

Politics of the 'Affair'

THE Press during the past fortnight has really worked itself up into a state of moral frenzy over the Profumo affair which, as we were pointing out last week, could hardly be warranted by the bare facts of the case, and led one therefore to suspect that Macmillan was their real target. Certainly the debate in the House of Commons last Monday was almost an anti-climax after the week-end bombardment from the Sunday Press. The attempts by factions of the Conservatives to split the Cabinet and the Tory vote last Monday, failed even before the debate started; Macmillan may well be down, but he is not yet out. In the game of politics he is more adept, tougher and more cunning than the cartoonists portray him and the Press lead us to believe. (Harold Wilson described him in his *Observer* interview "as the cleverest politician of our age. An adept politician, not a statesman, not a great Prime Minister. A great party leader—in the Conservative context—yes . . . He's no ordinary politician.") Macmillan will not be ousted by the Parliamentary machine. Those who will decide his future are the real rulers of this country, who have no seats in the House of Commons but who are in control of the financial destinies of the nation.

Not the voice of the People

VIEWING the balance of power in this light the alarm and despondency of Parliamentarians and the Press over the moral aspects of the Profumo case can be put in their proper perspective. Parliament is not the voice of the people; it is the symbol of the unequal, the authoritarian, the elitist society. While on the one hand being able to claim that it is elected by the will of the people (secret ballot, universal suffrage and all that) on the other it functions, once elected, as an autonomous body of some 600 members answerable for their actions to no one but themselves or their Party Whips. It is from this body that the executive, called the Government, emerges, which by definition has the powers to act without the

prior consent either of the people or Parliament, and which can only be overthrown (after the harm has been done), by defeat in a major debate. This never happens, and for the obvious reason that government can no more be controlled by Parliament and govern, than 600 parliamentarians can have views of their own and represent the interests of 50 million people at the same time. Democracy—government of the people, for the people and by the people—presupposes the direct control by the people of their daily lives, which is what we anarchists demand in our propaganda.

Increasing State Power

IN a lament on the "decline of the power of the House of Commons during the past fifty years" the *Evening Standard*, last Monday, suggested that

like a great historic monarchy, it is still robed in the traditions and trappings of power but the control of events has moved into other, obscurer, hands.

This is a two-way process. The whips hold the average MP firmly in check so that he has less and less chance of expressing his real belief . . . The quality of men taking seats in the House has declined.

At the same time the size and complexity of Government affairs takes a good deal of the control away from the Commons and gives it to the civil service and the executive. . . .

These are superficial, idle words, recalling a glorious past which never existed, and a means of hiding the truth of the matter, which is that democracy and the centralisation of power just don't mix.

'THERE WILL BE MORE
CORRUPTION
IN HIGH PLACES!'



Democracy—government of- by- for- the people—is a feasible proposition when Power is in the hands of the people! This can only be said to exist when the economic wealth and the means of production are effectively controlled by the people and not by a privileged minority. This needs to be stressed not only to expose the hollowness of the "democracy" under which we live today, but also to disassociate ourselves from nationalisation, the panacea of the social democrats, and their "alternative" to the social revolution. For if private ownership increases the power of a minority over the majority, nationalisation simply increases the power of the State, and of a ruling hierarchy.

The more vital Statistics

IT would be of considerable interest to study by what mechanism the Profumo affair has been built up into an issue of world importance, and one that can shake the government and have repercussions even on the Stock Markets. For in itself it is a very minor matter, of no great political or social moment. And even now, in spite of what the *Times* may say about it having disturbed "the conscience of a good part of the nation", the public is much more intrigued by the titillating morsels of gossip, true or false, concerning a social set into whose world they are rarely permitted to penetrate or even peep at except when something goes wrong and somebody spills the beans, than by any fear of security "leaks". It is

significant that the popular humour which has been sparked off by the Profumo affair is sexual and not political. The public is openly much more interested in the Keeler myth than in the Hailsham conscience. Miss Keeler's real live performance has stirred the public imagination in a way that Lord Hailsham's T.V. performance, with all its histrionics, singularly failed to do. And this is a good healthy reaction! And indeed is it not a subject for laughter and derision that Miss Keeler's vital statistics have done more to shake the unity and authority of government than all the statistics, closely-reasoned arguments and organised attacks of the Opposition over these past 12 years? For years the Opposition has been accusing Ministers of being liars, of serving the interests of a privileged minority against the public interest, of squandering public funds, of bungling defence, of impotence so far as economic recovery was concerned, of indifference over the plight of old age pensioners and callousness in dealing with the growing problem of unemployment. The government has steered its course oblivious of the attacks, the appeals and the accusations following in its wake. It is difficult to imagine such a well-oiled machine coming to grief over the sexual "indiscretions" of one of the crew.

From his own Party?

MR. HAROLD WILSON pointed out in his speech on Monday that the Opposition "had done all in its power" during the past months to prevent the Profumo affair from "becoming a matter for public discussion or Party controversy". This has not been denied by the Government.

For more than a year, according to the opinion pollsters, Mr. Macmillan and his government have been losing public support fast, and these findings have been confirmed by the Tories' poor showing at bye-elections. In a desperate attempt to renew the Tory image, Macmillan carried out his famous purge of the Cabinet, which only had the effect of making him even more disliked among some ambitious party members, and did not add to his popularity in the nation or in Press circles. In spite of the united front when the vote was taken last Monday, the damage has been done, and one can only suppose that the "mischief" was let loose by Macmillan's detractors in his own party as the only way of dislodging that old political fox from his otherwise impregnable position at the head of the party. Political developments in the coming weeks may provide an answer.

Know your Enemy!

WE are of course interested in these problems because if and when the people will tire of being governed and seek to free themselves from authoritarian rule, it is only by understanding the strength and the weaknesses of governmental institutions that they will know how best to wage their struggle against them.

P.T.

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

General Strike in Swaziland

In Swaziland, African workers at the British owned Havelock asbestos mine have been on strike for over three weeks following their demand for better conditions and pay increases.

Last week-end several strike leaders were arrested and in reply a general strike was called. Now over 5,000 workers are out on strike. These workers have demonstrated in the streets of Mbabane, the capital. They have marched from outlying townships to the Government buildings to make their protests. Here, the Commissioner of Police with the help of his armed men, turned them back. Several meetings and marches have been broken up by tear-gas. Later the Resident Commissioner, Sir Brian Harwick, agreed to see a deputation of strikers.

To prevent further demonstrations and to intimidate the strikers, British troops have been set to the Swaziland capital from Kenya at the request of the Commissioner. These extra reinforcements and other police precautions have been thought necessary to break the strike.

On the day that the British troops were flown in, one of the arrested men, the secretary of the Swazi National Liberatory Congress, Dumisa Dlamini appeared in court. He was arrested after the Congress had called on other African workers to strike in protest against the arrest of 12 strikers from the Havelock mine. Dlamini has been "fined £50 or three months for holding an illegal meeting, £15 or one month for

resisting arrest and a suspended sentence of three weeks for assault was put into operation."

With the help of the military and a public order proclamation which states that no public meetings or processions are allowed without special licences, a prison-sentence of up to 3 years can be given for holding, convening or even advertising unlicensed meetings. While

Dockers claim 40-hour week

Dock employers have rejected a claim by the dockers for a 40-hour week. While rejecting a cut in hours, the employers agreed to increase the twice daily "attendance money" from 7/- to 8/-. This is the money that is paid out to the dockers when no work is available.

Dockers are now working a 42-hour week which was secured last August and was part of a settlement which was won under a strike threat. At that time Selwyn Lloyd was trying hard to prevent any wage increase and the employers were criticised by the Government for giving into the demands.

It now seems that the dock employers do not wish to be the first of the major industries to concede the 40-hour week and be criticised again by the Government. There is also a strong possibility that had they conceded, the agreement would have been placed before the National Incomes Commission.

Of course, at the moment it is not in

these fascist methods are being used against the strikers, white employees are partially running the asbestos mine.

So much for British Freedom. In Swaziland, a British Protectorate, workers are arrested for withdrawing their labour and troops are flown in to break strikes. Here once again it is proved that basic rights are not given but have to be fought for.

the interests of the employers to give in to the dockers. Whereas last August they were threatened with strike action, now, for the time being no strike action is contemplated. Last year the employers stood to lose more by not granting demands than they do now.

Workers in other industries are also pressing for a cut in hours, but with the N.I.C. condemning the 40-hour week when it has been won by small sections of industry, industrial action will have to be taken to win a major breakthrough in this struggle.

With the general election coming soon, the unions are only too willing to accept the advice of the Labour Party leaders in not calling a strike, for fear of damaging their party's chances. This has already happened in the case of the Beeching closures and no doubt this excuse will be used again before the elections. Meanwhile better working conditions are sacrificed for the Labour Party's power aspirations.

ANARCHY 29

OUT NEXT WEEK

Anarchy 29, out next week will be an enlarged issue containing an 18,000-word account of the "Spies for Peace" story written by all sections of the libertarian left, and discussing the REAL official secret, the reception given to the RSG revelations and the implications for the future of the activities of the "spies". The issue also contains a review of the film "The Damned" (about a secret underground government establishment) and the reactions of public schoolboys to the recent article on anarchism and the public schools.

Order extra copies of Anarchy 29.

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 1/6 on the last Saturday of every month.

'Science' as the Handmaiden of Politics

ONE of the saddest aspects of politics is the prostitution of science and scientists to what is regarded as "political necessity". On the one hand there is the exploitation of technology which increased knowledge makes possible, for the pursuit of political ambitions; one need hardly mention the exploitation of atomic physics by politicians. On the other hand, however, there is the corruption of the scientist himself once he regards himself as a "politician" or an actual participant in a political party. A scientist should be a person who is concerned with the elucidation of facts; a politician is a person who is concerned with ways and means of implementing policies. When the scientist is working in the field of natural science, e.g., physics or chemistry, in the interests of a political party his concern is in establishing true facts, since they alone can be used for technology and power. When, however, the field is social science, the net effort of the scientist may become directed towards the enthronement of lies.

The above distinction between natural and social science is not wholly clear cut. It may be remembered that the Nazi party initiated research into human genetics and the role of germ-plasm in order to establish that any sexual congress between Jews and gentiles was detrimental to the latter. Again, the appalling perversion of science among botanical geneticists under the political sway of Lysenko demonstrated how the political policies of Stalin could affect even the scientific foundations of plant breeding.

But social science is the main field for the perversion of science. The political scientist, economist or social psychologist may be a politician first and a scientist second. As such, he is more dangerous than the untrained politico, for he knows how to give dishonest policies the veneer of impartiality. A

certain amount of genuine, scientifically established fact may be given as a cover for the real baloney that follows, just as the organizers of mock auctions give genuine free gifts to start with in order to swindle their dupes the more effectively later on. Unfortunately "science" is a kudos word nowadays; people are prone to give inordinate trust to both the pronouncements and the good faith of those who claim to be "scientists", or to have such trustworthy creatures at their elbow. It may be remembered that when Napoleon the dictator-pig in *Animal Farm*, wished to put over some monstrous lie, he had Squealer to declare that "Science proves it".

It is generally admitted, in private if not in public, that the major political parties do in fact tell lies, distort evidence, withhold relevant facts and deliberately seek to influence the mass of the people by dishonest means. When individuals admit that the political party which they support is not wholly honest, they justify such tricks by saying that the opposing parties are even more dishonest, and that in very large organisations such dishonesty is an unfortunate necessity. This argument about dishonesty being the by-product of largeness is certainly specious; three really small parties in this country—the Communist Party, the I.L.P. and the Socialist Party of Great Britain have no greater record for honesty than the three big parties. I have come in contact, rather recently with a self-tyled political party which is so small that it musters on paper only about 140 members! If dishonesty is the unfortunate by-product of largeness, then this microcosm should be simon pure. Yet it is, so to speak, a head without a body, and the rottenness in political parties lies in the effective head and not in the vast, semi-inert bodies. Or rather, there are two kinds of rottenness, the corruption of those at the head who enjoy power and preen themselves on their astuteness, viewing with contempt those they lead, and a different sort of rottenness of the stooges who like to be made use of and to be given ideas that save them the trouble of thinking for themselves.

The microcosmic political party which I have in mind is known as Common Wealth. Some people may remember this as a venture of Richard Acland's after the war, which soon folded up; but behold, it persists.

"Common Wealth is a political party. Within the party there is organised the Common Wealth Research Bureau. This bureau is made up of members of Common Wealth who are psychologists, experts in

public opinion and survey work and other types of research worker—people who in their professional capacity, are competent to carry out survey and research work. The job of the Common Wealth Research Bureau is to undertake investigations into matters of public interest using standard scientific techniques. Common Wealth as a political party will comment upon the facts which are discovered by the Research Bureau but the Bureau itself is not a propaganda organization."

I wonder. Put as above the research bureau looks very impartial, but when we know a little more about it, it might aptly be described as a stalking horse which is used as a tactic for advancing political aims. The above quotation is taken from a Common Wealth pamphlet entitled *What do People Think of the Bomb? A Survey of Public Opinion*. It was carried out in the Oxford area where Common Wealth wished to publicise its existence in order that they might put up a candidate for election. Note that I am putting forward my own personal interpretation of why the survey was carried out—I am attributing motivation to those who planned it, and I say that it is untrue to state that "the Bureau itself is not a propaganda organization".

In order to cash in on the propaganda effect of their survey, Common Wealth called a public meeting in Oxford as part of the campaign to present to the masses (by degrees) the idea that a Common Wealth candidate should be elected to rule over them (cheers from the crowd!). So small a handful of people turned up at this meeting that the egos of these politicians suffered a sad deflation. Oxford will still be true blue.

(Never mind comrades! Did not Hitler start his successful party with a gathering of six people in a beer hall?)

Now, having an insatiable curiosity, I am all for social surveys providing (a) that they are not simply a propaganda dodge, (b) that they are honestly worded, and (c) that they are carried out competently. On all three counts the Common Wealth survey does not satisfy me. I have dealt with point (a) above. Points (b) and (c) are hard to disentangle because one cannot always be sure whether defects are due to sheer bungling incompetence or to deliberate insincerity. For instance, such illiteracies as giving sub-groups in terms of percentages which do not always add to 100%, or treating "data" as a singular noun, are surely the mark of ignorance (but strange ignorance on the part of people who give themselves a big build up as "experts in public opinion and

survey work"). It is difficult to decide whether ignorance or disingenuousness determined their silence on the actual number of people polled—a very important statistic which every honest survey mentions for obvious reasons. They kindly point out that "The picture given of public opinion is subject to the limitations which affect all such surveys. The views of Oxford may not entirely represent the views of other parts of the country, the views of our sample may not be exactly representative of people as a whole . . ." (italics added). No-one but a crass fool would think that they would. For Oxford has a large and very special university and is therefore one of the most atypical towns in Britain for polling. Why pick on Oxford if one genuinely wishes to sample public opinion? But I think that any such interest was entirely secondary to the propaganda motive of the survey.

And now for the technique of the loaded question. We wish to demonstrate how clever we are in finding "scientifically" that the public underestimates the explosive power of the H-bomb. We therefore present them with 5 figures representing the possible relative powerfulness of the 50 megaton H-bomb compared with the Hiroshima bomb, and make the correct figure come last and biggest viz., 2, 10, 100, 1,000, 25,000. And which figure did the largest group of interviewees pick on? Come, Tommy, you've got your hand up!—The middle one, Sir, they always do if they don't know or care much about it!—Quite right, Tommy, of course they did, so we can pretend to have established scientifically that most people underestimate the power of the H-bomb. And now, Tommy, how would we rig the question if we wanted to find scientific-

cally that most people overestimate the power of the H-bomb?—Easy sir! Put the correct figure first and smallest, like, 25,000, 3,000, 5,000, 10,000, 1 million, then most people will pick on 5,000.—Quite right, Tommy; when you are a big man you must go in for market research.

Maybe these pollsters are people who have sat at the feet of Professor Eysenck, but failed to learn their lessons right; or maybe they learned their lessons and are now getting up to naughty tricks because they have an overweening contempt for other people who lack their professional qualifications and appetite for personal power. I myself find the prostitution of the trappings of social science for the advancement of political ambition very distasteful—especially so when the question of nuclear warfare is being exploited in this phoney way.

I note finally that although this pamphlet carries a price and the full list of degrees after the names of two individuals, it does not carry a date. To have any value, such a survey should state the year in which it was carried out, otherwise, say ten years hence, innocent readers may get hold of the pamphlet and imagine that it refers to a recent social survey. Was the omission of the date due to incompetence, yet another error on the part of these highly qualified professional social scientists? Or was it deliberate? Unsold stocks of pamphlets hang around for years, and as my comrades of Freedom Press know, it is difficult to sell off erstwhile topical stuff which has an old date on it. I wonder if the Common Wealth Shadow Cabinet had this point in mind when they published a social survey without a date. G.

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WHEN one has protested over the years at the exploitation of painters of so little talent by snide dealers who see in them nothing but a cheap publicity gimmick for their own unworthy advancement, it comes as a relief and a pleasure to witness a third-rate artist crawling from the wreckage with the major prize, even if that prize will hasten his end to an alcoholic grave.

Emile Marea, a Tai was born at Punaavua on the 21st April, 1899. His father was the 51-year old painter Paul Gauguin and his mother a 17-year-old Tahitian girl, but as Gauguin had a wife still alive and actively kicking in Europe, the child was registered as a bastard. Paul Gauguin at that time was enamoured with the theories of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and he desired that his son should grow into manhood unrestrained by the bonds of a destroying and corrupting civilisation but Gauguin died in 1903 and his child was left to flower in rank and tropical poverty as a dispossessed islander. He became an island tramp living on wild fruit and the fish from the sea and he grew into a creature of solitude given to an uncomprehending violence against a society of which he formed no part and in its turn had no use for him. As he finally drifted back into the close-knit society of the islands he shed his natural dignity and became a beggar among the islanders with prison as his only occasional roof. He finally found his escape in alcohol and governed only by his ability to buy liquor, prepared to drink his way into a pauper's grave.

In 1961 Josette Giraud sought him out and for reasons of her own, encouraged him to take up his father's craft of painting. It would be pleasant to record that she had discovered a new and rejected genius but life refuses to

AROUND THE GALLERIES

conform to the whims and the vanities of men and Emile Marea, a Tai, now known to the trade as Emile Gauguin has only succeeded in producing work that at its best one might expect from a sophisticated child. He handles his materials with a confidence usually alien to an adult trying this artificial mode of expression so late in life and his compositions possess a balance of form and colour that many of our home-brewed professionals could do well to study. But for all that they are still simple, naive and amateur works that have won their way into the walls of the O'Hana Gallery at 13 Carlos Place, W.1., not because they have any claim to be works of even the slightest merit but rather because they carry the name of Gauguin.

In conversation with Josette Giraud, a self-possessed, slim and fashionably dressed Frenchwoman, I tried to find an answer to the perennial problem of how much the primitive painter is knowingly encouraged to imitate a foreign culture by those who would seek to exploit their virgin vision but Josette refused to be committed, for in a half hour's conversation she insisted that she merely supplied the materials and that the result was Emile Gauguin's pure and unsullied creation produced on an island where he saw no magazines and even the local church had no wall paintings. Yet when we stood in front of number 47 "Snow scene in Brittany" she agreed that it was she who had to explain to Emile what snow was, for she had called upon him to paint a landscape that it was impossible for him to even conceive. But all this is unim-

portant, for this work is of such minor value, except to the art historian, and Emile Marea, a Tai now known to the vultures of the art racket as Emile Gauguin, has at the end of his wasted life, found an alternative to begging.

This 64-year-old man with the full intelligent face and the obese body of a French banker will in all probability continue his alcoholic way to the grave but he is now more fortunate than so many of us in that he can now afford to do it with the finest branded liquors.

And back to the fashionable rat-race with Hussein Shariffe in Gallery One at 16 North Audley Street, W.1.

Shariffe is a shy, razor-thin Arab who slips through the gallery like a dark brown wraith and his paintings are the personification of the man. His delicate semi-abstracts of merging pastel colours have an effeminate beauty that have the appearance of lights upon water and one feels that the first slob to slam the gallery door will disperse them. Sidney Nolan at the Marlborough at 39 Old Bond Street, W.1. has finally settled down to the role of a good second-rate painter after the artificial hysteria of his New London exhibition and this his latest work is his best to date.

He owes an obvious debt to Francis Bacon and his use of colour is quite arbitrary, while each painting exists only by virtue of a distorted though recognisable animal mask, for, beyond that, Nolan's lack of ability takes over. If one places one's hand over the facial mask the rest of the canvas becomes a meaningless and incoherent jungle of brush strokes.

The USIS Gallery at the American embassy have had an exhibition of Contemporary American Ceramics that were selected for participation in the International Ceramics Exhibition at Prague. The exhibition was a complete disgrace to the native American potter, for I have never seen such crude rubbish or such an obvious use of monstrous size used to cover such incompetence and I would suggest that those who care for America's reputation should have shipped this junk back to the States upon its immediate arrival and dumped the selection committee in Prague.

For the rest there is good work by four minor painters, with Elena Gaputyte and Andre Dzierzynski in the Centre Charles Peguy at 16 Leicester Square, W.2. showing work of competent craftsmanship, Derek ("don't you dare call me a primitive") Guthrie at the Portal at 16a Grafton Street, W.1., with seascapes whose single tones have the silent beauty of lino-cuts. Guthrie however fails when he attempts to extend his range but within his limits he is a painter worth cultivating. But for those who are seeking a painter who is prepared to experiment then the work of William Culbert of the Piccadilly Gallery at 16a Cork Street, W.1. is worthy of their study, for Culbert has attempted to record on a number of individual canvases isolated moments of time in motion like single stills from a fast-flowing film. Various critics have attempted to tie Culbert's work in with that of the 1909 Marinetti Futurism cult but Culbert's works are essays not manifestoes, points of discussion not declamations with a placidity that can only but disarm and disconcert the pedant. These gentle, pleasant and experimental works were never meant for the dusty darkness of pigeon holes.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

FREEDOM

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To start an argument . . .

WORKERS' CONTROL IN ALGERIA?

THERE is some rhetoric in Ben Bella's speech on Workers' Control*, but he shows great clarity of thought and steadfast determination. The speech concerns the Governmental action following the direct action of the Algerian people in taking over vacated properties in Algeria during 1962. As Ben Bella says:—"Almost everywhere, they (the Algerian people) organised themselves spontaneously and moved in to replace the absconding exploiters. In this respect, the decree of October 22 and November 23, 1962 setting up Management Committees, did no more than satisfy a state of affairs which the working masses, in their patriotic and revolutionary spirit, had created throughout the extent of the country."

It might be said that the Revolutionary Government contained the action of the people by these decrees. Ben Bella claims that: "It was high time that the government which issued from the Algerian Revolution organised the management of the enterprises and undertakings abandoned, betrayed by their former exploiters. The Algerian workers had proved their capacity to fill the gap. It was necessary to give them the opportunity to continue in their efforts." But there is no reason to suppose that the people could not themselves have organised the continuation of the work they had begun so successfully.

Ben Bella states with an admirable grasp of the essentials:—"Two solutions are offered. Should we place management in the State? Should we place it with the workers?"

"In fact no hesitation is possible. The principles of self-management of the enterprises by the workers has already been inscribed in the reality of the Algerian Revolution by the spontaneous, conscious action of the labouring masses. The powerful movement of the Management Committees, which multiplied throughout the country, awaited simply legalisation in all its revolutionary extension.

"The decrees which the 'Official Journal' of the Democratic and Popular Republic is publishing today legalises and institutionalises the enterprises of self-management being run by the democratic collectivity of the workers."

Although anarchists will sigh at this familiar pattern of the desire to make a revolution official, the reaction is so humanly understandable. It strikes me that Ben Bella sincerely, if wrongly, supposed the institutionalisation of the workers' action was in the interests of the Algerian people.

He speaks about the Director who is to organise the revolution into the economy: "This Director will be selected on a moral and professional level. He will be nominated by the State, but this nomination will be submitted for your approval.

"Because it is necessary that within your enterprises of self-management someone should represent the national collectivity to which you belong and safeguard its interests, it is necessary that within your enterprises of self-management there should be someone who can serve as a transmission belt

between our enterprises and the State, someone responsible for the National Plan of development.

"This Director, whose nomination is subject to your approval is a worker like you and will share your troubles and joys and participate, with you, in the socialist construction of the country."

Here we see one solution to the problem of co-ordination after revolutionary direct action, but the point really is that the Director is not "a worker like you" if he is answerable in any degree to the State. Even though the approximation to the ideal—of the co-ordinator as one of a band of brothers—is admirably close, none the less the gap, the essential gap for the anarchist, between true anarchist workers' control and State interference is certainly evident.

If one looks at Article 26 of the Decree one reads: "The members of the Workers Councils, of the Management Committees of enterprises and undertakings, or of the Councils of Communal Enterprise and Self-Management, cannot receive any special remuneration for the accomplishment of their duties, it being understood that the time devoted to the deliberations and work of these bodies will be considered as normal work time and remunerated on the same scale." But there is no mention of the Director, who, according to Article 20 "represents the State inside the enterprise and undertaking . . . signs all financial documents and cheques . . . holds the funds in cash with which to effect current payments."

These is a provision in Article 22 that the Director can be dismissed, but "He can only be relieved of his functions as director for a grave fault or obvious incompetence or if the Council of Communal Enterprise and Self-Management retire him with his consent"—which leaves a pretty wide scope.

Of the various bodies mentioned, the Workers' Council must have at least 1/3 of its members engaged directly in production; the Management Committee is elected by the Workers' Council from its own members and the Council of Communal Enterprise and Self-Management is composed of the presidents of the Management Committees, a representative of the Party, of the unions, the army and of the administrative authorities of the Commune. According to Article 24 "The Council of Communal Enterprise and Self-Management: aids in the creation and the organisation of organs of management in enterprises and undertakings . . . co-ordinates the activity of enterprises and undertakings of self-management in the Communes and makes an appeal to the supervising organisms for technical and financial aid in the matter of management and control". There is obviously room here for the emergence of a hierarchy.

In all, this short pamphlet deserves close study. The pattern of workers' control in Algeria is due to the fact that the Algerian model results from action by the people, rather than being built from 'above' as in Yugoslavia. It is thus more interesting and valuable to the anarchist, and it might well set the pattern in other parts of Africa.

What is certain is that the guidance in Africa is now with the living example of Ben Bella—who proves his words by his deeds of liberation—not with the dead Mahatma Gandhi. J.W.

There are still some funds in hand to help those fined in recent demonstrations. Comrades who would like assistance are asked to please make sure to let us know their addresses, since it is rather difficult to send anything if we don't have them.

FOUR-SQUARE BOOKS announced the reprint of the expurgated edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* for the specialized demand both in the U.K. and abroad. . . .

THE CHAIRMAN of the Digsweil Art Trust said he would resign if his fellow members did not agree with his decision to exclude a photograph of a life-size nude figure called "The Queen 1963" from an exhibition catalogue. The statue was symbolic and had no reference whatever to Queen Elizabeth II, but the chairman received the trust's full support. A girl asked at a youth meeting in the Ukraine "Tell me please, what should I read on love?" The guest-speaker told her that Lenin and Engels had written about love and personal relationships. The girl retorted reproachfully, "No, let's have the truth". The Canon-Librarian of Southwark said that the church had failed by conveying to the young the idea that sex was a lower order of nature which had to be strictly controlled. "This kind of legalism, which conveys that sex is there and has got to be made respectable, is making youth revolt, and they are revolting quite rightly in my opinion, against this attitude"

TEAR-GAS WAS used to disperse strikers squatting in front of the Legislative Assembly in Georgetown, British Guiana, demonstrating against Dr. Jagan's "progressive" government. At one point the crowds drove the police away by catching the tear gas shells and hurling them back. A platoon of the Gordon Highlanders supported Swaziland police in dispersing an illegal meeting of 400 Africans. A general strike has been called to support 1,350 Africans at the Havelock Asbestos mine. A public order proclamation has been issued imposing three years imprisonment for holding convening or advertising unlicensed meetings. Offensive weapons are also banned at public meetings and processions. The administration has been granted powers to ban entertainments and sporting events. The proclamation also provides for a period of five years jail for anyone who, without reasonable excuse possesses fire-arms, ammunition, incendiary or explosive material. British Guiana police found 92 sticks of dynamite with fuses lit, on the wharf where a Russian ship was loading rice for Cuba. . . .

GOVERNOR WALLACE of Alabama made for the voting record, a token obstruction to the entry of two Negro students to Tuscaloosa University. The State National Guard was placed under Federal command to ensure safe entry of the students. No hostility was exhibited by any students. Medgar Evers, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People was shot dead with a deer-hunting rifle outside his home in Jackson, Mississippi. Mr. Kennedy said



he will ask Congress next week to make "a commitment to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law." 4,000 negroes demonstrated in Washington for civil rights. After the funeral of Medgar Evers hundreds of negroes broke away towards the barricaded centre of the city shouting "Freedom! Freedom! We want freedom!" and "We want the killer". Police dogs and fire-hoses were brought in. The police chief said to the crowd "I thought you promised us orderly, private demonstrations". Negro women shoppers have developed a policy of "selective buying" and Birmingham (Ala.) stores sales are down by about 30%. Police ejected a negro minister and a white graduate, who had chained themselves together, from the Ohio House of Representatives. In Los Angeles an all-white jury convicted 11 out of 14 Black Muslims for their part in a riot in which a man died and eleven others were injured. Medgar Evers will be buried among America's war dead at Arlington National Cemetery with full military honours. . . .

ONE OF TWO detectives dismissed at Sheffield for using violence to three prisoners has written to the Home Secretary "The circumstances in connection with the incidents leading up to the charges against me are of such a nature to show I acted in good faith, under a certain amount of pressure, and that what I did was under the supervision of my superior officers who were present the whole of the time." In an interview with the *Mail* he said "When the squad was formed we were told that results were wanted. We were left with a clear impression that we might have to use force." Lord Shawcross, former Attorney-General writing in the sixth annual report of Justice, the British section of the International Commission of Jurists said that lack of legal aid and advice in criminal appeals "can easily mean, and in some cases may well have meant, that men have served long sentences for crimes they did not commit." "In our view the majority report of the Royal Commission on the Police took

too complacent a view about complaints [against the police] saying that very few were received. If the accused person has a record, he cannot complain about his treatment or challenge the integrity of the police without having his record disclosed to the jury. If he appeals on the grounds that the police evidence was untrue, he is told that this was a matter for the court of trial and if he petitions the Home Office the police are the judges of the complaint. A Detective-constable from Nuneaton was imprisoned for three years for stealing two radios and other articles from cars. He had asked for 78 similar cases to be taken into account. . . .

100 DEMONSTRATORS staged a peaceful protest at what they claimed was an R.S.G. in Worcestershire. They carried placards "Bury the Bomb not Mankind" and "Come with us to the stately homes of the future!" The Committee of 100 is going to send a convoy with a hundred volunteers to support a demonstration in Athens on Hiroshima day—on August 6th. The Greek Premier resigned to show disagreement with King Paul and Queen Fredericka's decision to visit Britain despite the Committee of 100 and Bertrand Russell's disapproval. Nicholas Bohm of New Barnet was given an absolute discharge on a charge of unlawfully inciting persons to commit a public nuisance in Parliament Square on Budget Day. Michael Harwood was found guilty of a similar offence and bound over for three years. Mr. R. E. Seaton (whose name frequently crops up), said "If you come back here in breach of this bind-over, I shall send you to prison for a long time." During the Marham proceedings when it was necessary to apply to a Judge in chambers for bail the Committee of 100 Bulletin states that the Judge said to the solicitor's managing clerk, "As you appear to have some contact with these young people would you convey to them that these courts will soon reach the view that these justices down there [i.e. Downham Market] know best how to ensure the keeping of order." Members of U.S. Congress have been told that nuclear fall-out in the U.S. this year will be two or three times as great as 1962. It is estimated that there will be four times as much strontium 90 in food and twice as much in milk as there was last year. Members of the West London Committee of 100 staged a "sit-in" at a Civil Defence debate in Paddington Town Hall. Squadron-Leader Courtney Banks, a senior Hammersmith Civil Defence officer assured CND supporters that he had a bomb shelter in his own home—in Bournemouth. . . .

OUTER SPACE was occupied by Miss Valentina Tereshkova of the Soviet Union. Newspaper space was occupied by another female.

JON QUIXOTE.

BOOK REVIEW

this strange world. The smell and the feel of it.

I suppose that it is commercialism that demands that a book be no more than a certain number of pages, so that it may be read at a sitting, like a thriller. But if you are going to create a whole new world you need a broader canvas than this. A.W.U.

A NEW ICE AGE

"THE WORLD IN WINTER" by John Christopher, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 16s.

JOHN CHRISTOPHER imagines a new Ice Age descending so suddenly on the Northern Hemisphere that civilisation rapidly collapses. I doubt whether an Ice Age would come so quickly, but I suppose the dramatic requirements of the story demand it. Those of the population who can manage it, flee to southern countries, some to Negro Africa. An unwise choice one would have thought. After one has beaten a man and robbed him it is not the policy of wisdom to go to him for protection! Sure enough, the whites are treated by the blacks as a race of inferiors.

But they are not of course, not in the eyes of John Christopher, which feelings of racial superiority show through. True, we are offered a (fairly) noble

savage. A Negro imperialist who leads an expedition in hovercraft to Ice-bound Britain. Who quotes Kipling, despises his own people, and possesses a certain sense of humour in adversity. But the white man wins in the end. Improbably, in the circumstances.

The whites are mostly awful, but there is no doubt that their awfulness counts for less. In some cases the awfulness is in the eyes of the beholder, that is, my own. I do not admire Anglo-Saxon bullies either, but my experience has been mainly with the blue-eyed, fair-haired kind, and they are detestable.

However, if one is going to create an imaginary world, populated with Negroes taking bribes and Saxons brandishing guns, at least it should be striking enough to grip. This tale is flat, and the reason for it is this. There is not enough description. People say they cannot read nineteenth century books because the action is held up by long descriptive passages, and the descriptions may indeed have been overdone in those days. But we have now gone too far the other way. An effect of flatness is produced, because there are really no descriptions at all. One would like to know what St. Nazaire looked like, when the hovercraft set out from it, on their expedition to England. The town is snowed up and garrisoned by Negroes and Algerians and other Africans. Why can't we know more about it? We are told that the Solent is frozen over, but not what it looked like. It would be fascinating to know the appearance of

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Sellers of 'Freedom', 'Anarchy' and the rest of our Literature are urgently needed at Hyde Park on Sundays
Back up the FLA platform. The more the better.

4
Force & Violence

DEAR COMRADES,
The great controversy on non-violence, violence and force is still continuing. It has certainly been very useful and interesting to discuss IMMEDIATE policies and tactics, but of late there has been prolonged argument as to whether we shall establish our "Utopia" by Non-Violence or Violence. This has been very interesting, it has also been somewhat useful to see where everyone stands on this point (those of you who know me will I hope know where I stand on Non-Violence and Violence), but what useful purpose has this lengthy discussion served? Or putting it another way, how has it helped the Anarchist Cause?

I have no wish to be told that such a discussion shows we are "healthy", because we all know this so we need not waste our time, spit and postage stamps exhibiting our health to one another. It seems to me that people who go around at the present time saying "we must use violence" or "we must use non-violence" are perhaps being a little authoritarian, as well as very unrealistic. The time for the choice of the final means must be made when the movement is in a position to practise these means successfully, and the choice must be made by the people who will have to use the means. We no doubt all have our own ideas on the point, but it is not the time to make a decision on non-violence versus violence. When the time does come we can all have our say, and personally I shall feel disgusted (if I am alive at the time) if the choice is for violence.

Secondly, the attempt to make such a choice now shows a tendency for planning, and long-term programming. Such a tendency is bad for a cause such as ours, and it probably is necessary for me to force the point. We all know that one RSG6 and two Marham demonstrations achieve more than about one year's planning in the form of an Aldermaston.

Thirdly, and I hope this doesn't hurt anyone, most of the people who are active for the Anarchist Cause are, including me, Anarchists for mainly bour-

LETTERS

geois moralist reasons, or from middle class bourgeois backgrounds. I hope we can take the point when Geoffrey Ostergaard says in ANARCHY 28 of bourgeois intellectuals: "Their task is to make explicit what is implicit in Capitalist Society: it was most definitely not their task to instruct the proletariat, to guide them, and to lead them into the correct course of action."

I maintain that many of the people who took part in the dialogue wished to "instruct, guide and what have you", a mass movement which does not exist and will continue not to exist as long as we continue to "instruct and guide".

Our task is to create a mass movement, not deciding what we shall do if one appears from mid air.

Even our friend, Comrade Truman (FREEDOM, 15th June), was right when he saw the need to create a larger Anarchist movement, not to attempt the impossible with a too small one.

(Don't get me wrong, there's no Anarchist Carnival in Hornchurch this week, we are not Anarcho-Suicidals out here yet!).

The statement by the Bristol Anarchists and the idea of a British Federation of Anarchists is probably worth more than one year's dialogue on Non-Violence versus Violence.

Yours fraternally,
Essex. J. CHAMBERLAIN.

COMRADE EDITORS,

With reference to Jerry Westall's "Questions and Answers" in this week's FREEDOM (June 1), I should like to make a few points.

(i) Where drawing a line is concerned, it should be remembered that Hitler was an individual who thought that concentration camps were necessary for the self-defence of the German nation. Herman Kahn, too, in his book "Kill and Overkill" mentions three people who draw the line at destroying the solar system, but not the universe!

(ii) If the workers are to be considered apart from the middle classes, it must be remembered that only 40% of workers are in productive capacities, 40% of these are in armaments. Presumably Jerry Westall wants 24% of workers to control all, except for the 10% who shall be eliminated as they work in armaments.

(iii) The police will, if violence is used against them, have the 'right' to self-defence as individuals. Then my first point is again valid.

(iv) Why should Tom Barnes agree with Adam Roberts? Which advocacy is irresponsible?

(v) The Oxford anarchists claim, and I concur in the decision, that there is a large difference in degree between the organised violence of the state, and the spontaneous violence of the oppressed. But spontaneous violence has never overthrown the state, rather it has begun revolutions. All such revolutions even anarchist ones, have developed within their authoritarian and bureaucratic state.

(vi) What is natural is not necessarily healthy. Violence is only natural to the extent that it is resorted to by the products of an unnatural society. It is accepted as natural only by those who have been brainwashed by a violent society into considering violence natural.

Yours fraternally,
Oxford, June 7. JOHN WHITFIELD.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I'm glad to see Adam Roberts write: "I admit . . . in some situations of personal danger . . . I can imagine circumstances where I would use violence or coercion." See, pacifists aren't holier than us!

I am not saying that pacifists are cowards, or that violence is emotionally satisfying. Neither has anything adulatory been said about assassination, bomb-throwing or barricades. People should not jump to such conclusions. A person who advocates violence, if needs be, in self-defence, is not therefore to be suspected as a villain.

Anarchists seem to forget sometimes that anarchy is the negation of the State, not the negation of violence. Thus a means to the end of anarchy can be violent without any inconsistency. How dull would be an anarchist society without one or two kicks in the pants.

J.W.

DEAR SIR,

Most anarchists are fairly young, and in common with Young Socialists and Communists, although we are deadly serious about activities against the bomb or the boss, we tend to have the fanaticism which comes from working in small groups and to have a romantic

image of ourselves as revolutionaries. Although anarchy refers to a peaceful ordering of society, there's a great taste of destructiveness and onslaught in the way we think about what must be undermined before we have it. Anarchists tend to talk too much about 'the revolution', 'the day', 'when it happens'. For me, this destroys the meaning of anarchism, which is not a sudden reversal of classes, upsurge of despair or violence or seizure of power. Anarchism can only grow—when individuals are becoming more militant and more groups are being formed to carry on the thousand affairs of society.

If we say things like, 'When we get rid of money . . . we can't blame people for having a mental block and saying: 'But how are you going to stop . . . ?' all the usual arguments. Our way of talking denies reality and the feel of history. If money is ever abolished it will only be after many years of pressure have gained new social benefits and wage structures which entirely change the present meaning and role of money (as our main weapon for keeping alive). In the same way if we give the impression that jails, police and punishment will suddenly disappear some day, we deserve to be bombarded with 'What about sex crimes' and so on. This needn't happen if we talk about social man as a whole. The big stick men of the law courts are the heavy father men of morality who create repression and the morbid individual who becomes a sex criminal. Nothing sudden can happen in this line. There can only be a gradual pushing back of the idea of punishment and defeat of the 'dirty' christian anti-love teaching, and so on.

We tend to confuse two sides of our thinking: what we would like to see and what we can get next. What we want we can call our 'vision' or the 'free society', etc., but discussion of what shape it would take is nearly always meaningless. For it isn't a blue print of the future but an expression of ourselves at the moment, of our integrity or generosity, our desire to be free and the amount of inner freedom we have from the inner moral and political bogeys. Some people are more abstract than others but for anarchism we can't refer to detailed concepts; the key is what we like to do or see or what makes us angry and want to stop it.

To the big personal thump of revolution I prefer the idea of growth, in which the individual may be the root but is also almost nothing. We must be prepared to work in the present and die without seeing what comes of it. The political general strike was can-

vassed and in part tried in the 1840's. We still canvass it. If it ever happens it will have taken millions of people and scores of years to create it.

Bristol 7. ALAN JACKSON.

Life, not existence

COMRADES,

I admit a certain sympathy with D. W. G. Truman. His letter was a touching example of the type of 'utopianism' which one associates with a certain brand of 'worker'. Fish and chips, cheese and onion, cake and ale, frolics and fornication! Let the rest go to hell!

All very well, mate. Nobody's going to stop you sitting back on your arse, waiting for the anarchist carnival. Nobody's going to drag you into the streets to kick your rulers where it hurts.

Speaking for myself, you can laugh yourself bloody sick every time the authorities stamp on the people who DO something. And the so-called 'working classes' can laugh right along with you, living their lives out in squalor and muck, underpaid, exploited and stamped on with the rest of the garbage in the authoritarian set-up.

The only excuse anyone has for being a member of the working classes is because he was born there. Speaking for myself I feel it's high time you all shook yourselves up and toppled the filthy structure you support. Until you do your full, rich lives will be on the 'never-never' and you'll always be victims.

I'm not surprised by the apathy and the laughter and I'll go on ignoring it. I can also visualise a rich life, full of hope and mutual aid and the rest of the etceteras. But I can't see us getting it by sitting by fires and tellies, laughing our guts out every time there is another miserable victim tallied up by the filthy scoundrels who have made our world such a bloody mess. It is a bloody mess because we allowed them to get away with it. The horny-handed world re-deemers, the exponents of anarchist inertia, the 'working classes'—these are the people who count, maybe. But they are also the people who are where they are because they allow it. I hope they come out in the streets when the Carnival comes and the beer kegs are all painted red and black (not as a result of another merger, either), but I shall not be surprised to see the majority of them spit on this as well. There'll always be a minority who act, Mr. Truman. Some of them will be workers, some won't. Finally, it's because we've given into life that we act. It's because the Trumans have given into existence that they laugh—like baboons.

Fraternally,
London, N.W.3. CHARLES RADCLIFFE.

'For the Record'

DEAR EDITOR,

N.W. hankers after being led—sad. How could we, of the East Anglian Committee of 100, have taken the "necessary initiative" at Shouldham before we knew what was "necessary"? We had no more notice of the question than anyone else.

At the beginning of the meeting at Shouldham, as at Runnymede during the Aldermaston March, I had a point of view but not a fixed conclusion. On both occasions I was persuaded by the meeting to change my mind.

This change of mind, I am now told, constitutes my "ingenuous and idealistic reactions to groups of people". So be it. I happen to believe in people.

Yours sincerely,
Cambridge, June 17 PETER CADOGAN.

Non-authoritarian Religion

DEAR EDITORS,

"C.R.'s" review of "Frank Baughan's Secret" begins with the statement that "all religious are basically authoritarian" and devotes a paragraph to its exposition.

Such a sweeping generalisation should not go unchallenged. "Some" or "most" maybe: but "all" is far too ambitious.

My particular religion is non-authoritarian and devoid of such concepts as the "Rule of God" (C.R.), "Will of God" and his mysterious purpose" (C.R.).

Furthermore the belief of a permanent reality, i.e. God: does not imply justification of disasters, which are relatively temporary compared with God.

If this were so, then the same logic could justify alleged sin (an individual disaster). There is only a difference of degree between individual, social and actual disaster.

London, June 9. P. G. FEAK

Central London

Prickly Subjects will be discussed at Central London Meetings at "The Porcupine", 48 Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2 (Leicester Square tube), commencing 7.45.
JUNE 23 Alan Albon:
The Sussex Committee of 100 and the nth degree force.
JUNE 30 Ted Kavanagh:
e. c. cummings: The Individual IS
JULY 7 S. E. Parker:
Anarchism without Ends

Hyde Park Meetings

Sundays at 3.30 p.m., Speakers' Corner. Weather and other circumstances permitting.

SOUTHERN FEDERATION

Will those interested in activities please get in touch with Ken Parkin, Ye Olde Tea House, Lyndhurst Road, Brockenhurst, Hants.

MERSEYSIDE

Will those interested in forming an Anarchist Discussion Group on Merseyside please get in touch with:
VINCENT JOHNSON,
43, MILLBANK,
LIVERPOOL 13.

BRISTOL FEDERATION

Will any interested readers contact:
Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells, Bristol 8.

OXFORD MEETINGS

For details please contact:—
Gabrielle Charing,
Somerville College, Oxford.

GLASGOW FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

Meets every Thursday, 7.30, at 4 Ross Street, Glasgow, E.2 (off Gallowgate).

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

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

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

First Thursday of each month, Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

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

Second Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Sid Parker's, 202, Broomwood Road, Clapham Common, S.W.11. (Tube: Clapham South, Buses: 37, 49 and 189).

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

Notting Hill Anarchist Group (Discussion Group)

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

N.B.—No June meeting at Notting Hill.

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DEFICIT	£708

DEFICIT FUND

- Morecambe: E.R. 1/16/-; London: G.M. 8/-; London: S.T. 4/-; W. Bromwich: H.W.T. 9/-; Hounslow: L.* 2/6; London: B.H. 8/-; Cardiff: E.D. 1/18/-; Bromley: W.D.W. 12/-; Wigan: E.H. 8/-; London: D.P. 4/-; Horwich: W.H.B. Newcastle: H.B. 4/-; London: A.D. 8/-; London: J.S. 4/-; London: J.L. 8/-; Salisbury: N.H. 5/6; Poole: D.M. 8/-; Buffalo: E.H.P. 12/-; Kenilworth: R.B. 8/-; Dorking: P.M.C.G. 8/-; London: A.S. 13/8/-; Whitby: P.R. 8/-; London: P.W.C. 8/-; Petworth: C.B. 8/-; London: A.G. 1/-; Redhill: L.G.M. 10/-; Luton: J.A.L. 10/-; Hereford: J.H.M. 8/-; Nelson: M.S.S. 8/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Milverton: E.G.B. 4/-; Ipswich: N.J.T. 8/-; London: H.C. 1/11/-; Southend: P.O.* 5/-; London: D.B. 3/-; Ipswich: W.M.D. 8/-; Exmouth: A.B.H. 4/-; West Houghton: J.M. 15/-; Oxford: D.G. 3/-; London: B.L. 12/-; Droitwich: W.E.C. 8/-; London: L.T.R. 8/-; London: E.L.T. 1/8/-; St. Albans: K.L. 1/8/-; Sevenoaks: M.T. 1/-; Bexleyheath: D.G. 8/-; Aberdeen: W.M.R. 1/10/-; London: P.G. 5/-; E. Rutherford: A.S.* 7/-; London: D.R. 4/-; Birmingham: C.T.F. 8/-; London: F.L.H. 8/-; Berkeley: R.D. 8/-; Birmingham: P.N. 3/6; London: E.K.B. 5/-; Chicago: R.C. 12/17/6; Torino: G.I. 8/-; Coleman's Hatch: D.M. 13/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-.

Total 37 6 0
Previously acknowledged 398 1 6
1963 TOTAL TO DATE £435 7 6