear war; we opposed wars when they were fought according to the Queensbury rules). Indeed, no one really knows for certain whether—or when—there will be a World War II; whether it will be nuclear (mass roasting) or conventional (—more or less—selective roasting); and, of capital importance to the strategists: who will be the "enemy"!

## Fantastic, Macabre and Pathetic

SPECIALISTS are boring (as well as "brilliant") people because, apart from the notable exceptions, they eat, breathe, dream and live within the narrow confines of their specialty. RSG-6 is, on the evidence of the pamphlet before us, the dreamchild of such a group of specialists, who wouldn't know how to say boo even to Canon Collins, but who have probably studied Government at LSE, Ballistics at X and Communications at Y, who have been presented with a problem Z to resolve and have produced a "Warren" to which hundreds of "rabbits" have been briefed to scuttle (within four minutes of the warning?) if and when the H-bombs are delivered. According to the plans provided by the "Spies for Peace" each R.S.G.—or more accurately RSG-6—consists of 60 rooms to accommodate and to provide for the domestic needs of this skeleton government. If one believes that nuclear war means annihilation—at least for small countries such as Britain, then the provisions made have a fantastic or macabre ring about them.

The Ministry of Labour is in Room 13, the National Assistance Board in Room 10 is next door to the Messengers (heavenly?) Lavatories in 21 are practically sited next to Ventilating Shaft in 22, while the Treasury (in 15) is optimistically situated next door to that of Power (26). In this surrealist Hades there is a Ministry of Health (30) as well as a Common Services (51). There is, believe it or not, a GPO (to deliver condolences from the dead to the dead?), a Ministry of Labour (provision for the age of Automation?)—but what about the mar-

kets?) a Ministry of Transport (will the dead bury the dead?), a Ministry of Aviation (in the light of "Honest to God" realism presumably?) a First Aid room (!?) an Information room (a breakthrough for the Spiritualists?) and a National Insurance room (death benefits, from the womb to the tomb?)

But seriously, Regional Seat of Government-6 is the pathetic product of minds so conditioned to worshipping law and order that they cannot see the futility of Generals without an Army, of Fire Chiefs without Fire brigades, of a Treasury where money has been abolished . . . by H-bombs; a Ministry of Labour overlording a non-existent labour force; a Ministry of Health attending to the health of the dead and a police force "protecting" non-existent property.

In this respect the pamphlet under review serves a valuable purpose. And those Marchers, among them, as our eye witness correspondents elsewhere describe, the large anarchist contingent, who "invaded" this rampart of the government of the dead, exposes the waste, the futility, the ridiculous "secrecy" and, to our minds, above all, *the enormous executive powers in the hands of the permanent officials of State.*

★

RSG-6 *et alia* are the dream children of our rulers in the event of a nuclear war. The anarchists disturbed the respectability of the last day of the Aldermaston March by a symbolic "disturbance". Many of our comrades were arrested. We know only too well that the ruling

IN FREEDOM, 19th January, a set of anarchist principles were offered by J.K.R. He disarmed criticism by warning "What follows is offered as a basis for discussion", genially adding "No doubt each item will provoke strong disagreement."

Subsequent issues of FREEDOM included only two letters relating to the proposals. One correspondent, Alan Swift, merely asked for information. The other, B. Cecil Bevis, expressed his scepticism of the value of manifestoes. Yet I think there is still more to be said: specifically a scrutiny of latent and overt tendencies in the principles offered. This I submit is not merely a barren exercise in exegesis, but opens up certain fundamental issues for discussion.

First, however, I should state what I suspect to be the reason for the slight response to J.K.R.'s proposals. Probably many FREEDOM readers more or less agree with his suggestions. But so I imagine would many non-anarchists; thus a characteristically anarchist case is *not being stated*.

This can be seen from Principle No. 1: "Anarchists want the greatest possible happiness for every individual." But who doesn't? And what is to be understood by this term "happiness"? Isn't there the assumption here that happiness is quantifiable, thus making it possible to equate one man's happiness with another's, thus making it possible to set up "the greatest possible happiness" as a goal? ("Would you like a pound of happiness, Sir, or do you prefer it by the gallon?")

An alternative approach would be that happiness is qualitative, that it is caught (so to speak) in the course of activities of a certain kind, and that it cannot therefore be elevated to a goal in the sense in which "making a pile" can.

The notion of happiness recurs in later principles (2, 3, 14). In No. 2 happiness is declared to be inseparable from "the amount of freedom that he [the individual] has." Thus freedom too is now conceived in quantitative terms, and not surprisingly seems to be something that can be possessed; surely freedom is something to be exercised or it is nothing at all. No. 3 relates happiness (and freedom also) to "co-operation and social responsibility", though without making it clear what these notions mean. One might add here that many forms of creative activity (music, painting, scholarship, writing, crafts) involve a deeply individual element and are frequently carried out in opposition to prevailing tendencies. No. 14 introduces

class will remain unmoved by such demonstrations; they are not meant to move them. Our appeal is to the people in the street, the victims of class, and the privileged society. RSG-6 is the ruling class's crash programme in the event of wholesale decimation by H-Bomb warfare but which could also be of valuable service to them in quite a different context, such as a social revolution. But against a determined, revolutionary, responsible people all the police, professors and military will be of no avail. Our task is not to expose *their* secrets (though we have no objection to so doing, given the opportunity) but to help our fellow beings to uncover and realise their own secret ambitions and desires for a happier, richer life. We are educationalists yes, but also revolutionists. We believe that education and knowledge provide awareness, social consciousness, the desire for freedom. But revolution is the only means for its achievement.

## FRANCO'S VICTIMS

As this issue comes to hand, Comrade Grimau who has long struggled on behalf of his fellow workers in Spain, comes before a military tribunal on capital charges, denied any fair representation. May I ask all readers to send immediate protests to the Spanish Embassy and to the British Government about this abuse of fundamental human rights and stressing the possibility of economic sanctions. Please act now.

J. JACK.

[An Appeal to the International Anarchist movement is published elsewhere in this issue.—EDITORS.]

# Against Finality

a new notion, that "every individual is able . . . to run his own life". But is anarchism really tied to a particular view of human nature?

There is undoubtedly still more to be said on the whole issue of happiness; my analysis doesn't purport to be exhaustive; what I hope I have demonstrated, however, is that to avoid sloppy and confused exposition we need to inquire into the meaning of concepts, the relations between concepts, and the empirical content of concepts. This may seem a rigorous discipline, distasteful to some, but there is no alternative if a realistic and characteristically anarchist social theory is to be developed. I would now like to examine some other notions pervading J.K.R.'s principles, labelling these for convenience.

**Futurism.** J.K.R. slips about in the time scale, only rarely being in the present. In No. 4 we are told that "Anarchists aim ultimately at a free society", though "worthwhile [unspecified] steps can be taken now towards the creation of such a society." (Here again is the view of freedom as a goal, something to be acquired rather than something which exists only in its exercise). No. 5 is essentially a re-statement of No. 4, but in Principles 6-13 some features of the future society are given. It is not clear how or when these features will come about. Some suggestions are made as to action in the present, e.g., refusal to vote in elections (No. 6), but these activities, though characteristically anarchist, are not likely to bring about a society of the kind optimistically envisaged by J.K.R. Marx at least worked on a social theory which threw light on actual social institutions, how they had come to be as they were, and how they were likely to change.

**Latent Authoritarianism.** Despite the scattering about of terms like "freedom" and "free society", there does seem the notion of some controlling others (perhaps J.K.R. is unconscious of this). Thus "Anarchists want the greatest possible happiness" (No. 1); they aim at "a society organised for the equal benefit of all its members" (No. 4); ultimately money can be dispensed with "since all essential goods would be freely available to all" (No. 9); the purpose of education "should be to allow the individual to develop to the full his potentialities for good" (No. 12); "all religions should be tolerated" (No. 13). (All italics are mine). I am not suggesting that J.K.R. is a fully-fledged authoritarian; I am merely pointing to an authoritarianism of a latent kind, which he himself may scarcely be aware of. The fact that he slips in, near the end of his article, that fine phrase of protest, "No man is good enough to be another man's master", points to two things: (a) that J.K.R.'s heart is at least partly in the right place; and (b) the ambiguities that stem from conceiving anarchism in futurist and utopian terms.

**Solidarism.** By this I mean the notion of a common good, or public or general interest, to which all other interests can be subordinated. Latent authoritarianism is a logical concomitant of solidarism, and that this is so in J.K.R.'s case can be seen from the excerpts I have assembled above. It is easy to see how, in present-day civilizations, talk of the "common good" or the "public interest" serves to cloak particular interests. Your anarchist is too awake to speak of an all-embracing community of interests existing in the present, but some anarchists do project such a community into the distant future (when it won't concern them in any case). I suspect that a community of interests can and does exist in many primitive societies, but these are special cases being technologically simple and culturally homogeneous. How is a "general interest", which is not merely phoney and imposed, to come about? Perhaps the several varieties of anarchist ideas and activities should be conceived as part only of the ideas and activities current in a particular society at a particular time. A conception of this kind would lead us into thinking of a society as a field of struggle between permanently existing tendencies, in which both authoritarianism and libertarianism would be represented. The world won't ever be

safe for anarchy, but it won't ever be safe for servility either.

**Utopianism.** I have already made comments relevant to the issue of utopianism, so I'll be brief. J.K.R.'s utopianism seems to lead him into the belief that we can have whatever we want to (not now, but in the distant future). The future society will be free, its members will be happy, they will co-operate and be socially responsible, lead satisfying lives, develop their potentialities to the full, wars won't be fought, material goods which people really need will be freely available, etc. Now this sounds nice, but is J.K.R. serious? Does this purport to be a description of what the future society will be like (begging for now the interesting questions of how and when it is to come about), or is there some other significance here? (In an article in ANARCHY 24, I made certain suggestions about the status of beliefs in future societies; anyone interested can refer back to that). A more realistic approach seems to me to have been made by Francis Ellingham, who has argued that all good things are not compatible; you can have some but not others.

The tendencies I have delineated are not peculiar to J.K.R., which is my reason for making this analysis. He, after all, was offering his article as "a basis for discussion". I have taken up points here and there in a way which he is scarcely likely to have expected, but which seem to me to be quite fundamental to anarchist theory. Should anarchists, for instance, be futurist? Perhaps there is a case for futurism, but those who are futurists should at least be aware of it. Let unstated assumptions come out into the open for an airing. A scrutiny of these is likely to be far more fruitful, theoretically, than, e.g., a discussion of the place of religion in a hypothetical "free society".

If in conclusion I may state a wish, it is that there should be an anarchism which is consciously non-futurist, non-authoritarian, non-solidarist, non-utopian, non-salvationist and non-moralist. But a final philosophy of anarchism is not to be expected. Anarchism is a social movement, an ideology a social theory (or rather a congeries of social movements ideologies and social theories) in which we can expect no finality.

K.M.

## Demonstration Somewhere in England

Continued from page 1

agreed with the first idea and after a period of silence got up to go leaving behind a dozen or so. I, myself, thought that the demonstration should last longer.

Those who remained sat quietly eating their food and one comrade passed round a bottle of wine. Things were quiet now, with only a few people standing around watching in case the police used violence to get rid of the remaining sitters. It appeared that the law had no intention of arresting us.

Another hour or so passed, during which time a few more people left. At this point two plain clothes policemen unlocked the doors and went into the underground bunker. They were followed later by the uniformed men who apparently went in to have a cup of tea. Two of us thought that we might be able to get into the bunker ourselves and so the next time that the doors were unlocked we made an attempt to slip in. At first, the police did not notice us as they had their backs to us, but as we got closer, they turned round and I was pushed aside and the other comrade was knocked down. He hit the ground hard but fortunately he wasn't hurt. The police cursed us for keeping them there.

We then discussed what further action we should take. Three decided that they would try to stay for 24 hours in fact they were determined to make the attempt. The rest of us felt that we had demonstrated long enough and got up to go, leaving behind an observer with the three who remained. We learned later that these three were carried out from the ramp by the police, returned and were carried out again, until finally they were prevented from re-entering. The demonstration ended at 7 p.m.

SIT-DOWNER.



POLICE IN LONDON refused to let London Anarchist Federation, Committee of 100 and others march the whole length of Whitehall. Mr. Brook refused to let Lenny Bruce come into the country twice, German (West) police refused to let 47 or so British demonstrators to enter West Germany to take part in a march, German (West) police refused to let Danish CND demonstrators to cross the boundary into West Germany, Berkshire police numbering about fifty tried to stop about 1,000 Aldermaston marchers entering an alleged Regional alleged Seat of alleged Government for use in case of alleged nuclear attack sited at an alleged Berkshire village. *Sanity* (the publication of CND) refused to let its readers know the name of the village, by tearing out back pages, or crossing out the name of the village which about 12,000 marchers knew at Slough, and was widely advertised on the March. American police in Birmingham, Alabama refused to let negroes protest about the arrest of Martin Luther King. . . .

SIXTY-EIGHT LONDON marchers were arrested the police behaving with their usual non-violence. Lenny Bruce returned to USA; British demonstrators in Germany (West) refused to fasten their seat belts when they were to be deported by plane and passively resisted for three days; marchers at the village were able to stay in the R.S.G. long enough to make their protest and depart with no arrests and very little violence to or by the police. Marchers into Central London celebrated the name of the village by composing a special song, to the tune of "I Love a Lassie"—"I Had a Secret", by carrying the name on improvised posters, and by chalking the name on the back of duffle-coats. Thirty-two negroes were arrested at Birmingham, Alabama where three white churches turned negroes away from Easter services. . . .

A BRITISH exchange school teacher dropped from her syllabus, after protests from parents in Virginia J. D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*, which they thought "too frank". An art teacher at the University of Mississippi had his



painting banned from a campus exhibition. It showed segregationist activities taking place against a background of a Confederate battle flag. The Attorney General said in the House of Parliament that no action under the Obscene Publications Act was to be taken against *The Tropic of Cancer* by Henry Miller. Sir Gerald Nabarro's remark "How would you feel if your daughter wanted to marry a big buck nigger with the prospect of coffee-coloured grandchildren?" was cut by the BBC out of the repeat broadcast of *Any Questions?* The Soviets announced that the Communist Party's Central Committee would meet on May 28 to discuss "ideological work". An Abbé who died in a drowning accident had been forbidden to work in the field of biblical scholarship because he had written a book giving undue emphasis to the humanity of Christ in a book written specifically for non-Christians. It had been published for two years before the Holy Office censored it. Par-

ents of teenagers in a church youth club refused to let their children appear in a film about the dangers of venereal disease. Vladimir Fedorov said that Yevgeny Yeutusenko, the poet, was a traitor and that there was no room in the Soviet Union for people of his kind. The poet recently admitted his errors publicly, but his sincerity has been doubted. The S.R.G. pamphlet published by "Spies for Peace" stated that during the "Fallex 62" exercise last September, accounts of which got *Der Spiegel* into trouble with the censor, showed that chaos reigned in the defence system of Britain of which S.R.G.6 was one of the lynch-pins. Bertrand Russell commented that these preparations were "pathetic". "They reveal an official recognition that community life is not expected to continue except perhaps briefly in remotely situated Government bunkers, where selected officials will administer each other and the millions of dead bodies in their region". . . .

A U.S. NUCLEAR submarine, *Thresher*, whose manifest destiny was to enable men to kill other men in wartime, sank with the loss of 130 men in peacetime. The widow of one of the machinist mates reported her husband on *Thresher*: "He called it a coffin. He said it was not ready for sea and the shipyard had speeded the work to the point it was not safe. He was scared to death to go out in her." An advanced A3 Polaris missile went out of control at Cape Canaveral and was destroyed from the air. It was the first test firing of the A3 from a ship at sea and the ninth failure in twelve tests. In the exercise Parapluie charted from R.G.S.6, imaginary radiation levels rose so high that all

military personnel in the region except for Dorset were ordered to go to ground for 48 hours. A U.S. radiation measuring device has confirmed that the U.S. 'rainbow bomb' radiation belt will last up to ten years. . . .

MISS CAROLINE MAUDLING again missed her film test, through jaundice, although she had a specially lettered chair made for her studio seating, Equity thought of protesting at the employment of amateur talent. She thought of changing her name for the film career, the director sourly suggested "Schwartz" and she said "I have had more fan mail than Daddy". . . .

A LETTER WRITER in *Young Guard*, the organ of the Young Socialists writes: "Pacifism paves the way for war". 'Flavus' in *The New Statesman* says "we do regard the purpose and political energy of CND supporters as being of great importance to the Labour Party." . . . "Harold Wilson has challenged the government on nuclear policy and he must now tell us clearly how he envisages the relation between Nato and a Labour Britain. Not the least pressing reason for this is to enable the thousands of non-pacifist CND supporters, who are *natural* (our italics) Labour voters, to make up their minds where they stand." Italian Communists quoted from the Pope's encyclical on peace during the election campaign "Vote Communist, Catholics and Communists can get along together". William Gallacher, Vice-President of the British Communist Party said, "to Pope John's credit he has refused to join this unprincipled band of robbers" (the Western alliance).

A delegate at the B.C.P. Congress said, "If Mr. Krushchev's son-in-law can gain an audience with the Pope, I can gain [a] Catholic shop-steward for the party". The editorial writer in *Combat*, organ of the British National Party writes, ". . . we must look ahead to see if any arrangement can be made with Russia, still reckoned as a European power, in her coming struggle against Asiatic China. Needless to say no arrangement can be made internally with Communism in Britain or Europe. That must be crushed and replaced with a counter idea" *Sanity*, the CND journal, writing of the Aldermaston March, 1963, said, "Curiously enough the neatest-drilled detachment in sight seemed to be the London Federation of Anarchists." Seventeen stuffed alligators are missing, believed to have fallen off a car taking them from Leigh-on-Sea to St. Ives.

JON QUIXOTE.

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**A put up job?**

SOMEWHERE within the great tumult about Official Secrets, Spies for Peace, and Reserve Seat of Government, a false note or two may be detected. It would have been so easy for the Home Office to speak of "Underground Factory alleged to be an R.S.G. . . ." Instead there has been a hammy portrayal of embarrassed non-committality. The name of the village is suppressed in the British Press, although widely published abroad. The establishment is not regularly guarded, its doors are made of wood, and there is a boiler house in the field outside. Plans of the RSG scheme have been shown to many who have not signed the Official Secrets Act.

Home Office Underground Factories were built in 1939. They were not meant to withstand bombardment, but were covered with earth and grass by way of aerial camouflage. After they were built, private firms were invited to take them over and make munitions in them. They were all secret when built, but after they started running their locations were of course known locally.

But if one failed to be taken over, because, say, of an acute local labour shortage, it would presumably remain on the secret list . . . According to the Spies for Peace pamphlet, "Home Office Underground Factory Warren Row" is administered from Stroud, but "RSG6" has offices in the centre of Reading. Is Civil Defence perhaps a bigger fraud than we know?

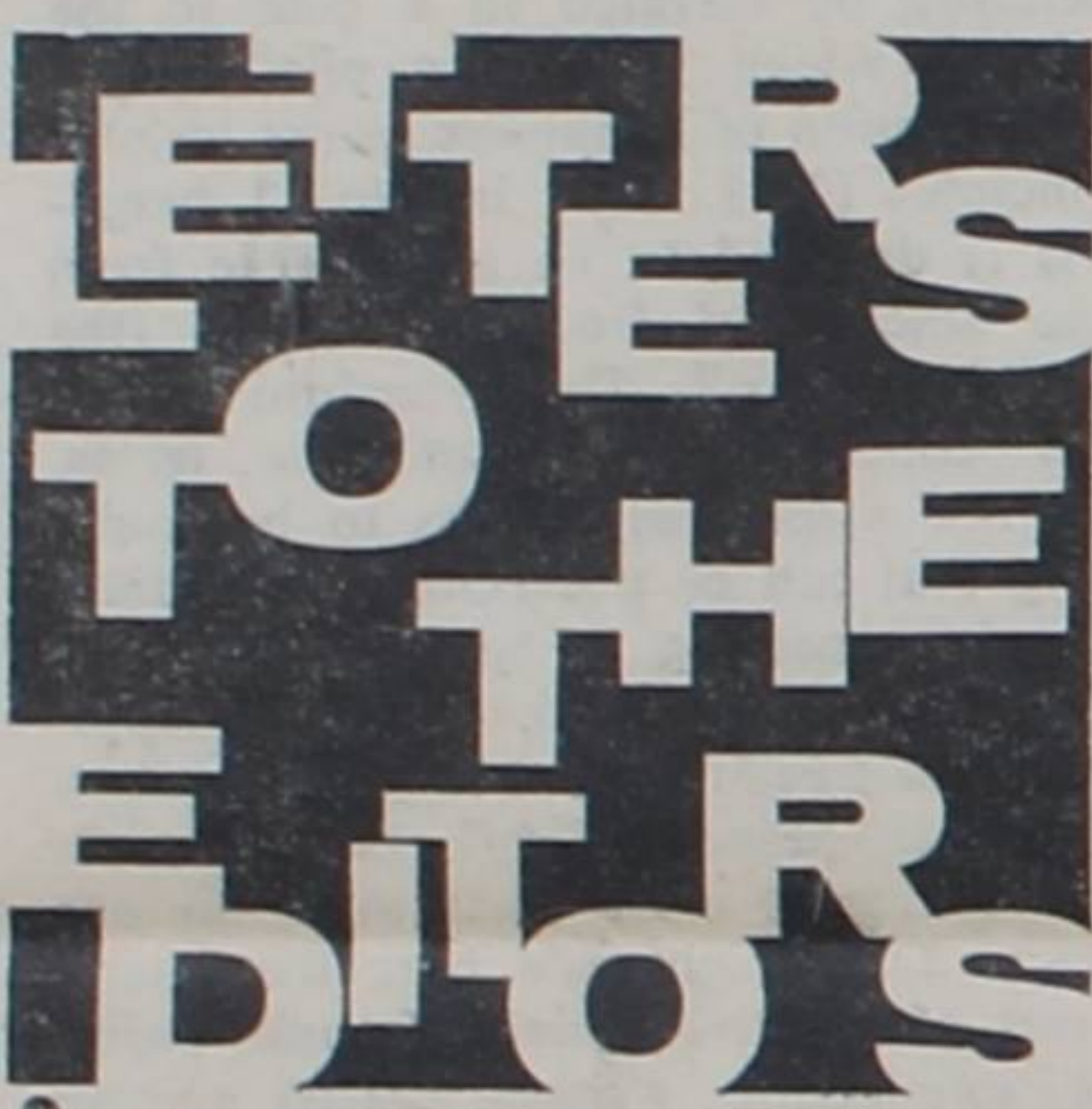
London, April 16. DONALD ROOM.

**Large, hardly ever; Small, rarely**

DEAR EDITORS,

Surely, Colin MacInnes' anarchist discoveries are inadequate if they are to include as even partial examples, the Israeli kibbutz and Fords, Dagenham. The spectacle of men working together with a sense of comradeship is everywhere about us and nowhere more in evidence, regrettably or not, than in the military. Mr. MacInnes is pleased by co-operation for material ends, but nowhere does he examine the authoritarian structure of the institution in question. Consider only how boys manifest a sense of buddyhood very young in the pernicious organization of the Scouts, or the boarding school, or regard any of the countless examples of communal interstices in the most destructive of states—even in concentration camps.

It is sentimentality (or, perhaps, more likely, a profound and underlying belief in any human qualities in man) that can find such behaviour remarkable, or point to these as solving any of the terrible dilemmas with which anarchists have been preoccupied for more than a century. Among these, certainly, is size. Largeness taxes man's frail imagination. Man may be capable of loving his brother in the squadron (so what? if he



is engaged in the murder of others) but never in the regiment or the entire army. Sentiments identifying himself with a general cause are highly suspect. (Mr. MacInnes glides too cheerfully over the nationalist temper of the kibbutz. He might have discovered similar qualities of pleasure and personal liberty, as a

**This Deficit!**

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guest—remember he is not an inmate—in the collectives of the Ukraine).

Significantly, examples of communal life are small and usually agrarian; whether these are primitive societies or artificial situations mostly nineteenth century, and at least temporarily, as for example in a revolutionary situation, separated from contamination by the state. Sometimes these interludes may successfully incorporate some small industry, monetary exchange and a relatively harmless, elementary capitalism. But never can we find them as wards of the state. The kibbutz is no more autonomous than is an individual state of the federated U.S. Permitted certain liberties, it may be overridden at any time.

Employing Mr. MacInnes' criteria we might turn a vast multitude of liberals into anarchists. That's too much like a universal panacea. We only compound our difficulties when we assume they do not exist. What can such oversimplification accomplish? One doesn't believe in something because it is necessarily easy, or even probable. We believe in anarchism because it would be good if it were possible.

Comradely,  
London, April 16. DACHINE RAINER.

**Moral justification?**

DEAR SIR,

J. M. Pilgrim in his article on Lenny Bruce—Disturber of the Peace—appears to embrace that common English fallacy that you could or should only enjoy a thing if it is morally uplifting.

While I join forces with him in his protest at the persecution of Bruce I cannot accept that Bruce's audiences attend out of a desire for spiritual regeneration—Bruce on Saturday night Canon Collins on Sunday morning—but rather because here is a wit who is known to use four letter words in his act. There has always been this Anglo-Saxon attitude that pornography, obscenity and eroticism must only be enjoyed within the framework of medical, legal or religious handouts and any writer or speaker who uses it as a pleasure in itself is condemned not only by the Squares but by the moralizing practitioners themselves, *vide* Lawrence on pornography and Pilgrim on "Mental Ward Nympho". As one who has always taken a pleasure in reading the subterranean wit of the lavatories, enjoyed the a-moral humour of the seaside comic postcard and the epic saga of Eskimo Nell or the Chinese Street poem I find this alibi of morality disturbing. There are certain functions enjoyable in themselves: eating, shitting, copulating, that appear an unpleasant sight when performed by others with the exception of dogs, cats or the very young, and our language is continually being debased to disguise this obvious fact and all that we can ask is that these rather ridiculous functions when performed by other people shall be acknowledged as part of the human problem and not hidden under a euphemistic cloak of silly double talk.

London, April 9. ARTHUR MOYSE.