

FREEDOM

'All voting is a sort of gaming, like checkers or backgammon, with a slight moral tinge to it.'
H. D. THOREAU.

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

Another War to Pay For!

A BUP news item from Tulsa (Oklahoma), last week informed the housewives of Britain that a second planeload of trading stamps, 1,000 million of them was on its way to our shores. The invasion has started, the war of the stamps has been declared, or to put it in more concrete terms as does the *Observer*:

the stamps fracas is only a symptom of something more fundamental—a struggle for outright leadership of the British food market.

During the past five years, since Mr. ("Greenshield") Tomkins introduced his gimmick, we have witnessed what might be described as mere frontier skirmishes, by the small shopkeepers seeking to survive the onslaught of the chain stores and the supermarkets. And the small shopkeeper in urban areas has survived so far, and there is no doubt that the stamps gimmick has contributed. Mr. Tomkins who now has 18,000 satisfied customers (shopkeepers) declared in an interview with the *Herald* that

when we move into an area we guarantee that our stamps will bring the retailer a 30 per cent increase in turnover. We put it in writing.

But Mr. "Greenshield's" 18,000 retailers who have so far this year doled out 8,000 million stamps to their eager stamp-collecting housewives, account for only 3 per cent. of retail trade. So long as the giants, the Combines, the chain-stores remained aloof, clearly the trading stamps were a life-saver for the small shopkeeper, "something-for-nothing" for most housewives, and a very profitable business for Mr. Tomkins. For the shopkeeper was handing over about 2½ per cent. of his turnover to Mr. Tomkins who in turn handed over some of it in the form of gadgets to the housewife. Apart from Mr. Tomkins, and other stamp operators, who cannot lose (until, of course, there is "war" among the stamp operators themselves) the advantages both the shopkeepers and the public will enjoy are, by the very nature of capitalism, bound to be short-lived.

Capitalist enterprises, because they are concerned with profits are therefore monopolistic. They use competition as the means to that end; that is to wipe out, or to take-over their competitors. And when they can do neither they appear to accept the *fait accompli* by calling a truce and "fixing" the prices for the commodities or services they offer to the public. So long as demand exceeds supply these gangsters respect the agree-

ments they enter into. But when they have to compete for markets, agreements are ignored and it's a question of the survival of the most enterprising, or the financially strongest among them. Up to last August the multiples had refused to be drawn into the trading stamps racket. To do so would have only meant feathering the nests of the Mr. Greenshields at their expense. The trouble is that some capitalists are more greedy than others and to satisfy their gargantuan appetites they must seek to be one move ahead of their rivals, and this, of course, may well involve breaking agreements. The "unity" of the giants was shattered when the Canadian financier Garfield Weston gave them three months notice of his intention to introduce stamps in the stores controlled by his Fine Fare group (which includes 300 of the 1,000 supermarkets operating in this country). He asked that other firms should reciprocate this "courtesy", or he might feel relieved of any further obligation in respect of notice. Last week, without a day's notice, the Pricerite group introduced Greenshield stamps in their six supermarkets located in London and the South of England. And this was the cue for Mr. Weston to introduce the pink stamps of the American firm Sperry & Hutchinson in his group's 650 stores and supermarkets three weeks early and the reason for the hurried and expensive plane-loads of coupons from Tulsa, Oklahoma.

A spokesman for Pricerite said that his company was aware of the request made by Mr. Weston's

group but since there had been no decision by the association on this request there was no obligation on other firms to follow the Fine Fare group's example. Furthermore, one of the reasons for his firm springing this surprise on everybody concerned, including their staff, was "the knowledge that other firms in the association were contemplating using trading stamps". We are glad to see confirmed the view, often expressed in *FREEDOM*, that it is a mistake to believe that the capitalists are united. And how vulnerable they would be if their workers were united!

★

THE forces lined up against the small shopkeepers and the

breakaway multiple stores in this stamp war are formidable. All the big guns—Boots, W.H.S., Victoria Wines, Express & United Dairies, Marks & Spencers, etc.—are behind the newly formed Distributive Trades Alliance, led by Lord Sainsbury and Mr. Malcolm Cooper, chairmen respectively of the Sainsbury group and Allied Suppliers with 3,289 shops to do their bidding. Indeed the Alliance claims to represent 81 per cent. of the Membership of the Multiple Shops Federation covering a total of 37,536 shops. As we see it this is a war in which the greenshields and the pink stamps will be able to claim spectacular gains at the outset (with the public sharing some of the spoils) but the prospects are of a

war of attrition—and whoever wins, the public, as in all wars, will have to pay. So far as the Alliance is concerned the simplest way out would be for all its members to introduce stamps and in no time re-establish the *status quo ante*. Or at least until one rebel group countered by offering double the number of stamps to its customers. In due course the others would have to follow suit, and this process could go on for some time, to the delight of the housewives of Britain whose homes would be cluttered up with gadgets which, but for the stamp war, they would not have thought worth acquiring.

The first casualties in a prolonged stamp war—which is a price-cutting war by another name—will be among the small shopkeepers who have neither the ammunition (large profit margins through bulk buying) nor the reserves (financial backing) to hold out for long in such a struggle. The next casualties will be the smaller groups who will sell themselves to the highest bidder on either side before they are squeezed out of business, and this will be followed by a cease fire, during which each side will seek to consolidate its position (for instance by opening up more supermarkets—the Weston Group have 150 sites, 50 of which are now being developed) while talks go on between the leaders for a peaceful settlement. And this means take-over bids without humiliation—that is, the golden handshake for the losers.

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BUSMEN STEP-UP CAMPAIGN

Although the Transport and General Workers Union urged its members not to ban overtime while talks with the London Transport Board were in the offing, bus crews carried through their plan and from last Wednesday this overtime ban has been in operation. Before this, some garages had been staging a series of one-day strikes.

The ban has kept 1,000 buses, that is one in seven of the entire fleet, off the roads and has caused even longer queues of passengers during the rush-hours. It illustrates the extent of the shortage of bus crews and the need to improve the present inadequate bus service. Without overtime working, London's busmen have shown how bad the services are. With low wages, London Transport have been unable to attract enough workers or even keep those they have on the buses and so the garages are badly understaffed.

The London Transport Board at first refused to meet union officials last Friday over their claim of a 30/- pay rise, an 80-hour fortnight and an extra week's holiday because of the decision taken by a delegation conference of busmen to ban overtime. The L.T.B. later climbed down and the meeting took place. No offer has been made, but Mr. Harbour, a member of the Board, has said that they are in favour of a long-term agreement.

Union officials at the Central Bus Committee meeting on Wednesday, may urge the withdrawal of the overtime ban, but it seems unlikely that the busmen will agree. It appears that the L.T.B.

has accepted the fact that their employees are really determined to improve their pay and conditions, for the dispute is spreading to the country districts which are run by the L.T.B. Garages at Grays, Harlow, Hatfield, St. Albans, Windsor, Guildford, Luton and Hemel Hempstead have agreed to operate the ban on overtime.

For too long now, busmen have put up with low wages and bad conditions and the union officials in past negotiations have been content with "pea-nuts". Now the rank and file have taken the action which the unions have all along been unwilling to call for. Only by action, although it could have taken a more effective form, will the L.T.B. be forced to give in to the busmen's demands.

PAY RISE—BUT!

Workers at all Ford plants are to receive a pay increase of between 3½d. and 4½d. an hour which amounts to a rise of about 5%. Fords have also accepted the idea of a third week's holiday, probably during the winter, but have not yet made any concrete arrangements.

This pay increase, which comes into force next week, is likely to prove embarrassing to the Employers Engineering Federation, who recently offered the unions a 3% increase which was rejected. Vauxhalls, who have recently conceded a third week's holiday for their workers with over five years employment, have just had a token stoppage in support of wage claims which are

being negotiated. Fords and Vauxhalls are not members of the Employers Federation.

This rise for Ford workers is above the Government's "guiding light" policy for wage increases of 3%—3½%. Perhaps this will be put before the National Incomes Commission as has been done with other agreements that the government considered were against the "national interest". No doubt Fords consider it is in their interest and they have admitted that production has increased sharply over the last year. Because of this increase in production and the high profits, Fords are now quite willing to flout the "guiding light" policy and give pay rises which are out of proportion to the National productivity levels. The N.I.C. and the National Economic Development Council have laid down that rates of pay and National productivity should go hand in hand.

This pay increase is only a drop in the ocean of the huge profits that have been made over the past year and as the saying goes, "They'll give you anything rather than get off your backs." Fords have indicated that they would like some form of three-year tie-up and no doubt this latest wage increase is just a sweetener for future negotiations.

The day after Fords pay offer, the unions accepted the three-shift system and are recommending it to the rank and file (union officials are very fond of recommending things they don't have to do themselves). The starting of the continuous working of three 7½-hour shifts has been postponed one week to

November 11th, in order to give the union bureaucrats time to explain to the members what is involved. Apparently, members of the Transport & General Workers Union are willing to accept the recommendation but there is opposition by members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Electrical Trades Union.

These men have said that they are against the three-shift working because of the "domestic upheaval it would cause, the loss of earnings involved and their fear, that with the consequent abolition of week-day overtime, the system would remove their cushion against redundancy during the motor industry's seasonal periods of recession."

The three-shift pattern of work is likely to be extended further to include most of the 48,000 workers, for the unions have now written into their national agreement, hours and conditions for the three-shift working. The 4,000 men at the moment involved, are in the engine group at Dagenham, but this system is also worked in section of the Langley, Walthamstow and Woolwich machine shops.

Under this system, skilled workers will earn £19 18s. 0d. for a 37½-hour week and semi-skilled workers will get £18 15s. 0d. Although these rates are above the "national average" for wages and hours, men work under a continual strain, where one's speed and strength has to keep pace with the conveyor belt, where men have to put up their hands to be replaced when they want to go to the toilet and are also timed in the process, where at any time, speed-up of the conveyor belt is liable to occur, requiring more effort from the workers, plus the ever-present threat of redun-

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ANARCHY 33:
NOW ON SALE, DISCUSSES
**The Anarchism
& Alex Comfort**

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on the first Saturday of every month

CO-OPERATION, VIOLENCE, ANARCHISM

ALEX COMFORT says the following in the FREEDOM PRESS pamphlet entitled "Delinquency".

"For this reason, the scientific attempt to ferret out the actual, concrete factors in society, the family, and the individual which lead to 'crime' of the delinquent type is in itself a revolutionary activity, if by revaluation we mean the attempt to alter inadequate social patterns by deliberate action, and any contribution to this study, even if the people who make it do not realise its wider significance, is of vital importance to us as revolutionaries. And it has another side. We're not always very logical. Most of us, I think, refuse on principle to be indignant, and to react by demands for revenge, against bandits or murderers, because we say that their behaviour is the outcome of defects in society. On the other hand, we are very often indignant, and we react equally sentimentally, at the activity of power groups or of individual rulers—or, perhaps more characteristically among anarchists, at the activity of a class, or of a whole group of rulers, who seem to be acting brutally or wickedly in their own fields. I don't want to suggest that we should lose our healthy social indignation, any more than I suggest we should come to shrug our shoulders when we come across a multiple murderer, but I do feel that any revolutionary movement which is able as I believe that we are able, to ground itself in psychiatry should thereby acquire a balance and a principled approach to social evils which it can get in no other way. I believe that there is only one possible kind of revolution, a revolution based on the scientific study of the things we wish to foster and the things we wish to eliminate, and their adjustment by means which I would call psychiatric, not political, and those are the criteria which we have to fulfil if we are to make a contribution to human progress. And it goes further than that—it is known today that not only governmental power but revolutionary activity itself is a very common cloak for the psychopathic tendencies in the participants. We all know the psychopathic crank, to our cost, and being a minority movement we have to guard against him: for all I know I may be one. The application

and re-application of rational criteria to our own response and opinions is a positive duty, and an extremely difficult and arduous one. Is our hatred of coercion or authority based on evidence, or is it a discharge of aggressive tendencies which might have landed us in Dartmoor or in the Cabinet? It's a point I won't pursue, but we should mention it in passing. 'The Delinquent' or the psychopath is invariably someone else, not the person who uses those words."

The correspondence in FREEDOM would suggest that we should all subject ourselves to some sort of reappraisal. The correspondence on violence has been to some extent emotional, superficial and subjective.

The letter on the subject, most recently published by "SF" approximates to my personal standpoint, except that it is impossible to live in a social isolation. This is what many people try to do within the context of their family group, having turned over the responsibility for their social relationships to others. It would be just as disastrous to exchange the present isolated family unit to one that is a bit bigger unless it is for the following purposes.

1. To enable the members to live a full and satisfying life now.
2. To mutually assist members to resist the inroads of an all-embracing state on the liberty of the individual.
3. To encourage the mass of the population to isolate the political disease by making it superfluous.
4. To provide a stable background for living, it is the anxious that require money power, policemen and violence.

Undoubtedly much violence and aggression stem from frustration and repression.

Social changes derived from such a source are unlikely to lead to a society that is free from organised coercive authority, i.e. anarchism. Anarchism is growing in influence because of its inherent logic and anarchists need to match the logic of the philosophy with an objectivity and an ability to translate it into behaviour. This will I believe lead anarchists to the inevitable conclusion that organised violence is inconsistent with the growth of an anarchist society. I believe that in essence government is organised violence and to oppose it with such violence will certainly lead to a similar replacement. This is not necessarily a pacifist position as there are circumstances when I would use violence and even organised violence but I would be under no illusions that it would lead to the establishment of an anarchist society.*

The winner of a violent contest demonstrates who is the strongest in terms of numbers and weapons. It has nothing to do with social justice. Civil disobedience and non-violent resistance has had some successes and merits

From the Anarchist Press International Meeting in Goteborg

The current issue of the Swedish anarchist journal *Brand* gives an account of the international conference that was held in Göteborg last August, in conjunction with the national conference of the Swedish Federation for Anarchist Propaganda.

The meeting was called by invitation of the Swedish comrades. It was not a large congress, but obviously fulfilled the expectations of the organisers.

Besides the Swedes, there was a large delegation from Norway, and representatives from Denmark, Germany, Austria and Holland.

The Dutch delegate, Comrade J. de Roos, who had been at the London Conference in 1958 gave a survey of the international scene. The Dutch comrades, in consultation with Belgian, German and French anarchists, are planning a wider West European Congress in 1964, in Holland.

The meeting was widely reported in the press, and one of the organisers, Gustav Sjöström had a four minute radio interview. The press apparently wrote in terms of "The dying anarchist movement" being called to its burial, but *Brand* draws a parallel to Mark Twain.

The following day the Swedish Federation's meeting was held, and the main theme was the economic support of *Brand*.

greater consideration and research among anarchists as being more in line with anarchist concepts. A climate of opinion in which the romantic and illogical creed of violence is exploded has to be created and replaced by understanding, and we must see that the religious idea of original sin is not replaced by a pseudo-revolutionary idea of it. The biggest weapon in our armoury is that violence is self-defeating and that coercive authority on all levels creates more problems than it solves. Having now reached the peak of insanity in arranging for the institutions of coercion to continue after arranging the demise of the coerced.

In Britain the civil violence of the state is not overt. Police violence is not open and there is a fuss if it is exposed. The situation is an advance on say France or Spain for instance. This situation must be exploited. Violent demonstrations breaking through police cordons proves only that at the moment the demonstrators are more numerous than the police. However as the majority accept force as the arbiter of human affairs the government resources of violence are infinite. The state is equipped to meet violence with violence. The development of sit down or pay up, the co-operation to meet legal costs and the extension of Welfare to a much greater degree to enable a resistance movement to effect a much greater challenge is essential.

AROUND THE GALLERIES

THE accumulated debris of a painter's life-work when hung *en masse* tends to dull the critical faculties by the sheer weight of the time-annointed coloured canvases and when that work is accompanied by the mass bands of the Arts Council's PRO staff and the artificial and automatic hosannas of the financially involved big time dealers, then we, the small fry, can be excused if we mistake the old oil and the hard sell for a squad of latter-day Moses hawking a new set of tablets all neatly framed, catalogued and priced. But though the walls of the Tate Gallery may glow like the exhibition room of a Neapolitan brothel, grey morning and cold reason demands that we do not delude ourselves and that we dismiss from our mind the voice of the touts and examine in isolation each part of the preceding day's mesmeramic mass experience. The exhibitions of the work of the Lithuanian painter Chaim Soutine and the Italian painter Amedeo Modigliani can be counted as a major exhibition of the works of two minor modern masters. Soutine, the son of a poor tailor, arrived in Paris in 1911 as a precocious child and his talent flowered within the active art groups of the period. Yet his was an unquiet spirit that found its outlet in the world of gimmickery and within his work in a turmoil of slashing brush strokes. He loved to attempt to recreate the works of past masters yet not for him the silent hours copying stroke by stroke the ancient canvases for he must reassemble the meat and the fruit of the still lifes or browbeat a harmless peasant woman into clownish posing in an attempt to ape Rembrandt's "Slaughtered Ox" and the portrait of the Dutchman's paddling mistress. Yet though a middle-aged peasant woman stood in the drizzling rain with her skirts around her waist, though the carcass of meat stank and the fish rotted within his studio all we are left with is a drear and fatuous mess of uncohesive red patches and a sad echo of Rembrandt's "Woman Bathing".

David Sylvester, in an erudite introduction, well seasoned with adulation, plaintively asks "how much Soutine actually looked at the object" that he humiliated or allowed to stink into corruption before his empty canvas, and the answer is that Soutine, the man who literally destroyed hundreds of his own canvases in despair, needed this public and unnecessary posturing to boost his own sad and sagging ego, and he justified it under the trade label of the artist for Soutine like Modigliani, was the most personal of painters and together they feared a world that they knew had little use for them. Time after time one feels that one could tear down from the walls of the Tate so much that is but massed incompetency cloaked in a gaudy mask of slashing brush strokes, the landscapes with their twisted winds painted

I would suggest that it is easier to shout slogans and to demonstrate violently; it may well be a way of expressing our frustrations, and as such welcomed by authority. Let us use our energies to increase understanding and create a social background of personal and social mutual aid that is the real answer to government and a basis to human solidarity.

There is a silent revolution going on in society today, the inhibitions of the past are being overthrown by the young, things are moving in essential ways towards the libertarian concepts, if we are to capture the imagination we must be creative in action as well as thought.

In the anarchist movement there is the anachronism of the 'political' anarchist who is in the same category as "the wait for the revolution", or "the when we are in power" parties and "the wait for the kingdom come" religious groups. The past is as big a barrier to the most revolutionary of groups as to the rest of mankind.

ALAN ALBON.

[*To keep the record straight may we add that no anarchists, as far as we know, labour under any such illusion. Alan Albon telescopes two distinct problems and thereby tends to confuse the issues: "the growth of an anarchist society" is only conceivable when government has been abolished; the abolition of government may or may not lead to an anarchist society. The issue of violence we have been discussing all along refers to the abolition of government, not to the "growth of an anarchist society" which presupposes that the main obstacle to its growth has been removed, and with it any justification for violence.—EDITOR.]

War of the Super Markets

Continued from page 1

But this is looking far ahead. Now we are at the opening stages with neither side giving any quarter. The Alliance has replied to the Garfield Weston group's betrayal by attacking it at a vulnerable point: its bread basket. As bakers of a fifth of our bread, Garfield Weston depend on a large number of shops outside their group to distribute it. Sainsbury's have fired the first salvo by banning all GW goods—bread, biscuits and cakes—from their 258 food shops. In NW England Seymour Mead cut its bread prices by 2d. on the 1/2d. loaf in retaliation to the Tesco group's announcement that it had joined the stamp brigade. The Moore group with 1,800 grocery shops has also announced drastic cuts in bread prices. A spokesman of the group declared "We have reduced the price of bread to the point where we just about break even on sales." Clearly, this is no phoney war. When according to reports one side is contemplating offering 25 per cent. price cuts on some food items as its reply to the 2½ per cent. offered by the stamp traders, indications are that the struggle has been enaged and will be fought to the last take-over.

LFA Notes

READY?

Following a suggestion by Mr. Peter Simple of the "Daily Telegraph", we would like the names and addresses of people who would be prepared to turn out and demonstrate at short notice about the manifold abuses to individual dignity, liberty and decency that occur almost daily in some part of the world. Public memory is notoriously short and fickle so it is necessary to mount protests without delay. Police agents need not apply—they'll be there anyway! Write RENTACROWD (seriously) alias LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS, 17a, MAXWELL ROAD, LONDON, S.W.6.

CONFERENCE?

It was agreed at the Summer School to hold a Conference the first weekend in January, 1964, in London. Representatives were going to report back to their respective groups, which were going to let us know their opinions and ideas for subjects to be discussed. So far we have heard nothing. There is no point in organising a Conference if no-one is interested. Let us have your ideas and opinions as soon as possible! L.F.A.

Slipping!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT NOVEMBER 2, 1963

Weeks 43 & 44		
EXPENSES: 44 weeks at £70		£3,080
INCOME:		
Sales & Sub. Renewals	£	£
Weeks 1-42	1,623	
Weeks 43 & 44	67	
		1,690
New Subscriptions:		
Weeks 1-42 (340)	373	
Weeks 43 & 44 (8)	9	
		382
		2,072
		DEFICIT £1,008

DEFICIT FUND

Hounslow: L.* 2/6; Leeds: G.L. 2/-; Oxford: P.L. 7/6; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Cooma North: P. & A.C. £6/8/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; London: S.F. 8/-; Hyde Park Supporters: 2/4; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W. 2/-; Glasgow: J.H. 11/3; E. Rutherford: A.S.* 14/-; London: "Victoria" 10/-; Southend: P.O. 5/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; London: S. 10/-; Surrey: F.B. 10/-

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Socialism and the Drink Question Philip Snowden 3/6; The Man of Genius Cesare Lombroso 6/-; Jack London, American Rebel Philip S. Foner (paperback) 3/-;
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The Professor Rex Warner 3/-; Brand Henrik Ibsen (binding weak) 3/-; The Philosophy of Communism John MacMurray 3/-; Subject India (1943) H. N. Braillsford 3/-; Fear! Patrick MacGill 3/6;
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REFLECTIONS ON ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA

DURING the recent CND conference, *The Observer* tried to dissect the movement and draw attention to the various currents of opinion within it. One of these apparently consists of "anarchists and trotskysts" trying to gain control of the movement and use it for their own objects. Needless to say there was no mention of which of the candidates for chairmanship or council membership represented this faction, how they planned to put their diabolical plans into force, or what effect they would have, but then *The Observer* is not a political journal.

However, it is becoming increasingly common to hear of anarchists, real or imaginary, at work in larger organisations, and it is worth discussing the role that propaganda of various kinds should play in the anarchist movement.

Propaganda activities are viewed with a certain amount of suspicion among anarchists, and with outright hostility by a few individuals. There are several reasons for this. Many anarchists have been members of one or more political parties in the past, and are disillusioned with anything that seems to belong to the political scene. There is a conviction that action is what counts, and that further additions to the flood of speechmaking and publications do little good. Moreover, the psychological interests of the movement have uncovered so many disreputable motives behind political activism that its supporters may feel inhibited from displaying the "symptoms".

Nevertheless, it is depressing, at least to this writer, to find that at demonstration after demonstration, on the whole range of subjects of interest to left wing and progressive people, the two or three sellers of anarchist literature are outnumbered several times by the propagandists of each of the dozen or so discordant trotskyst sects, not to mention the numerically stronger C.P., at a time when anarchism is supposed to be enjoying a great wave of support.

Despite the frequent line of criticism that anarchist ideas are Utopian, the reason that they have been taken up enthusiastically by so many people who have come into contact with them in the course of the anti-H-bomb campaign has been their extreme degree of applicability to the problems that we face here and now. The fact that anarchism depends on direct action and personal conviction, as opposed to passive support for a party or a group of leaders, suggests however that propaganda should be even more important to anarchists than it is to politicians. For, on the one hand the number of people who feel sufficiently strongly about a particular subject to commit themselves to the kind of direct action that has come to be associated with the Committee of 100 will depend on the general level of libertarian feeling and distrust of governments and political solutions; while the reforms and social changes which depend on less easily discernible drifts in public opinion, such as attitudes to sex and education, depend directly on the number of people who become convinced that anarchist ideas are better than authoritarian ones.

If then, the anarchist case is right, propaganda should have an imme-

diated return, whereas to a socialist it can only be realised when the converts manage to vote into power a government of their particular faction.

It is certainly true that anarchism is a more thoroughgoing ideology than the others which are on show in Trafalgar Square; it must be fairly easy to change from support of *The Red Flag* to *The Young Guard*, while no one is likely to become an anarchist merely as a result of reading a paper. However, there is a tremendous amount of potential anarchism, deriving directly from the experiences people have had with protest movements and the reactions of politicians to any display of independent action. People who are in this mood will surely gain themselves by being introduced to an active movement against government and politics, besides the advantages the movement will get from their support.

To return to the original quotation alleging that anarchists were using the CND and allied movements for their own ends: if it means trying to gain office, to get control of other organisations' journals and so on, in other words to infiltrate at the top, we would be opposed to it as much as the organisations themselves, because by its nature anarchism cannot be advanced by such methods which in any case rebound against those who use them, but there is no evidence that this kind of infiltration is taking place. On the other hand, if it means that anarchists make use of every possible opportunity to spread their ideas among people likely to be sympathetic, that they offer libertarian ideas about objects and methods whenever groups come together to discuss protests and actions against specific policies of the government, then we willingly plead "guilty" and wish that such activities were being carried out at ten times the present rate. P.H.

The Real Priorities in India—and a Suggestion

WITH a legacy of poverty, religious superstition, disease and illiteracy, it is doubtful whether even a thoroughgoing revolution in India could have by now solved these basic problems. What is clear however is that the new rulers of India by concentrating on industrialisation at the expense of agriculture, and on building up a military machine at the expense of basic services which virtually do not exist, have brought into existence a new parasitic class as well as creating vast slums and new centres of disease in the overcrowded industrial areas, while huge tracts of land once cultivated have been abandoned. India's demand for Aid which is in reality loans at a low rate of interest; debts with which the people of India will be saddled for years to come) includes military aid in weapons and services estimated at \$1,500,000,000 (about £500m), in addition to the \$1,000m a year economic aid from the Western powers. India has also urgently requested American credits amounting to £500 millions for the steel mill at Bokaro. The Indian ruling class are feathering their own nests and to this end their priorities are right, but for the people these priorities are all wrong. In Dudley Stamp's penetrating study of *Our Underdeveloped World* (Faber) published ten years ago he put his finger on India's problem: agricultural production is low because the cultivator is poor and cannot buy efficient implements or fer-

THREE MINERS were released from a flooded iron-ore mine in West Germany, later it was found that eleven more men were still trapped beneath.

LORD HOME was released from his peerage. Sir Wavell Wakefield, the well-known Rugby captain, and M.P. is to be given a barony and it is said that Lord Halisham, released from his title, will be occupying his seat. Iain Macleod it was prematurely disclosed, is to become editor of the *Spectator* where it is presumed he will raise the Tory-rebel standard. Mr. Ian Gilmour, Tory M.P. proprietor of the *Spectator*, said he was deeply sorry—that the news leaked out prematurely. He said to Mr. Hamilton, the present editor, "I can't begin to apologise for the unspeakable way in which you have been treated" (i.e. by the news prematurely leaking) Mr. Randolph Churchill huffed by the *News of the World* went to work for *The Observer*.

THE FOUNDER of the British Union group at Crawley, Sussex, a seventeen-year-old youth, was sent for trial for stabbing in the back and killing another seventeen-year-old youth who had tried to take over the leadership and it is alleged had recruited four youths to make a petrol-bomb attack upon the founder. In Pakistan, the Jamaat e Islami was holding its annual party conference at Lahore when 25 men armed with pistols, knives and soda water bottles entered and attacked the delegates. A political worker was shot dead. *The Daily Express* welcomes the optimism in the Tory Party and says "The prospect of a batch of vote-winning legislation in the coming session is helping to raise spirits".

SPIRITS were raised by the Newsome and Robbins' reports which promises more education, by the Trend committee which promises more scientists and Mr. Marples' promise of more roads, and a new Cunarder.

THERE WAS an increase in the percentage of road accidents. Thirty-five people phoned the BBC to protest at the imaginary character in a road-accident in the serial "The Archers". A London bus-driver (66) died at the wheel of his bus, the bus crashed without loss of life. A London bus-driver was fined £30 and disqualified from driving for three years for causing the death of a woman by dangerous driving. His defence was that he was fatigued by doing as much overtime as possible to meet extra expense. London bus-drivers are refusing to work overtime in protest against low wage-rates.

THE BISHOP OF EXETER said in a sermon at Oxford that fornication was always wrong "because the act of sexual intercourse is intended by nature to occur only within the framework of the lifelong association of marriage." Parents in Gillingham, Kent, who are too embarrassed to give their children sex-instruction are borrowing a record on the subject from the public library.

TWO PENTONVILLE warders were sent for trial at the Old Bailey charged with



causing grievous bodily harm to a prisoner. A girl of seventeen was locked up in an adult prison, and for fifteen hours a day was in solitary confinement. A prisoner in Parkhurst smuggled out a letter saying that he had been sentenced to twenty-eight days' solitary confinement originally, for an escape attempt, but for sixteen out of the last twenty-four months he has been in solitary (only three of those months on the order of the magistrates). The Home Office says "it cannot be denied that it is beginning to have an adverse effect". A boy of 13 spent thirteen weeks on remand in detention quarters at a police station in Douglas, Isle of Man waiting for a place at an approved school. More than 4,000 convicts at San Quentin prison, California went on a sit-down strike for more pay and shorter prison terms. The Governor of Durham prison urged those who know nothing about prison life to keep quiet about the administration.

THE "SOLICITORS' JOURNAL" suggests that minor offences should not be classified as crimes. Some Road offences for example are more like breaches of discipline or good manners. Railway,

sea and air accidents are the subject of inquiries by experts. Road accidents should be treated in the same way. A public telephone at Romford was constantly being wrecked by vandals. A woman put up a notice pointing out the danger of the loss of a telephone in cases of emergency such as an accident or illness. The vandalism has now ceased.

JOHN APOSTOLOU who was convicted of possessing an offensive weapon (a brick) at the Queen Frederica demonstration was cleared because the police offered no evidence at London Sessions. He says "I shall consider taking civil action against the police". Damages of £500 for assault, false imprisonment and malicious prosecution against a Swansea police sergeant were awarded to a miner at Glamorgan Assize Civil Court. He was struck on the head by a cell-key. A Constable was also charged but the case was withdrawn because the constable was obeying the orders of a superior officer and had to be told twice in the case of one order as he was hesitant to do it.

THE UNITED STATES stopped subsidizing units of the South Vietnamese "special forces" which the Diem Government were using as political police. Later in the week the government was overthrown and the Diem brothers were killed.

THE I.L.P. calendar proclaims from Edward Bellamy 1850-1898 for October 27-November 2. "If we could have devised an arrangement for providing everybody with music in their homes, perfect in quality, unlimited in quantity, suited to every mood, and beginning and ceasing at will, we should have considered the limit of human felicity attained". The Beatles made some commotion.

JON QUIXOTE.

BREAKTHROUGH! Dockers win 40 hr Week

At last workers in a major industry have gained the 40-hour week, for from July 27th next year, dockers will be working this new agreement, which was accepted by delegates representing 65,000 dock workers. There are, however, strings attached, which the employers say must be fulfilled if the hours are to be cut.

At the moment, dockers work eight hours each week day and two hours on Saturday, and following the 42-hour pay settlement in 1962, the employers laid down a compulsory 2 hours overtime when necessary, as part of the agreement. For some time now, dock workers at many ports outside London have declined to work this overtime. Now

the National Dock Labour Board say that these two hours overtime, that are worked on Saturdays, must not be refused if the new agreement is going to be put into operation. They also stipulate that the dockers must be better time-keepers, they must finish their full shift, that when a job is finished they must move to another ship, and that gangs must not wait until every member arrives before they start work. If these points were carried out, say the employers, the dock industry would be more efficient and so off-set the increased costs of the 40-hour week.

These points were all included in the agreement of August 1962, but have, on the whole, been ignored by the dockers. This agreement, due to the threat of strike action, gained a 9% wage increase and the 42-hour week. This year, the threat of strike action by the unions together with the refusal to work overtime on Saturdays has led to the employers' willingness to grant the cut in hours. The employers have never liked the idea of only two hours being worked on Saturdays, as it has been very uneconomical for them. It is rather ridiculous to travel to work just for two hours, but one can always take the time off, while the employers have to open up and be prepared just as on a normal working day. This two hour working has been a step to the 40 hour week (in the building industry the same arrangement was sought by a section of the rank and file, as it was felt that this would force a 40-hour week at an earlier occasion), and this appears to have worked in the case of the dockers.

shelter. A quarter of the people live in slum huts, and almost eighty per cent of these house five families with a common privy and a water tap (where they are lucky enough to have either), and living room for each human of about seven feet by five.

Every night the ambulances clatter around the rough streets, and when a body with thighs like bamboo poles refuses to be kicked into protest, it is turned over and found to be dead and hauled off to the mortuary. Two to three hundred a night of such corpses is the grudging figure.

Such bodies as *Oxfam* and *War on Want* include in their widespread aid imaginative schemes which help to break the vicious circle. How would FREEDOM readers react to the idea that we should seek to put into practise Dudley Stamp's solution by tackling, to start with, the problems and needs of just one Indian village? This is not just another rhetorical question but a challenge to all FREEDOM readers to do something more than just shake their heads at the wickedness of the capitalist system and the inhumanity of capitalists. Let's put our cards on the table; what unnecessary regular expenditure are we ready to forego to "break the vicious circle" of chronic poverty in one Indian village? Please don't send money now, but write to FREEDOM telling us in what way—money, kind, services—you are prepared to support such an experiment in Mutual Aid.

The 5,000 workers in the National Union of Railwaymen, who work in the ports are not included in this agreement. The N.U.R. general claim for a 40-hour week has been rejected by the British Railway Board. These 5,000 port railwaymen are at present claiming the same cut in hours as other portworkers have already got, and this puts them in a very strong position to win it themselves. If they do, it would also strengthen the main body of railwaymen in their struggle for a reduction in hours.

The dockers new agreement is the breakthrough that has been long overdue, but now that it has been won, it will give workers in other industries further impetus to press their own claims.

Need We Progress?

DEAR EDITORS,

P.H. and Jeff Robinson ("Anarchist Economics", FREEDOM, 19th and 26th October) have again raised the question: how could an anarchist world continue to entertain the process of technological development and ever-increasing productivity started by the Industrial Revolution? In other words, is anarchism compatible with modern "progress"?

They both assume that modern technological "progress" is inevitable and desirable: that any ills it may seem to have caused are due to the authoritarian economic systems under which it has hitherto manifested itself. Under libertarian systems the ills would disappear, "progress" would go on faster and better than ever, and lo! The golden age of

plenty and freedom!

Yet even P.H. and J.R. seem to have doubts.

I would suggest that the dominant economic factor in modern times is not any particular economic system but "progress" itself. Modern "progress" modifies the systems, not vice versa. Thus British capitalism has changed enormously in the last hundred years, not because the capitalists wanted change, but because "progress" forced it upon them. And the ultimate economic, social and political result of "progress", when technological civilization has covered the globe, looks like being a completely "socialized" world in which, as Karl Marx prophesied, the individual as such will cease to exist: He will cease to be a man at all, and become a mere cell in the biological life-process of society. (It is significant, to take a

PAY RISE—BUT!

dancy, which the unions have no stomach to fight.

These are the sort of conditions which men at Fords work under and which they strive at shop-floor level to try to improve. Only at this level, is any effective opposition organised and although rank and file organisation has suffered badly over the last year, it is by no means finished. It has established liaison between rank and file movements in other industries. The combined strength and solidarity of workers in all fields of production and distribution can lead to the improvement of these conditions and bring about an awareness to the fact that the pattern of production and relationship between men can be changed to bring about a society, where men are free and goods and food are produced for needs instead of profits.

20 WEEKS ON STRIKE

Workers from Marriots of Wembley are still out on strike after 20 weeks and although the dispute has the official backing of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the union officials still have not called out other members in the area in support.

Another march was organised this week, and workers joined in from factories in the district. Collections have been taken at the factories and on some building sites to help the strikers in their fight against the sackings.

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LETTERS

recent example, that the Robbins report on education, hailed by the devotees of "progress", unashamedly states that higher education must now be geared to the needs of the national economy: education is no longer for personal fulfilment but for the "progress" of society, and thus the student is reduced from a person to an economic instrument.)

If Marx was right about the final outcome of technological "progress"—and there is a great deal of evidence that he was—then I cannot see how anarchism, in any shape or form, can be compatible with it. Anarchism holds that the individual must not be ruled. "Progress" demands that the individual must be completely absorbed by society. Anarchism stands for personal freedom. Modern "progress" is the way to totalitarian servitude. (It is true that Marx also predicted the "withering away" of the State. But the rule of the State is to be replaced by the rule of society—incomparably stronger and more comprehensive.)

The material benefits of technology (i.e., the replacement of tools with machines) and high productivity are obvious (though offset by grave material disadvantages, notably the "population explosion" and the horrors of modern warfare). But from the anarchist point of view, which assigns paramount importance to individual freedom, there is surely nothing to be said for technological "progress". Man lived for thousands of years before the Industrial Revolution, and no doubt could have continued to live—and, given anarchist principles, to live well, using the tools and natural resources available, and sharing the products of labour equitably

and without waste—for thousands more if the Industrial Revolution had never occurred. Why, then, should we assume that modern technological "progress" is both desirable and inevitable? It is an utter disaster, and it is inevitable only so long as everybody *thinks* it is. Any discussion of "anarchist economics" should therefore begin, in my opinion, by eliminating this gross superstition—and not by tacitly assuming its truth.

Yours sincerely,

Francis Ellingham.

Worth the Effort

DEAR EDITORS,

Someone perfunctorily reviewed John Anderson's *Studies in Empirical Philosophy*. One cannot of course quarrel with a reviewer's candid admission that he found a book hard going; and one can agree with the reviewer to this extent: that Anderson's prose, though never obscure or ambiguous, is packed with meaning and never panders to the reader by coming down to the level of 'the intelligent layman'. But a good half the studies in the book deserve the attention of anyone interested in social theory; the two essays on education, the three of Freudian and Flugelian psychology and the two on Marxism, for instance, are as significant as the one ('The Servile State') actually singled out by your reviewer.

But of course it would be a mark of vulgarity to read only Anderson's writings on 'social theory', ignoring what he had to say about more 'technical' aspects of philosophy; all the essays collected in this volume are pervaded by his attempt to develop a systematic and consistent empiricism. One kind of essay illuminates the other; and if one is to attempt to come to grips with what Anderson had to say (why read him otherwise?) all his work must be studied. This is not a book to be borrowed from a library; it must be owned, read and re-read, or not read at all.

Auckland, N.Z.

K.M.

ENDGAME

The Duke's Dilemma Answered

IT IS NOT ONLY the anarchists who question the advantages of modern "progress". The Duke of Edinburgh, speaking at the Coal Industry Society's luncheon last week, posed the questions rather more anarchistically in my opinion than Francis Ellingham does in the correspondence columns of FREEDOM. He maintained that no one believed we should have progress for the sake of progress. "Progress gives us better medical science, but it also gives us better bombs". And he asked, "How do you weigh the balance for instance between space research and providing for the old and the infirm—how do you relate computers with compassion". We faced a dilemma which was: "Is it possible to reconcile the national need to increase prosperity with the national need to use this prosperity for the benefit of the human population". The Duke said he did not pretend to know the answer, but wished more people were worrying about it for the pattern of life for generations to come would be decided by the "sort of decisions we made now and in the next few years".

Francis Ellingham's approach is unrealistic because he chooses to live in the thousands of years before the Industrial Revolution with its sparse population instead of facing the fact that we are anarchists in a world which has 3,000 million mouths to feed, and that unless he thinks the first step should be to wipe out three-quarters of the world's population, it is the needs of all these people which must to a large extent determine what forms of production and what kind of production must be used and developed in order to ensure that everybody shall enjoy the necessities of life.

Technological and scientific development and discoveries have for the first time made it possible to satisfy the economic development and discoveries have for the first time made it possible to satisfy the economic demands of anarchists and socialists. It is doubtful whether this could have been achieved without long hours of sweat and toil, at the beginning of the century. That technology and science are largely being used for the wrong ends is obvious even to a member of the Royal Family; he even asked how much longer "we could go on exploiting every feature of this country purely for gain". Francis Ellingham on the other hand chooses to ignore this basic problem and instead blames all our ills on the belief in the desirability and inevitability of technological "progress", which he qualifies "a gross superstition". Surely the problem is

that of ownership of the means of production or control and this includes technological know-how which will determine whether production is geared to satisfying the needs of mankind or "purely for gain". And therein lies the answer to the Duke's "dilemma", but I should be very surprised if he were to find it the kind of solution he would recommend to his circle of friends!

BWARE OF THE WIRE-TAPPERS

IT IS ANNOUNCED THAT the Dutch Cabinet is to discuss tightening up regulations "to ensure that wire-tapping by Government officials for security purposes is not abused". The Prime Minister, making this promise, said that tapping had proved to be essential in "exceptional" cases, but he denied that any letters had been opened for political reasons. But this kind of thing goes on in all countries; quite recently correspondence appeared in the *Guardian* from members of the Committee of 100 giving, what seems to me, pretty convincing evidence that their mail is being interfered with. Scotland Yard claim that only about 200 letters are intercepted each year. We only have their word for it, and at present there is no official way the public can check on what goes on behind the scenes. The assurances of government departments are worthless unless some independent body representing the public interest is in a position to check on the use of police powers in this and other activities. Such a check is not as difficult as would appear at first sight. If in every sorting office and telephone exchange a worker was appointed by the Trades Unions to observe and report back on the mail being investigated by the police, it is possible that the police would be less carefree in the way they use their powers.

In the meantime all members and supporters of minority groups should learn to assume always that telephones are being tapped and mail opened and so use these services only when they don't mind sharing what they have to say with MI5 or the Special Branch. You have been warned!

TOMORROW'S FASHIONS

I CANNOT RESIST quoting a news item published in the *Daily Herald* more than a month ago and which apparently escaped the eagle eye of my colleague Jon Quixote:

The day after a Catholic priest condemned a school's communal showers as "a danger to moral welfare," his bishop, the Rt. Rev. Leo Parker, blessed a new Catholic school with similar showers.

But at the new school, St. Edmunds, at Gorleston, near Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, girls will not see each other in the nude.

The headmaster, Mr. F. Devany, said: "My own ideas on this matter are not formed yet, but I bow to the ideas of the deputy head who is a nun."

"She prefers them to go into the showers with swim-suits on."

The priest who condemned showers where girls see each other naked is Father Patrick Connolly, of Newport Pagnell, Bucks.

He said it was "utterly intolerable that our Catholic girls should be subjected to such an assault upon Christian morals."

Mr. Devany commented: "We have had no objections from parents. It is as much a question of personal opinion as anything. I don't think morality enters into it."

By contrast to this unhealthy, vicious attitude to nudity is the forecast by the dictators of fashion, when announcing next year's beach wear, that within the next ten years, such is the desire among urban people to take the sun, and such has been the impact on them of the uninhibited "fashions" of the "Trobrid islanders", that our civilised women-folk will be down to their G-strings.

And by contrast to this the fashion dictators have also decreed that next season's nightdresses will have built-in brassieres—thus assuring the prosperous brassiere trade that what they are about to lose on beach wear they will make up on nightdresses. Fashion like everything else in this profit-seeking world we and the Duke live in, is governed by what the technicians call built-in obsolescence. Fortunately, occasionally, fashion demands that skirts should go up and brassieres come down. MAXWELL.

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