

'An official who is the possessor of power often does not realise when he is abusing it.'

LORD DENNING (1949)

**SELLERS WANTED FOR
FREEDOM & ANARCHY,
HYDE PARK, SUNDAYS
AND HAMPSTEAD
ON SATURDAYS**

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

THIS year's series of party conferences has a heightened political interest due to the imminence of a general election.

On glancing at reports of the voluminous speechmaking, the cultivation of personalities and demotion of those who have served their usefulness, the complete lack of principle in debates and the compromises expressed in composite resolutions, it is tempting to conclude that none of it has any relevance whatsoever to anarchism.

However, it is important to under-

Around the Not-so-Pacific SAVE HIRASAWA CAMPAIGN

A new appeal is being made in Japan on behalf of the painter Sudamichi Hirasawa who was sentenced to death in 1948.

For 15 years Hirasawa has remained in the death cell. A "Save Hirasawa Society" led by writer Tetsuro Morikawa has launched a campaign intended to force the authorities to review the case.

Hirasawa was originally convicted of several bank robbery murders.

The main evidence against him was a personal confession which he later repudiated.

(Six months after sentence of death had been passed, new laws made it impossible to convict, on a murder charge, on the sole basis of a personal confession).

Hirasawa is at present being held in solitary confinement in Miyagi Prison. He is now 72.

Prisoners Protest

Political prisoners in Sarawak have begun a hunger strike in a bid to make the Government try them.

At present more than 200 persons are being held without trial under the Preservation of Public Safety Ordinance. Many are members of the Sarawak United People's Party, a left-wing group which has opposed the Government's Malaysian policy. The prisoners are said to have plastered the walls of their detention camp with slogans protesting "against political tortures and totalitarian pressures" and against being handcuffed. Reports say that special riot police have moved to the camp.

Mare Nostrum

The Indonesian navy has changed the name of the Indian Ocean to Indonesian Ocean in accordance with the wishes of President Sukarno reports the official news agency Antara.

An order announcing the change has been issued by the Chief of Staff of the Navy, Rear-admiral Martadinata. The new name will be used in all maps of Indonesian waters and books published by the navy's Hydrographic service.

ANARCHY 32: OUT NOW is on Crime

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

20th Century Socialism?

stand what is being done at these annual exhibitions on at least two grounds. Firstly, politicians form part, although by no means the whole, of the state apparatus which anarchists are fighting against. They represent one of the points of contact, where the majority of people are under the impression (which anarchists claim is an illusion) that they can influence the behaviour and policies of those in power. Secondly, in the particular case of the Labour Party, there is an organisation whose declared aims are to improve society by the introduction

of socialism. At the same time, it is setting out to place power in the hands of a small minority of its own leaders, and to persuade at least half the people of England that that is the way to socialism as they interpret it.

Two of the most striking features of this year's Labour Party Conference have been the overwhelming development of the Cult of the Personality which has been indulged in completely without inhibition; and the uniformly good reception that has been given to Labour from

Continued on page 3

Spanish Miners Strike . . .

"It is an extraordinary demonstration, courageous and baffling, stopping at one place, breaking out in another, mingling economic and political demands." This is how *The Times* described, recently, the strike of the miners in the Asturias.

The miners first took strike action in July when they demanded increased wages, fixed bonuses and their own elected unions. This action has taken the very effective form of a rolling strike. At first a few mines came out followed by others then finally spreading to the whole of the area. During the strike certain mines have returned to work, but only to strike again later on. At the same time, demonstrations of support have taken place in the naval shipyards of El Ferrol, where several thousands showed their solidarity, and also at Bilbao.

Although strikes are illegal in Spain, and even though some miners

have been arrested and imprisoned, the struggle still continues. In some areas a "lock-out" has been imposed in the hope of starving the miners back to work, but when it was lifted at certain pits, the miners still did not return. This is due no doubt to the method of action, the "rolling strike", where each of the areas can help one another and also because probably this strike action was planned some time before it actually took place, giving the strikers time to lay in supplies of foodstuffs.

. . . and face brutal treatment

A letter signed by 102 Spanish intellectuals, protesting about the arrests, was sent to Franco's deputy, Munoz Grandes and his Minister of Information and Tourism Senor Fraga. This letter confirms the arrests and savage treatment given to the miners and says, that accord-



The Franco regime has admitted to a figure of 15,000 men on strike and the areas around Oviedo, Langreo and Nalon being the centre of the strike activity. With the failure of the lock-outs to defeat the miners, the Government has resorted to arresting them. Reports from French newspapers put the figures at 500. However, not content with just arrests, twelve of these men have been taken to the Carabanchal prison in Madrid and have been brutally beaten.

Brana and Tina Bayon, who were arrested for supporting their husbands. They were both tortured and had their hair cropped after being arrested in Sama de Langreo. Later they were taken to another prison in the area and it is now thought that they have been transferred to Madrid.

The husband of Anita Brana was also arrested and tortured. He has only just been released from prison where he has been since 1960. Tina Bayon's husband was jailed in October, 1961.

The courageous struggle by the miners and their wives needs the support of workers in other countries, not just pious resolutions which are never acted upon, but genuine support in the form of action. This has been forthcoming in Genoa, where dockers refused to unload Spanish ships in protest over the garrotting of Delgado and Granados.

It is no good going to Trade Union leaders, but some effective action may be possible through unofficial rank and file organisations in industries such as refusing to unload Spanish ships, or building workers refusing to work on buildings abroad for the Spanish government such as embassies. Perhaps something can be done along these lines to show solidarity in a more positive form. P.T.

Out for Union Recognition

For sixteen weeks now, workers at P. A. Marriott of Wembley, Middlesex, a firm producing sound-recording apparatus, have been on strike for union recognition. These men are members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which made the strike official at the beginning of July.

This opposition by the management to basic trade union rights and national union agreements has meant a long struggle. In October last year, the men took strike action, which also gained union recognition, when 92 of them were threatened with the "sack". Following this came negotiations between union officials and management over rates of pay which were below the national minimum. The union officials also took the opportunity to press for the introduction of a 42-hour week. A compromise was reached in May.

Although the compromise was agreed to by both the management and the unions, it was not worth the paper it was written on to the men at Marriotts. It was ignored by the management who refused to pay the proper overtime and night-shift rates and the ordinary hourly rates remained below the national minimum. Marriotts also sacked 54 men after this so-called agreement was reached, and the men came out on strike. Since this strike does not effect the

"national economy", the "export markets" and the "national interest", hardly any coverage has been given to it in the national press. In spite of the length of the strike and the fact that the A.E.U. has sent out instructions to branches and district secretaries to "black" all Marriotts' products, there is as yet no sign of the management granting the demands of the strikers. Here again, as with the car-delivery men at Oxford, is a small isolated section of a large powerful union, who are striking for demands which are now taken for granted by the vast majority of the union. In fact the A.E.U. has now started talks for a 40-hour week.

Mr. Arthur Gibbard, of the Southall A.E.U. district committee, has said that the union has done everything possible to gain these demands. If the A.E.U. really wants these demands met, why don't they call out other members of the union in support? Further action is needed if these men are to win their demands and put an end to their being used as "a supply of cheap labour. Isolated and with no real help from union bureaucrats, the strike committee has done the real work in the struggle against the Marriott management.

This week, however, saw the beginning of the type of action that is needed, when about 300 engineers from local factories gave their support by march-

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

ing to the Marriott factory in a token protest. These included workers from the Lightfoot Engineering Works, E.N.V. U.D. Engineering, Park Royal Vehicles and Handley Page. Willesden, Ealing and Wembley trade councils also gave their support.

It is apparent that Marriotts' are not willing to negotiate, probably because of a slack period of trade, and their only answer seems to be sackings. For economic reasons, no effort is made to devise a plan of work-sharing by which all of these men could be employed, and so men are put out on the stones. These men can only win their demands with the support and help of other workers.

Delivery Men Return for Talks

The Oxford car-delivery men have now returned to work after being on strike for three weeks and negotiations are to be resumed. Although deputations of strikers and shop stewards from Morris Motors approached the Transport and General Workers' Union, the dispute was not made official. Support however was forthcoming from the workers on the Morris production line who took token strike action and gave financial assistance to help the men.

With the stoppage in its third week, parking space for the completed cars was running short. This, together with the token stoppages threatened production and no doubt led to Morris Motors telling the delivery firms that they must start talks and get the men back to work. P.T.

LEGALIZING INJUSTICE IN S. AFRICA

Johannesburg, The general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa yesterday declared the General Law Amendment Act and the Bantu Law Amendment Act repugnant to Christian conscience, aggravating rather than simplifying relations. The Church's management board has been instructed to help persons affected by and prosecuted under this legislation.

The Rev. Robert Orr, a former Moderator, said that the Church and Nation committee of the Presbyterian Church denounced the idolatry of "the soul-consuming giant of nationalism" and the refusal to bear witness against the growing isolations within the South African community by building granite walls separating one group from another. "Fear corrodes our reason and morals, so we condone injustice by making it legal. We do nothing, say nothing, even think nothing," he said.

Spain, Resistance and Boycott

THE experience of very many years in the anarchist movement has taught me that there is invariably considerable bitterness and acrimony between those who remain true to their basic principles but all the more quarrel with one another; yet never any clear line drawn on the subject of those who have at one time or other forsaken their principles. On the subject of Spanish tourism, it is quite easy to see the differences between the Notting Hill and the Freedom Press groups (though on all fundamental points they agree save a minor one of tactics); it is utterly impossible to find out from the correspondence whether those who collaborated in the Spanish Government and betrayed the movement in the May Days of 1937 are regarded as representatives of the Spanish workers or not. Are they thought to have repented and come back? Or is it not considered they ever went away?

Possibly on the subject of the English movement, I agree more with the Notting Hill comrades than those of Freedom Press; however, I would like to take their article on Spain in the 21st September issue a little further. The space spent in FREEDOM should not be regarded as wasted. If the exchange seems acrimonious, it is only one-tenth as acrimonious as that which takes place between Spaniards. At least, Notting

Hill have put forward a point of view. Ample discussion is merited because hardly any previous discussion has taken place on the point, yet the Franco regime represents a unique phenomenon in modern history. For a quarter of a century it has reigned *without* the support of the people. Almost all Spaniards, including the middle classes, oppose Franco. Surely it must be admitted that to have survived Hitler and Mussolini was in itself a feat, but to have stayed in power so long indicates remarkable shrewdness. For a comparison one must go back to the Tsar of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey. But they kept popular opinion on their side only by using the Jews and the Christians respectively as scapegoats. *Franco uses his opponents as scapegoats.* He stirs up pogroms against them.

SURELY THE TACTICS used for opposing Franco must be examined as well as the class structure of Modern Spain. First, a clear distinction must be made between Franco and the Spanish people. This was said about Hitler and the German people, but in fact, Hitler did have roots which Franco never had. No comparison can ever be made with South Africa. There is no real distinction between the Nationalist Government and the (white) Afrikaners; the boycott movement is a racial one aimed at the middle class who support the Government, if not indeed against both the middle and working classes (white).

Franco did not come to power as the "tool" of the capitalist class. The capitalist class in Spain had a struggle to emerge in feudalist Spain in the nineteenth century, and when it did emerge it was Republican and Liberal as elsewhere. The fascist movement of the '30's was not, like the Italian movement, one of the middle-classes against the workers; it was the comeback of the feudalists, supported by a few big industrialists, against both the Republican middle-class and the workers.

The collaborationists in the Socialist and Anarchist camps insisted, when Franco began his rebellion, that they had to ally themselves with the petit-bourgeoisie. The Communists, following the then Moscow line, went so far as to become the shock troops of the parliamentary bourgeoisie. It was they who destroyed the gains of the Revolution, and the ascendant bureaucracy in the Spanish working class did not resist. That is perhaps old history; but we were told then how necessary the support of the middle class was. Since the Franco

victory, however, this middle class and capitalist element has gone over to the enemy while the eloquent lawyers who once spoke passionately of the rights of man, now speak equally brilliantly, in Spain, of the blessings of peace and security. The change over in the Spanish economy since the war is something Franco—like any other feudalist—has been powerless to prevent. The capitalist element has become rich and powerful again, and maintained its position under Franco. Are they still regarded by the former collaborationists as "essential allies"? But how could they be? They now need Franco as they then needed the workers. But as the same time, they chafe under his restrictions. It is their capital which, in their view, is responsible for the changed economy in Spain. It is they who have brought back foreign investment. The Church and the Army, the feudal nobility and those big industrialists who once dreamed of dominating all Spanish capitalism without other private enterprise, have resented their rise.

When we read of student demonstrations, I hope nobody thinks in terms of English students of today. The equivalent is of those of fifty years ago; the sons of the wealthy or the professional classes.

It is quite untrue that the tourist trade supports "Franco" or the "Franquists"—the Church, the most reactionary body of all, hates it; the nobility of Spain would not care two hoots if the country were as rich as El Dorado or as poverty stricken as the North Pole. *They* would flourish. It is the capitalists who benefit from American military stations, foreign investments, tourism, or any other form of enterprise. In the event of a depression they would not become revolutionary. They turn to the power that exists, whether a Parliamentary Republic or a Fascist dictatorship, to preserve "tranquility" and their riches. Only in their rise to power do they play a revolutionary role. But this is over.

I doubt whether a call for any sort of boycott ever came or could come from "the Spanish workers". I can just conceive (for instance) that the workers of Dageham, or even a group in Dageham in touch with the car workers, might suggest walking out of their jobs to unemployment because, say, the Ford Company turned to making armoured cars for South Africa. It is utterly inconceivable that they would appeal to the workers of America to put pressure on the Ford Company to close down the works because of injustices done to

themselves by the British Government. No trade union or syndical organisation, no agitator, would dare go amongst them with such a line, which is the reverse of class struggle; indeed every month we read in Spain of strikes for *more pay*—which in the situation become revolutionary. I have never heard of a strike for *more redundancy* (except in the Army).

THAT OF COURSE ONE can lose touch with the situation at home when in the tragic situation of political emigration is true. I have known emigrés all my life and I know it. This is a minor fact to consider. A major fact to consider is seldom set down in public discussion: that one of the two main reasons for Franco's survival is that he is able to use his opponents as scapegoats. (These are always workers. The students get light sentences, and when a duchess went to prison, the Governor moved out to give her his rooms). Franco's "pogroms" are possible since he has (and this is a painful thing to say) a large part of the Resistance under the control of his police. That is a key to the situation. In the Resistance there are many devoted and heroic Communists. They have time and again been accepted as comrades despite past disillusionment. They are not traitors. But they are sold out at the top. I had positive proof that this situation existed in Egypt, where at top (Moscow) level, the party was sold out to the Government, which put this forward as part of a blanket deal with Moscow. It is generally believed that this situation in Germany existed at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact, though there is no proof of this. It is undoubtedly believed in Washington that the Resistance to Franco can never be successful, because the State Department believes Franco has an agreement with Moscow that has sold out the Communist-controlled part of the Resistance. The State Department would rather have the capitalist Republic—if only to please the NATO partners and because in return for his agreement with Moscow, Franco lets the Americans only go so far in establishing bases.

The other main reason for Franco's survival is the depiction of his opponents, the revolutionary Anarchists and Socialists, as the "war party". Nobody was more war-weary than the Spaniards. Franco has cashed in on this. He wants to keep it alive. Thus police plots are always foisted on the Resistance from Moscow level down. I do not believe for one moment that if any Anarchists had planted the bomb in the tourist

office the Spanish police would have failed to find them. They picked up two innocent men because the whole thing was a frame-up. How odd that it should be a tourist office—and not a police station or a church (the two main centres of the dominant Spanish religion). The tragic thing is that emigrés will always say in such a situation, "We take full responsibility". How well I remember those German emigrés who practically overthrew Hitler single-handed (from London!)—the last century-and-a-half show a painful mixture of farce and tragedy in the emigré situation, where ignorance must never be admitted.

HOW CAN WE AID the Spanish workers against Franco? I think there must be some very careful appraisal of the situation. The articles from Notting Hill and Freedom Press groups are extremely well written but entirely emotional. I do not pretend here to go on to give an answer. A puzzle in the Spanish situation is where does the Resistance stand? Its appeals too are emotional with reason—but it gets nowhere. I have spoken to hundreds of Spaniards and as many as I have spoken to, I have found different answers as to how to overthrow Franco or what should come next. Sometimes the very people who will talk of Franco being the tool of the capitalists go on to propose "back to the liberal Republic first". Hope was placed by many (with utterly no logical reason whatsoever) on the British Government; some on the Americans, some on the Russians. The fact is that there is no clear line amongst the most devoted and sincere Spanish fighters. It is confusing enough *outside* Spain, where there exists a free Spanish press—judge of the confusion *inside* Spain. It is not true that this is only "a question for Spaniards" who are the sole competent judges of the situation.

Franco has been extremely shrewd in painting his opponents as the "Anti-España" but with all his shrewdness he has won no supporters; he has merely terrified the middle classes into a toleration for his regime as the only stable one, and by that token has also gained American military aid. It seems to me that the question ought not to be how to crush Spanish industry but how to aid the class struggle within Spanish industry. The tourist traffic is in fact a minor issue—does attacking it help the picture of the "Anti-España" or is it yet another "gesture"? It is certainly an exaggeration to say that it is a body blow at the Franco regime (this was one of the fairy tales told about Nazi Germany when a few hoteliers were ruined). But it is right to raise this issue and I hope it is discussed further even if with the bitterness born of long frustration. Otherwise a clear line will eventually only come from those who propose a new dictatorship.

INTERNATIONALIST.

[A further article on "Spain & Franco" will be published next week.]

BOOKS?

We can supply

ANY book in print. Also out-of-print books searched for—and frequently found! This includes paper-backs, children's books and text books. (Please supply publisher's name if possible).

NEW BOOKS

- Learning to Live Beatrix Tudor-Hart 25/-
- Race, Science & Humanity (ed.) Ashley Montague 15/6
- The Representative R. Houchuth 16/-
- Literature and Science Aldous Huxley 12/6
- The American Way of Death J. Mitford 25/-
- 1001 Ways of Kissing Dr. R. J. Mehta 21/-

REPRINTS AND CHEAP EDITIONS

- Film Form Sergie Eisenstein 30/-
- Cromwell and Communism E. Bernstein 45/-
- Against Liquidationism V. I. Lenin 5/-
- Wealth Against Commonwealth H. D. Lloyd 18/-
- A History of British Trade Unionism Henry Pelling 5/-
- Anger and After John Russell Taylor 5/-
- The Years with Ross James Thurber 4/6
- The Family Life of Old People Peter Townsend 5/-

SECOND-HAND

- The Teapot Dome Scandal M. R. Werner and John Starr 5/-
- Holland Fights the Nazis L. De Jong 3/-
- The Responsibility of Peoples Dwight Macdonald 6/-
- The Story of the Bible Macleod Yearsley 6/-
- Marxism: the Unity of Theory and Practice Alfred G. Meyer; Under the Axe of Fascism Gaetano Salvemini 5/-
- Maisky: Ten Years Ambassador George Bilainkin 3/6
- History of Modern Morals (1937) Max Hodann 10/-
- Rights of Man (1719) Thomas Paine 15/-
- Moscow Excursion P.T. 3/-
- March to Caboaland B. Traven 4/-
- Looking in, Looking Out Charles Humana 3/6
- A Truce to Obedience Charles Jacobs 3/6
- Comrade Jacob David Caute 3/6
- Walls Have Mouths W. F. R. Macartney 3/6
- The Wapshot Chronicle John Cheever 3/-
- Rebels and Reformers A. & D. Ponsonby 3/-

PERIODICALS

- Anarchist Youth (formerly Anarchist Student) No. 3 6d.

Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.—5.30 p.m. daily; 10 a.m.—1 p.m. Thursdays; 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Saturdays).

17a MAXWELL ROAD

FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

THE STATE'S MOST RELIABLE AGENT

DEAR EDITORS,

The more I think about the state, the system, anarchism, revolution, the more I'm inclined to hold that the *decisive* consideration of it all lies in how we bring up our children, or the idea of the next generation.

I say *decisive* because us adults, evidently, are unable to make a major social change, unable because (*a la* themes like W. Reich's) we're as the babyhood brainwashed to do *status quo's*, or state's bidding.

And realizing this brainwash (as I, for example, realize it *via* this discussion) makes really little difference. We do the bidding by second-nature, quite subliminally.

Yes, the state, sorry to say, is embedded in each and every one of us, within the individual psyche—which is how the state rules, the key way, about the only way it can rule in an otherwise age of progress and free-discussion. Without these psychic policemen, I'm sure the game would be up.

My thesis is that these psychic policemen are as well within those who regard themselves Left as within anybody else—in a hundred and one little ways, ways which I here won't dwell on—they in themselves can make volumes—since I want to hurry on and develop a particular point—this being that, because us revolutionaries carry loads of inhibitions and guilt feelings (subliminally) *vis-a-vis* Authority, thus rendering the very term "us revolutionaries" a joke or at best academic, the least we can do is see to it that Authority lays no psychic claim on those within our charge of the next generation.

We grown-ups are like alcoholics, "intoxicating beverages" having been

introduced in increasing doses from birth through adolescence—introduced by the system's most dependable, most loyal, most efficient agent—the parent. Thanks to mom and dad, we now can't, will or no, stop "drinking".

But we can—my point is that this appears the only hope—keep the little one from "indulging"—by simply refusing to introduce—and administer—that which was introduced and administered to us, refusing, that is, to be the state's unpaid agent.

I have, to use myself as an example, a 2½-year-old boy. I ask myself—shall I be the state's agent, the state's flunkie, or shall I be another sort of agent, like *humanity's* agent?

Shall I condition my boy as I've been conditioned, to obey daddy's every whim? This, of course, would be for me so much more convenient. Less furniture, I'm sure, would be broken, less tables and ashtrays overturned, less walls marked up by chalk and crayon.

Yet the realization of things running nice and smoothly for me as the precursor to things running nice and smoothly for the state (father-image being transferred to state) makes me hesitate—hesitate whether or not to "lower the boom" on the kid, let him know who's boss.

Why not, I ask myself, let him *express* his hostility—at the furniture—at me—lest this hostility be—as with every Westerner (see, for one, Karen Horney's *Neurotic Personality of Our Time*)—repressed, which repression is the basis for a very complicated and conflicting state of mental affairs, the basis for continual anxiety, for a rebelliousness to authority coupled with monumental submissiveness.

I don't mean all-permissiveness for the child. Control, yes, but within a framework of non-rejection, complete and unconditional acceptance, endless patience, a framework in which the ego is left unsmashed, a framework of L-O-V-E. Or perhaps the word is *guidance* rather than *control*.

Every time a parent cuffs or scolds a child, or communicates in a sharply disapproving tone, or *via* a sharply disapproving glance (dagger eyes!), he (parent) does the state's work, does its bidding. Punishment of any sort, and he (parent) deserves the state's lasting gratitude.

I call for this—that the long 6,000 year (or longer) chain, the continuous passing down of the Citadel of Authority from father to son (though today, it appears, *a la* Ashley Montague, from mother to son—that this chain be broken. It can be broken—by training children *not* how we were trained.

Parental fascism—herein is where the subtle overall fascism known as the state finds its ultimate nourishment, its perpetuation. We, however generally fascisticize our children, then wonder at the mass allegiance the state is able, generation after generation, to evoke.

We train, mold, cultivate, condition a child—*e.g.*, early toilet training—yet to what end? Overtly, to grow up as a socialized, civilized person, *covertly*, to serve state interests better.

So we delude ourselves. State agents, yet we know it not. Two-bit fascists, yet we pride ourselves on being anti-fascist. Little Hitlers, yet we think of Hitler as the devil.

If we train our children to Heil Hitler we'd at least be less hypocritical! I often wonder—about the idea of a

LETTER

natural man—who would anticipate the New Society. Is there, *can* there be such a person? He'd, for one thing, be independent of the state. I mean *psychologically* independent. Psychologically stateless.

Why not let's *raise* the natural man—and have him be natural *naturally* (since to be natural deliberately or self-consciously is, at least according to Zen, a contradiction in terms even if it comes down to said raising of one person. Thoreau, did he not, said one person can make a revolution.

So maybe my son will be this natural man, though even here the gods have conspired against it, as he dwells with his suburbanized mother five days a week, two with me. He's you see, but partly stateless, two-sevenths, to be exact.

Detroit 1.

SAM COHEN.

FREEDOM FUND FOR THE DONALD ROOOM CASE

Final List of Contributions

- Birmingham: H.D. 10/-; Todmorden: G.B. Todmorden: 5/-; D.T. £2; Glasgow: K. & L.B. £2; London: H.W. £5; London: P.S. 10/-; Huddersfield: A.L. £1; Leighton Buzzard: A.E.S. £1; London: E.M. 9/-; Glasgow: S.M. 4/-; Preston: W.A.L. £2; Hyderabad: G.O. £1; Epsom: A.J.H. £1; Hyde Park: Collection: £4/6/3; London: J.M. 2/6; Southport: D.N.S. £1; London: I.P. 4/-; Washington: L.D. & 4 comrades £2; London: "Coca Cola" per P.S. £1; London: R.B. 10/-.

£26 0 9
Total of first list £62 8 0

TOTAL £88 8 9

To all who have contributed, our best thanks.

FREEDOM

October 12 1963 Vol 24 No 32

20th CENTURY SOCIALISM ?

Continued from page 1
the press. (It is no longer necessary to say "capitalist" press!)

The adulation of one Labour MP expressed in black and white in the *Evening News* 2/10/63 is worth quoting in full because of its grotesqueness:

"Clem Attlee's pipe may stick in Harold Wilson's mouth, and Keir Hardie's heart certainly still beats in his breast for his socialism shares the same human values. But his brain is bang in the middle of the 20th century. His whole concept of socialism is rooted firmly in the scientific soil of the sixties and seventies.

"This week Harold Wilson achieved what Hugh Gaitskell was never able to do. He has thrown Keir Hardie's cloth cap into the sea and made the modern mass-produced raincoat of the modern white collar worker the symbol of 20th century socialism."

What Wilson has succeeded in doing is to eliminate the ideas of socialism completely from his programme. His speech sounded more like that of a dissident shareholder at an A.G.M. of a manufacturing company, castigating the directors on their lack of plans for making profits and developing capital, and proposing that he and his friends should be made directors instead.

It was significant that Wilson's "vision" of England under Labour was applauded by wide sections of the press which are certainly not sympathetic to socialism. The reason for that is not hard to find, when one looks at the vision. It is a highly developed technological society, in which more power than ever is to be put in the hands of the state, to control industry, profits and wages, while at the same time leaving the ownership of industry substantially in private hands. Scientists are to be produced in large numbers, and are to be paid even more than at present, thus increasing differentials in living standards between sections of the community, based on "meritocracy".

The purpose of this "scientific revolution" sweeping away the dead wood in British industry which, it should be repeated, will delight large sections of capitalist industry, seems to be that Britain will then be able to take its place once again as a first-class power, in a competitive world.

Keir Hardie's ideas, which he and his comrades mistakenly pursued through parliamentary channels, that socialism meant control of society by the people, economic equality, and international co-operation between workers of all lands, instead of the sacrifice of the workers in futile competition between their bosses, seem to have been thrown into the sea along with the cloth cap.

It is interesting to turn from Wilson's apparently successful vote-catching "vision" of socialism to that of J. B. Priestley in an article in the *New Statesman* 4/10/63 in which he argues cogently, on the subject of railway closures, that society is meant for people to live together in, and is not a commercial venture. So clear and uninhibited is Priestley in saying what functions he wants social organization to fulfil, that it would be infuriating, if one had not read him and the *New Statesman* intellectuals so many times before. To read that the society based on

rational, humanist, socialist values is to be ushered in by Mr. Harold Wilson and a group of his vaguely-defined "friends" (Brown? Callaghan? Foot?).

Social change in the twentieth century has certainly resulted in a far greater proportion of the people having access to education and material comfort than had it sixty years ago. The Labour Party's programme is an appeal to these people to stabilise their position, and at the same time to achieve an efficient, centrally controlled social machine in which the rate of material advance would be sufficient to give the economically poorest classes the feeling that they too were "having it good" and dispelling thoughts of radical social change.

While the Tories' motive is to defend the *status quo* in favour of the industrialists, and government, against the people, Labour has a more subtle approach in which it is appealing for us to get together and all support the *status quo*.

It seems however, that the very factors which lead politicians to seek popular support, rather than rely on pure rule from above, usually hide the seeds from which social revolution could grow.

The people who are realising that the present social order inhibits the development of their talents, or diverts them into futile channels, should not be supporting bureaucratic moves to organise their work for them, but should be taking control of it into their own hands, and using their increased education, leisure time, ease of communications, etc. to develop efficient organisation of society from below. The articulate parents whose dissatisfaction with the school system has led to the formation of the Advisory Centre for Education, the Councils for the Advancement of State Education, and the 1963 Campaign for Education should be planning to take over and control the schools, and not merely to influence them.

The growth of these, and other organisations such as the Family Planning Association, to get on with jobs that have either been ignored or opposed by authority is one of the positive indications in a society which gives so much cause for pessimism, that human beings are capable of living in society without government.

The technological revolution will certainly proceed apace, but the theoretical differences between the Tory and Labour plans for it differ little in essentials. They both involve shared power between private corporations and the state, and have as little concern for the workers entrapped in the mesh. The much praised Twentieth Century vision of Socialism propounded by Wilson is nothing more than turning the Britain of 1970 into the U.S.A. of 1950.

Real socialism is not basically a matter of technology but of people. The society which puts people's needs first cannot be found in the programme of any group of power seekers, but can only be brought nearer to the extent that people are prepared to reject outright the pretences of politicians, of the left as well as the right, and work towards their objects, in spite of, and when the time comes against the opposition of the state and the political machine. P.H.

THE COMMITTEE OF 100 is planning to introduce into professions and industry groups which will work for a "radical non-violent society". One of the first professions will be teaching, where there will be a demand for educational reforms, including the abolition of corporal punishment and of compulsory religious teaching. It was reported that when a senior member of the stage management of *The Representative* visited a Roman Catholic repository in Victoria, London, to buy rosaries for the production, when it was learned they were for a play which criticizes the Pope's attitude toward Hitler, he was refused service and asked to leave the shop. The play itself has been banned to children under sixteen ostensibly because of filmed concentration-camp scenes. Also at the Lord Chamberlain's request the company, The Royal Shakespeare Company has printed an "authoritative catholic opinion" on the play in the programme. Members of the National Secular Society have been distributing leaflets outside the theatre describing the Catholic Church's attempts to suppress the play. The *Guardian* apologises for having reported the Pope as quoting a saying of Christ as "What is impossible to man's powers is impossible to God." "This," says the *Guardian* "should, of course, have read 'possible to God'". . . .

A LIFE GUARD at Ringwood (Hampshire) parish council's swimming pool claimed that he was threatened with dismissal after telling his employers that his assistant was unable to save anyone in trouble in the water. The Ministry of Housing has withdrawn an award for a housing scheme at Basildon, Essex because the roofs leak and 300 of them have to be replaced. A Ministry statement said that faults were unknown to the awards committee. *The Drug and Therapeutics Bulletin* of the Consumers' Associations says that aphrodisiacs do not work, cantharides irritate the genital tract "but this is not accompanied by an improvement in desire or performance". Alcohol may free the inhibited but with others, to quote Shakespeare "it provokes the desire but takes away the performance". Lord Kilbrandon, a Scottish High Court judge spoke of the gross injustice which had already been done when an innocent man is acquitted. "He leaves the court almost certainly suffering more or less mental damage, extensive financial lesion and a permanently impaired reputation. Errors will, of course, happen, but do we take enough trouble to see that they don't happen? . . .

JOHN APOSTOLOU was charged at Marlborough Street with possessing an offensive weapon (a piece of brick). He was arrested near Claridges during the Greek



State visit. The arresting officer said he found the piece of brick on the prisoner. Apostolou told the court the piece of brick had never been in his possession. He told the court that an officer at the police station, Detective-Sergeant Challoner, had produced the brick saying: "The biggest brick for the biggest boy. Two defence witnesses said they had seen no brick. Two who were arrested with him corroborated the story. A forensic expert said he found no brick-dust and no evidence of cleaning. Mr. Robey said "he had to 'grasp the nettle' in this 'serious case'." He said that the arresting officer was a young, truthful man, that he was impressed by him and did not think him lying. The defence evidence was not referred to. Mr. Apostolou was fined £10 with ten guineas costs. He is appealing. . . .

ZION SILVERSTEIN was fined £3 at Marylebone for using insulting words at the evictions in St. Stephen's Gardens. Silverstein, who is a member of the Committee of 100 is alleged to have shouted "These Jews are well-protected. Hitler was right about the Jewish problem." Onnagh Lahr, on the charge of obstructing a police officer, was fined £5. "Tommy" Farr of the St. Stephen's Tenants' Association was acquitted earlier in the week on charges arising from the same incident. . . .

A 20-YEAR-OLD able seaman in the Royal Navy has failed to secure his release from the navy on conscientious grounds. Instead he was sent, the day after his Advisory Tribunal, to the Far East. He has written, "I will never again lift a finger to run the Navy". He joined up at the age of fifteen for a nine-year engagement to start at eighteen. Over the years his views altered and in 1962 he joined CND but the Navy would not let him go. He was absent for three days and was sentenced to 89 days' detention (90 days' imprisonment is necessary to secure a C.O. tribunal hearing). He refused to co-operate and was in solitary for 34 days. On release he again went A.W.O.L. He went into

hiding to avoid an overseas draft. Then he gave himself up and was given ninety days (twenty-six in solitary confinement). . . .

SOME MEMBERS of the Territorial Army who are members of the Union Movement have been discharged. Brigadier Anthony Dean-Drummond who is in charge of the unit said, "We reported the whole business to HQ. We said 'Look here, these people are members of various Right-Wing organizations. What's the form?' 'We don't want to be unfair to these individuals, but on the other hand we loathe what they get up to outside'". . . .

THE BLOOD of Colin Jordan was mingled with the non-Anglo-Saxon but white Aryan Gentile Francoise Dior. Major publicity was secured in Coventry and London by the presence of anti-fascist demonstrators. The bride was formerly engaged to John Tyndall, secretary of Jordan's movement. . . .

U.S. NEGROES are considering boycotting Christmas shopping which is "a white man's invention . . . a commercial gimmick which has nothing to do with Christmas. "The way to make a man holler is to withhold your dollar." Alistair Cooke writing in the *Guardian* says that "The Birmingham agreement was only signed when the President was able to enlist the help of Roger Blough, the president of United States Steel, in warning his many subsidiaries in the South about the financial damage that could accrue from segregated stores and sit-down strikes". . . .

A SHOP in Southampton Row in London, interspersed its row of the Denning Report with Emrys Hughes' biography of Macmillan and a novel by Erskine Caldwell *The Fool and the Bastard*. . . .

THE *West London Observer* has been interviewing its readers about the suggestion by the Ministry of Housing that the new combined borough of Fulham and Hammersmith be called "Hammersmith". Mrs. Queenie Phillips said, "I am not sorry to see Fulham go. I think it's an awful name and gives the impression of being a low-class area. For this reason I never use the name Fulham when writing letters—always S.W.6." A store manager was not particularly concerned. "I don't think it will make any difference to trade." A housewife said, "We still have to pay our rates whether its Hammersmith or Fulham." A street trader said, "I am very disappointed. Hammersmith has a very bad name for drunkards and I would not like to see that sort of behaviour to spread to Fulham."

JON QUIXOTE (S.W.6.)

BOOK REVIEW

Trollops, Spies, Pimps & Trollopes

The publication of this work of fiction* is a welcome relief after the deluge of moral sewage to which the public has been subjected.

It is a paper-back, the author's other work of fiction, *Freedom under the Law* (Stevens, 1949) showed no hint of his best-seller qualities but we are told that this has sold about 50,000 copies.

It deals of course with sex, but in a judicial manner, not sensationally. Its heroine if we may call her that, can be compared with *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* a subtitle for the book could however be *The Story of a Pure Politician*. There are hints of sexual perversion and an echo of Christopher Isherwood's Mr. Norris in the character Stephen Ward. A minor character Marilyn (or Mandy) Rice-Davies has definite affinities with that incarnation of all gold-diggers Lorelei Lee.

The novel sets out to be a spy story but this theme is abandoned early on. The author's impeccable choice of names for his characters deserts him when he comes to the spy, he settles on the unconvincing name of "Captain Ivanov", incidentally, I find the use of the name "Jack Profumo" (i.e., perfume) for one of the most unsavoury characters a trifle odd.

The complexity of the theme of the novel is too great to detail here. The author marks a return to the *roman-politique* of a Trollope of a Disraeli with its labyrinth of cross-currents of intrigue switching from the great country houses where political questions are settled; to sleazy mews flats; Notting Vale cafes; the offices of newspapers; the offices of solicitors; the councils of Scotland Yard and of special Branch **Lord Denning's Report*, HMSO, 7/6

all played out against a background of the Berlin Crisis, the Cuba Crisis, the Street Offences Act, the housing situation, the Vassall case and even, to bring it slap up to date there is the hint of a pending General election.

The moral tone of the author is implicit rather than explicit. He is a good man according to his lights but his lights are a little dim. His prose style is terse like that of Hemingway "It flared up into an affray in which 'Lucky' Gordon's face was slashed, necessitating seventeen stitches. The police sought to arrest John Edgecombe and charge him with an assault, but he disappeared. He went to Brentford and Christine Keeler went to live with him there. Meanwhile Stephen Ward had found another girl to live with him in place of Christine Keeler. He got Marilyn Rice-Davies to live with him in 17, Wimpole Mews." This laconic recital of a chronicle of human misery, fear and loneliness tells more that the interminable revelations of some public figure "ghosted" in the popular press.

The enigmas of this story remain in the mind of the reader after he has laid down the book. Why did the police back out of the first confrontation? Why did Captain Ivanov return to Russia? Why did the Home Secretary not know of the Profumo Conference since he was reported by the inscrutable Macmillan (like 'M' in the James Bond series) to be the real Head of Security? Here we see the influence of Kafka and is there not some drawing on symbolism in the reference to a man without a head? One also sees a symbolic parallel with the Parliamentary whips and the poor unfortunate creature who ministers to the guests at the banquet and is trans-

ported with delight at the prospect of a whipping.

The high moral tone which the author sustains throughout the work is illustrated by homilies from time to time but the return to the Victorian novel-style is chiefly marked in the sub-chapter headings which urge the story on. They err slightly on the side of sensationalism but since the work is potentially melodramatic it is not to be wondered at. Samples are: "Sir Norman Brook's Warning", "The 'Darling' Letter", "The Slashing", "The Shooting", "Christine Tells Her Story", "The Chief Whip", "Paul Mann Takes a Holiday", "Paul Mann's Security Boxes", "The *Daily Express* has a striking First Page", "Mr. and Mrs. Profumo Go Home". Unfortunately the author does not expand his narrative sufficiently.

His prologue concludes with the words "To those who . . . will reproach me for 'white-washing' I would make this answer: While the public interest demands that the facts should be ascertained as completely as possible, there is a yet higher public interest to be considered, namely, the interest of justice to the individual which over-rides all other. At any rate, speaking as a Judge, I put justice first."

His epilogue contains the sentences "This brings me to the end. It might be thought—indeed it has been thought—by some that these rumours are a symptom of a decline in the integrity of public life in this country. I do not believe this to be true. There has been no lowering of standards. But there is this difference today. Public men are more vulnerable than they were: and it behoves them, even more than ever, to give no cause for scandal". . . .

On and On . . .

DEAR EDITORS,
In your Editorial "The Prerequisite of Peace" (September 28), you write . . . when the will of the people is resisted by the State then it seems to us . . . obvious that if the people only by violence can remove that obstacle then they should not hesitate to use violence."

Is it now the editorial policy of FREEDOM, *The Anarchist Weekly*, to suppress any expression of Tolstoyan anarchist opinion? Perhaps all Tolstoyans are

regarded by you as "nuts" and not as anarchists at all. Perhaps you think Eitzbacher and Woodcock were wrong even to mention Tolstoy in their books on anarchism.

But if not, may I be allowed to mention that in Tolstoy's view, which I share, public opinion determines the whole political, economic and social order, so that "the will of the people", which is merely another expression for "public opinion", cannot be resisted by the State? The State grows out of the will of the people. The State is nourished by public opinion, because public opinion is authoritarian. Take away that nourishment and the State must perish. Therefore the situation in which you would justify the use of violence—when the State is resisting the will of the people—is in the nature of things impossible, and the only sane policy for an anarchist is to change public opinion.

It is true that, so long as public opinion supports the State, the State can use its power to suppress any effort to change public opinion, and this may seem a vicious circle. But anarchist violence is obviously not the way out of this impasse, since, so long as public opinion remains unchanged, the State's violence must prevail.

You may ask: what if public opinion was half changed, so that only half the people supported the State? Would the State necessarily prevail in that case? No—but in that case, if the anarchists used violence, the result would be civil war and utter chaos. Is it likely that a peaceful, non-violent, anarchist society would emerge from that?

I agree with you that peace is a prerequisite. But this means we must be peaceful now, before the revolution. We will never persuade people to live peacefully if we ourselves are prepared to use violence. We have to set an example now. That is the only way to break the vicious circle.

Yours sincerely,
Bristol, Sep. 29. FRANCIS ELLINGHAM.

. . . and On and On

DEAR EDITORS,
Once again you say that when the will of the people (anarchist will, presumably) is resisted by the State it may be necessary for the people to retaliate with violence. Well, I may be a "doctrinaire" pacifist (and I suppose you are "doctrinaire" anarchists, for that matter) but I am afraid your (dogmatic?) position may be due to the fact that you over-simplify the situation. When you write about the State being destroyed by the people I have a feeling that you see the State as an object instead of an assorted, apprehensive group of people who are susceptible to the same persuasions as ourselves (I get the same feeling sometimes when you write about the privileged and the underprivileged as if it were possible to draw a line somewhere). I do not think it is wise to make such statements without going into the matter deeply because the issue of violence is so very important—it is indeed a matter of life and death.

In some of my letters I have attempted to go into the possibilities a last-ditch situation may present. One point I have made is that the State would consist largely of people very much like ourselves in many respects (i.e. Armed Forces, Police, CD, etc.) who, in such a situation, would be very susceptible to our arguments and likely to come over to our side provided we were unarmed and gave them no reason to fear us.

I would say there is a very big question mark to set against violence as a policy, temporary or otherwise.

Best Wishes,
Slough, Sep. 29. ERNIE CROSSWELL.

Non-Violent Defence

SIRS,
Your leading article of September 28 suggests that the *Peace News* editorial of September 20 ("Is CND finished?") is "full of riddles worthy of the 'New Left' or Labour Party politicians' attacks."

In particular, you ask whether a non-violent defence policy would be adopted by governments or by peoples. This is a very complicated one to which I for one have no cut-and-dried answer. I suggest, however, that the following aspects of a non-violent defence policy are worth considering in trying to work out an answer:

1. Most of the effective instances of non-violent resistance have occurred when the action performed was to some extent an end in itself. Regimented non-violent armies, interposing themselves in conflict situations, have not been much supported, nor have they been very successful.

LETTERS

2. Non-violent resistance works, not by trying to annihilate an opponent, but by undermining the support and obedience on which he depends. This job is probably better done if those who do it are not themselves monolithic and regimented.

3. A non-violent defence policy would have to work on the assumption that its leaders and policy makers might well be killed or "removed" in the event of an invasion. This is also true of military defence, but the risk is clearly greater in non-violent campaigns, in which the leaders tend to put themselves in very exposed positions.

4. A non-violent defence policy would inevitably be accompanied by the development of a general increase in the understanding of non-violent techniques; this would obviously be a valuable weapon for use against tyranny in domestic affairs. We have already seen how the Committee of 100's use of non-violent civil disobedience against nuclear war resulted in the use of this technique for other purposes and on other occasions.

These points suggest to me that, whether a non-violent defence policy was adopted by a Government or by the people, it would inevitably have a liberalising effect in society. They also suggest that, since non-violent defence must depend on the will of the people for its support, King-Hall's emphasis on getting it adopted by the Government is slightly misleading.

It seems to me that the anarchist reaction to the idea of non-violent defence is as predictably dogmatic and depressing as the militarist reaction. Both tend to look on the subject through a cloud of dogma which prevents them from making a fair assessment of its strengths and weaknesses.

Yours sincerely,
LONDON, N.1., Oct 5 (Peace News). ADAM ROBERTS.

ANARCHIST THEATRE?

Will anybody interested in creating an Anarchist-theatre or theatres and establishing a fund for that purpose, please get in touch with David Stringer, 65, Connaught Gardens, Palmers Green, London, N.13.

BETTER!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT

OCTOBER 5, 1963

Weeks 39 & 40		
EXPENSES: 40 weeks at £70		£2,800
INCOME:	£	£
Sales & Sub Renewals:		
Weeks 1-38	1,490	
Weeks 39-40	70	
		1,560
New Subscriptions:		
Weeks 1-38 (314)	346	
Weeks 39 & 40 (10)	10	
		356
		1,916
		DEFICIT £884

DEFICIT FUND

Detroit: J.C. 14/-; Oxford: Anon.* 6/-; Montrose: D.T.C. £1/5/-; London: E.Z. 6/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Pittsburgh: L.K. 8/9; E. Rutherford: A.S.* 7/-; Worcester: M.S. 5/-; New York: B.C. £1/10/-; Leicester: G.P. £1/5/4; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Hampstead & Hyde Park: 4/-; London: D.S. 8/-; London: N.I.B. 8/-; Hounslow: L. 2/6; Bristol: N.A. 8/-; Belfast: W.G. 5/-; London: S.B. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; London: Victoria* 10/-; E. Rutherford: A.S.* 7/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Los Gatos: picnic, Sept. 22 (per A.D.) £44/2/-; Reading: C.S. 1/6; Twickenham: P.R. 8/-; London: Anon. 1/6; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; London: Anon. 3/-; Surrey: F.B.* 10/-; Seattle: D.W.C. 14/-.

TOTAL 57 2 7
Previously acknowledged 763 0 7
1963 TOTAL TO DATE £802 3 2

*Denotes regular contributors.

International Bulletin

COMRADES,

Those of you who received the first issue of *Anarchist International* probably noticed certain deficiencies in the quality of its production. Also the circulation of the first issue was severely limited.

I would like to apologise for both of these faults. In an attempt to rectify the latter the more important articles from the first issue have been included in the second issue.

The unattractiveness of the first issue and its limited circulation can be directly attributed to the lack of cash. Costs involved include not only those of production and distribution, but also that of a heavy postage bill resulting from correspondence with comrades abroad. The expenses of the first issue were borne by myself, with some assistance from two or three comrades in London. Again, the cost of the second issue has devolved on the same 3 or 4 people. Although we would like to continue publishing this bulletin we don't particularly want to run ourselves into the Poorhouse in the process.

To start with we would like to appeal to comrades for cash to cover the cost of the first issue.

With regard to the second and future issues we are putting the bulletin on a subscription basis. Any subs. taken out would include this second issue.

The second issue, like the first, is being sent out largely on spec. If you wish to subscribe please let me know immediately. (Margaret Hart, 57, Ladbroke Road, London, W.11). A subscription for six issues (postage paid) will be 5/-, for twelve issues 10/-. In as far as it is possible I hope to bring out *Anarchist International* once every fortnight or three weeks.

I do hope that comrades will respond to this appeal because without your financial support this bulletin will quite simply collapse—almost before it has got off the ground.

Two papers in 36!

THE EDITORS,

I hope you will allow me a little space to make a correction in connection with Philip Sansom's letter 28/9/63. He writes that in 1936 when one of the present Editors of FREEDOM founded *Spain & The World* there was no anarchist paper. This is not correct, he could ask the same Editor I'm sure he would tell him that in fact there were two. One a small size *Freedom* published in London and the other the *Fighting Call* together with other pamphlets published in Scotland. We only stopped publishing these two papers when on a meeting together with the Scottish comrades. I said that as *Spain & The World* is much better than our two papers, therefore I would suggest that we should give the energy and the money which we spend on these two papers to the *Spain & The World* and I believe that with our help the *Spain & The World* could be still better.—Emma Goldman, staying then in London and attending all our meetings, did not agree to this, she didn't like the idea to part with *Freedom*. But as the whole meeting agreeing to my suggestion, she also later realized that it's better to have one good paper than three weak ones.

I often notice some mistakes in the FREEDOM, not because they want to say a lie no, only they don't bother to find out from the real source, for instance a little while ago Jack Robinson wrote in FREEDOM that Mr. Michaels was one time the Editor of FREEDOM, this is not true, Mr. Michaels never has been and couldn't be an Editor of any paper, I'm sure that Mr. Michaels himself wouldn't say he was.
London, N.16. LEAH FELDMAN.

Spoil Ballot Papers?

DEAR EDITORS,

With reference to the forthcoming general election and proposed anti-parliamentary campaign by libertarians, may I remind comrades of the necessity of registering and voting. I do not mean by this that one should put one's mark by any of the candidates' names, but that one should 'spoil' one's paper by writing for example an anti-parliamentary slogan across the ballot paper. The traditional anarchist tactic of abstention is too negative; already a sizeable proportion of the population abstains through apathy rather than conviction. Why should we allow ourselves to be associated with this indifferent mass? 'Spoiled' papers are counted at elections, and a sizeable number would affect not only the opportunist politicians but people everywhere.
P.R.

CENTRAL LONDON

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.

OCT 13 Maurice Goldman: On South Africa

OCT 20 Wynford Hicks: Anarchism is Syndicalism

ALL WELCOME

HYDE PARK MEETINGS

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

GLASGOW FEDERATION

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

BRISTOL FEDERATION

The Downs (nr. Blackboy Hill) every Sunday, 3.30, circumstances and weather permitting.

PROPOSED GROUPS

Proposals have been made for forming anarchist/discussion groups or federations in the following areas. Will those interested please get into touch with the address given?

BELFAST

Telephone 23691.

BIRMINGHAM AND WEST MIDLANDS

Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

COUNTY OF STAFFORD TRAINING COLLEGE

John Wheeler, C.S.T.C., Nr. Stafford, Staffs.

HEREFORD

Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close, Hereford

MANCHESTER

John McEwan, c/o Farrish, 4, Sanby Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Manchester.

PLYMOUTH

Fred Spiers, 35 Ridge Park Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.

ROMFORD & HORNCHURCH

John Chamberlain, 74 Upper Rainham Road, Hornchurch, Essex, or Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster.

READING

Enquiries about meetings being held to James Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading.

SHEFFIELD

Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS

J. D. Gilbert-Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

First Tuesday in each month at 8 p.m. at Jean and Tony Smythe's Ground Floor Flat, 88, Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

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

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

N.B.—Change of Day.

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

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Rooum'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.

Freedom

The Anarchist Weekly

FREEDOM is published 40 times a year, on every Saturday except the last in each month. ANARCHY (1/9 or 25 cents post free), a 32-page journal of anarchist ideas, is published 12 times a year on the 1st of each month.

Postal Subscription Rates to FREEDOM and ANARCHY

12 months 32/- (U.S. & Canada \$5.00)

6 months 16/- (2.50)

3 months 8/6 (\$1.25)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies

12 months 47/- (U.S. & Canada \$7.50)

6 months 23/6 (\$3.75)

AIR MAIL Subscription Rates (FREEDOM by Air Mail, ANARCHY by Surface Mail)

12 months 52/- (U.S. & Canada \$8.00)

Postal Subscription Rates to FREEDOM only

1 year (40 issues) 20/- (U.S. & Canada \$3)

6 months (20 issues) 10/- (\$1.50)

3 months (10 issues) 5/- (\$0.75)

Air Mail Subscription Rates to FREEDOM only

1 year (40 issues) 40/- (\$6.00)

Cheques, P.O.s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers:

FREEDOM PRESS

17a MAXWELL ROAD LONDON, S.W.6. ENGLAND Tel: RENOWN 3736.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

- Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
 - Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
 - Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
 - Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
 - Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
 - Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
 - Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
 - Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
 - Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
 - Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street
- Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6
The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/6 post free.

ALEX COMFORT

Delinquency 6d.

BAKUNIN

Marxism, Freedom and the State 5/-

PAUL ELTZBACHER

Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21/-

CHARLES MARTIN

Towards a Free Society 2/6

RUDOLF ROCKER

Nationalism and Culture cloth 21/-

JOHN HEWETSON

Sexual Freedom for the Young 6d.

Ill-Health, Poverty and the State cloth 2/6 paper 1/-

VOLINE

Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6

The Unknown Revolution (Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21) cloth 12/6

paper 2/6

TONY GIBSON

Youth for Freedom 2/-

Who will do the Dirty Work? 2d.

Food Production & Population 6d.

E. A. GUTKIND

The Expanding Environment (illustrated) boards 8/6

PETER KROPOTKIN

Revolutionary Government 3d.

Organised Vengeance Called Justice 2d.

Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications:

Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A tribute

cloth 5/-

Journey Through Utopia

cloth 16/- paper 7/6

Neither East Nor West

paper 7/6