

FREEDOM

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY -4d.

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'Parliament is no place for the idealist. It is the workshop of compromise, the temple within which men bow to the expedient, and dexterity gets more than its due.'
—H. W. MASSINGHAM

Malatesta on Anarchism & Anarchy

Anarchists & Election Year

SOME time this year general elections will be held in this country; the actual date is a matter to be decided by the Prime Minister, and one can only assume that he will choose the moment when the popularity polls show the government and the Tory Party are on the up-grade. In so far as they represent national opinion, all recent by-elections have indicated that the government is losing rather than gaining ground, and if the downward trend were to continue one could expect an early election; on the other hand it could equally be argued that the government will remain in office for the full terms of five years—that is until October, 1964—in the hope that a vote-catching budget will do something to increase Tory support in the country.

Whether earlier or later, doesn't really matter for anarchists should now be preparing to launch their campaign for election year. Whatever we do will not change the course of the elections, we know that. Our task should be to use the political and social interest generated in the months prior to a general election in order to reach as wide a public as possible with anarchist propaganda. Whilst pointing to the futility of voting in our propaganda we must not forget that what is more important is to convince people of the validity of the case for anarchism. Only convinced anarchists can see the futility of voting and be expected to act in accordance with their convictions. Those who do not vote because they are politically and socially apathetic, are not anarchists and much less likely to listen to us than active supporters of the political parties.

Change of Publishing Dates

The public holidays always create publishing problems for us, and this year is no exception. At the last minute it was decided that ANARCHY would not be ready by January 5th and this issue of FREEDOM has been produced instead. So next week there will be a new issue of ANARCHY and no FREEDOM. The next issue of the paper will appear on January 17th. Apologies to our distributors for any inconvenience caused!

ANARCHY 35:

OUT NEXT WEEK

House&Home

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Obviously every anarchist will do what he thinks best, and is able to do, but it seems to us that where possible the anarchists' propaganda efforts during this election year should be in concert and co-ordinated. As we wrote in these columns months ago our limited "manpower" and means could probably be best used in the big cities if we concentrated our campaign on one working class district rather than token

efforts here and everywhere. The kind of propaganda that will extend our field of influence must go deeper than mere slogans, telling though they may be.

One of the advantages of selecting a district, say in London, is that a small team of propagandists can make their presence noticed continually during the election campaign by leafleting, by attending meetings both to distribute literature and to

"quiz" the candidates, as well as holding their own meetings to explain "Why anarchists don't vote". A concentrated local campaign will more than likely get a good coverage in the local press—even if it is unfavourable—and the possibility of articles on anarchism, and letters to the editor being published.

We can leave it to the political candidates to denounce each other; anarchists need to concentrate on

PARITY OF WAGES

AND THE ACTION TO ACHIEVE IT

For the past seven weeks now, building workers in Scotland have been operating an overtime and incentive bonus ban. This action was taken after the employers had refused to meet a claim by the Scottish building unions for a parity of wages with building workers in England and Wales.

The Scottish building workers, who have separate agreements, did not receive the rise in November of 4d. for craftsmen and 2d. for labourers which was gained south of the border. At this time, however, the Scottish workers started the 40-hour week which had been negotiated the previous year. This had been quite an achievement and was the first agreement to go before the National Incomes Commission where, of course, it was condemned as being against the "national interest".

The Scottish employers are now using this 40-hour week agreement in an attempt to prevent the parity wage claim. They say that with these two extra hours worked at overtime rates, the wages are higher than in England and Wales. This makes them about 6d. better off. The employers, with Government backing, are now saying that overtime is part and parcel of the pay packet. They have the idea that because overtime is worked in an industry, this is a reason for not cutting the working week (since the cut in hours is then worked at overtime rates), and if a shorter working week is achieved, then this is a reason used for not giving a pay increase (since overtime rates for the two extra hours is equivalent to a pay increase).

Nowadays, workers in most industries rely on this overtime for a reasonable pay packet. Basic rates are not enough to pay high rents, hire purchase terms and the ever increasing cost of living. In the past, overtime in the building trade was unheard of, and in fact you were lucky to be able to put in the full hours of work. Now, with the post-war boom in the industry, overtime is a common occurrence and is used by employers, together with bonus schemes, to attract employees.

In the past few days, the unions have offered to call off the ban if the employers will re-open negotiations on their pay claim. The employers have turned this down, ignoring the offer to lift the ban. With this final rebuttal, the unions are setting up a co-ordinating committee to plan strike action in selected areas. Throughout the ban, there has been pressure by the rank and file for strike action, but up until now, the unions have only talked about it and not made any concrete plans.

Of course, even the overtime ban has been attacked. The Press speaks of "Cost of an overtime ban—Houses." According to Councillor Gibson, the ban has cost Glasgow 700 houses. If the ban goes on in the New Year, it would cut the number of houses built by a third. This just shows how much overtime is relied on to solve Glasgow's housing problem. Building workers are

well aware of the housing situation, probably more so than most. After all, as members of the community, they and their families also suffer from the same problem.

It is now that all too familiar cry. "Why should workers take action when it causes hardship to others." They don't mention the hardship suffered by the men taking this action or hardship suffered by workers who are sacked or locked-out by the employers. These things do not appear in the yellow capitalist press.

As only very few firms have given in and are now paying the increase, the vast majority are holding out against the unions. Only now are the unions planning strike action. If action is taken in the New Year and we get the sort of weather we had last winter, it will be totally ineffective. It will be a gift to the employers. Strike action should have been taken long before when the employers first turned down the claim. The unions have placed the rank and file in a weak position to win any claim. No effectual action can be expected from the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives and its regional secretary, Mr. Brownlie. The Scottish building workers know what happened to the claim for 1/6d. and a 40-hour week in England and Wales.

It is painfully clear that the union leadership, elected but without any day-to-day control by the membership, has resulted in these situations. The men on the job should decide when and what type of action should be taken. They should meet locally, regionally and if necessary, nationally, to make the decisions. The union leaders will only make gestures of action, like the week's strike at selected jobs last August. This type of thing is just a show for the membership, but is not any good for winning claims from employers. The employers know this and have no great fear of official union action. What they would fear, would be action by the rank and file, united by their common interests and solidarity. There are some beginnings of this type of organisation in most industries. In the building industry, there are a number of stewards' and militants' committees in different parts of the country and some liaison exists between them.

In my experience of these unofficial committees, it is the question of leadership that comes up over and over again. "If only we had the right leadership" or "If only we could get this right-wing leadership out" or variations on this theme. The Communists want to see their own party members elected, others want left-wing members of the Labour Party and so it goes on. We've had all this before. A lot of present-day union leaders were, at one time, left-wing militants and even with left-wing leadership (e.g. Mr. Cousins), the rank and file still has to take action on its own. As for the Communists, we've seen their leadership in action as well, particularly

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

against militants in the power industry.

What is needed is organisation based on the industry and not the craft. Industrial unions are needed, but they must not be dominated by officials as the craft unions are now. At the moment there are talks going on in the building industry about amalgamation of the different unions, which if it comes about, will in the end form one union for the industry. These are the plans of the union leaders and they will lead to more power in less hands. This power should be in the hands of the rank and file and they should run their own affairs. There should be elected members to do certain jobs, but there should always be the right of recall. It is not leadership at the top that is needed but control and decision making from below. These are the types of industrial unions that are needed if pay and conditions are to be maintained and improved.

P.T.

STILL TESTING

Soviet Russia is conducting a new series of test firings of improved inter-continental rockets across the Pacific.

The rockets, capable of carrying nuclear warheads of up to 100 megatons, have so far landed in two empty target spaces south of the U.S. mandated Midway and Wake Islands.

U.S. military observers believe that the rockets are being launched from a rocket base in Kamchatka, known in Japan and America as K-One. The base was originally located by U.S. U2 planes operating from Japan.

The new rockets, with a range of 8,000 miles, are evidently being fired across Northern China in complete indifference to Peking reaction, say the reports.

A decree signed by President de Gaulle has outlawed two political parties in French Polynesia following the circulation in Tahiti of petitions protesting against the "invasion" of the island by French troops and technicians in preparation for French nuclear testing at Mururoa Atoll. (The troops include Foreign Legionnaires transferred from Algeria).

The two parties are the Rassemblement Democratiques des Populations Tahitiennes (RDPT) and the Pupa Tiama Madhi.

The RDPT since it was founded in 1947, which has campaigned for the independence of French Polynesia, at present holds 14 seats in the 30-member Territorial Assembly. The other party holds one.

The founder of RDPT, Poucanea, was sentenced to eight years' detention and fifteen years banishment from French Polynesia in 1959 and is at present imprisoned in France.

President de Gaulle's decree banning the two parties was made under a law of January 10th, 1936, which stipulates that "all associations or groups whose aim is to assault the integrity of the national territory shall be dissolved by decree".

the deeper issues. Party politics is to a certain extent self-destructive, yet even so it never destroys the "image" of a governing élite; the need for the capitalist system; the inevitability of class distinctions and economic inequality . . . in a word all the trappings of the authoritarian society which must eventually be destroyed if society is to move in a libertarian direction. So long as the overwhelming majority of the people believe in, or accept as inevitable, the regulation of human affairs from above, anarchism can make no real headway, nor make a positive contribution in the direction of a libertarian society. Everything we do now, whether by the written or spoken word, by public demonstrations or by acts of civil disobedience serves as *propaganda for an idea*. Action will only be possible when our propaganda, our ideas, have reached and convinced a large number of people in all walks of life of the need to struggle for their freedom.

Those of us for whom anarchism is more than "a beautiful ideal" must be willing and prepared to make propaganda, in all its forms, an integral part of our daily lives. Ideas do not make their own way, and anarchism is no exception to the rule. Everyone calling himself an anarchist must play his part if our propaganda is to develop. And Election Year is a propitious time to prove to ourselves what can be done if we all put our minds and energies to the task on hand.

In Noumea it was also announced that the Governor of Tahiti (Grimald) had signed an order forbidding Mr. Maurice Lenormand, New Caledonia's Deputy who frequently passes through Tahiti en route to France on parliamentary business, to land in or pass through French Polynesia.

No reason was given.

The deputy has protested against the action to the president of the Chamber of Deputies in Paris.

The new Caledonia Assembly also wired the Territorial Assembly in Papeete to join with New Caledonia in protest.

The Anti-Election Campaign

The anti-election campaign got off to a very slow start, but gave agonized birth to a pamphlet called:

ON THE HAZARDS OF VOTING
FOR ANYBODY;

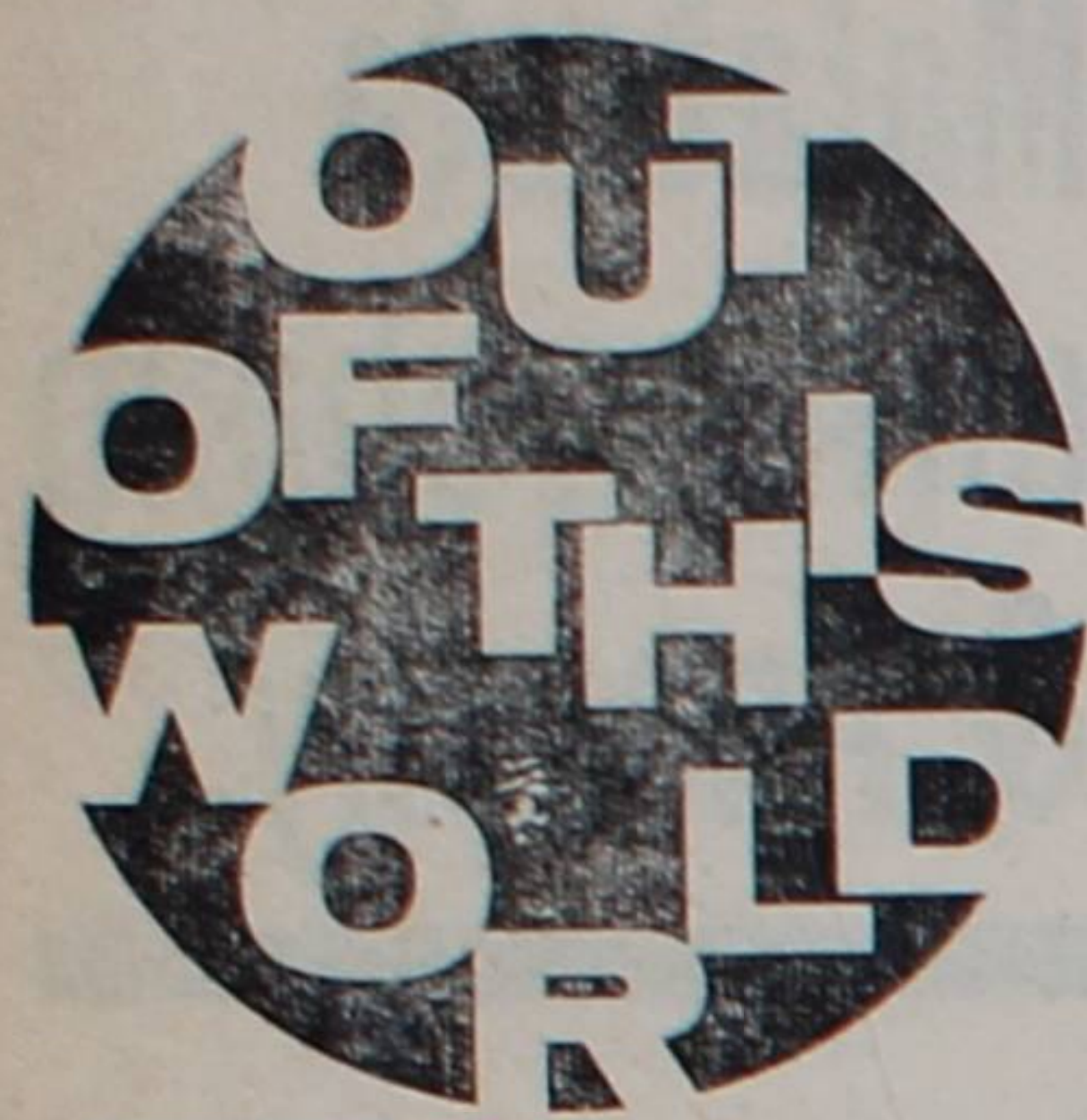
Several thousand copies of this pamphlet were duplicated and distributed in Marylebone where Piggy Hogg and other parasites were competing for the right to do buggerall for a constituency. We were fortunate enough to have access to an electric duplicator which produced wonderful results.

We also attempted to work with silk screens but enthusiasm was no match for inexperience. However, we are learning and should be producing shortly.

So far two posters have been printed and pasted up, they carried the slogans: YES I VOTE, BUT I AM JUST ONE OF THE SHEEP.

and:
VOTE FOR GUY FAWKES, THE
ONLY MAN WHO WENT TO
PARLIAMENT TO KEEP HIS
PROMISE.

Other posters are in production and will be produced for the general election.



THE YEAR 1963 sank, if not without trace, without regrets. The year ended in the violence and disaster which have been the climate of 1963. 1,000 people on the cruise liner *Lakonia* had to make the choice between burning and drowning. Many made it but about 100 failed to survive. 94 people died on the roads of Britain. 39 more than last year. The *Sketch* deplores the 'appalling Christmas road toll' and suggests a way to trap drunks. On the same page it proudly publicises a gas-turbine car which Rover and BRM are building at 180 m.p.h. plus. 300 were said to have died in clashes between Turks and Greeks in Cyprus. . . .

PAUL SCHULTZ (18), an apprentice electrician was shot dead on Christmas day as he tried to climb the wall into West Berlin. The East Berlin government allowed nearly 20,000 West-Berliners to visit their relatives in East Berlin. 700 African students demonstrated in Red Square, Moscow after the death of a Ghanaian who the Africans suspected had been stabbed. The *Daily Worker*

reported that "the Soviet Minister for Higher Education, Mr. El'yutin, who today received the African students, said that as shown by the post-mortem there were signs of violent death. No damage to internal organs has been discovered." This was a misprint and should have read "no signs of violent death", the Russians claim that being drunk, Asare-Addo felt hot and took off his coat disregarding the frost and died of exposure. The *Worker* suspects provocation and reports from Moscow "It was said here today that some demonstrators had received assistance from certain Western Embassies". Alastair White of Jesus College, Cambridge, in a letter to the *Guardian*, suggests that "the ill-feeling against African students in communist countries is not a question of racial or colour prejudice. It arises from the fact that these students are treated far better than those who are nationals of the host countries concerned". . . .

RUSSELL PASCOE (23), executed at Bristol, was baptised and confirmed in the Christian faith before his hanging. The Bishop of Bristol said: "I would have wished this, the normal ministry of God to his children in need, to be no more remarked upon than if he had been dying in hospital. But since it has become public it will be of comfort to his fellow Christians to know that sin and shame were overcome. This victory no more justifies hanging than the fact that war may evoke heroism is a justification of war. But it is a reminder that no one is beyond God's reach." Beyond God's reach, however, was Dennis Whitty (22), who was hanged at Winchester for the same crime. Without presence of clergy Edward Panting (19), hanged himself on Boxing Day in Wormwood Scrubs prison. He had been sentenced to Borstal training and

was in 'solitary' after a fight. . . .

DR. J. KAY in *The Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review* suggests that it would be possible to use the drug amorphine to curb convicted criminals by giving them a violent revulsion against anything connected with their crime. This has been used to treat alcoholism and sexual abnormalities. It acts on the vomiting centre and causes acute nausea. "Should this idea raise some moral doubts," writes Dr. Kay, "let us state here in the struggle of society against its violent enemies, the guilty offenders are expendable, Society is not". . . .

BRITISH CHEMICAL warfare experts are studying improved ways to guard against the threats of attack by lethal "nerve-gas". The United States Polaris submarine depot ship *Porteus* is to return temporarily to Holy Loch for 'refresher training' after a refit. Yugoslavia cut compulsory military training from two years to eighteen months. The United States will spend £2,190,000 on military projects in Britain in the year ending next July. Chinese will not be shelling Quemoy on New Year's Day, they want troops to spend the day 'in tranquility and peace'.

TERENCE CHANDLER was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment for his part in the Queen Fredrika demonstrations. George Cabutti and Zion Silverstein

have been fasting outside the prison in protest. D. A. N. Jones in the *New Statesman* claims that the Greek demonstration served half-a-dozen useful purposes. Released political prisoners, a new ruling on obstruction, international solidarity among airline workers, increased vigilance over the police, even a new Greek government. The *Observer* writing of the Chandler case, says the sentence 'appears excessive'. 'If deliberate political offenders compel society to lock them up, it would be both more civilized—and shrewder—to confine them in open jails in the countryside, rather than martyring them in a criminal's cell'. . . .

THE LONDON Committee of 100 is planning a non-violent take-over of the American base of Ruislip next Easter. According to the *Guardian* "there is some feeling in the CND ranks, that there will be considerable advantage in having the 'direct action' elements removed from the Easter march." The Labour Party executive decided to suspend the Young Socialist Branch of the South-West Putney constituency party and to re-form it next month. There has been an inquiry, says the *Guardian*, "into the activities of so-called members of the party in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament". . . .

ABOUT 2,000 landless peasant members of the Mexican General Union of Labourers and Campesinos invaded large cotton farms in the Yaqui and Mayo Valleys in the State of Sonora as a protest against the delay in governmental action to break up large landholdings in the area. Hundreds of peasants descended on large estates and settled down. . . .

PETER HOWARD of Moral Rearmament denounced "beatnik bishops. . . ."

A BOURNEMOUTH RSPCA Inspector has had to kill 70 unwanted cats and dogs "the reason given to him being that there is 'no room' for pets at Christmas." The Ryal Shooting Party at Sandringham bagged 140 pheasants. . . .

THOUSANDS of Muslims in Srinagar rioted and one man was shot by police and two cinemas were burnt down when a relic of Mohammed was stolen from the mosque in which it had been for 600 years. It was a hair, said to be a relic of the prophet which was kept in a silver casket. . . .

DR. F. M. JOHNSON from Pasadena, California has reported to the American Physical Society that intelligible signals are reaching earth from other planets. . . .

JON QUIXOTE.

Malatesta on

used for the advantage of the strongest and serves to confirm, perpetuate and strengthen their victory.

Because we think in this way, we are anarchists; were we to believe that organisation was not possible without authority we would be authoritarians, because we would still prefer authority, which fetters and impoverishes life, to disorganisation which makes life impossible.

How MANY TIMES must we repeat that we do not wish to impose anything on anybody; that we do not believe it either possible or desirable to do good by the people through force, and that all we want is that no one should impose his will on us, that no one should be in a position to impose on others a form of social life which is not freely accepted.

SOCIALISM (and it is even more true of anarchism) cannot be imposed, both on moral grounds in regard to freedom, as well as because it is impossible to apply "willy nilly" a régime of justice for all. It cannot be imposed on a minority by a majority. Neither can it be imposed by a majority on one or more minorities.

And it is for this reason that we want everybody to possess the "effective" freedom to live as they wish. This is not possible without expropriating the present holders of social wealth and placing the means of production at the disposal of everybody.

THE FUNDAMENTAL BASIS of the anarchist method is freedom, and we therefore combat, and will go on combatting, all that which violates freedom (the equal freedom for all) whatever the dominant régime: monarchist, republican, or any other.

WE DO NOT BOAST that we possess absolute truth; on the contrary, we believe that *social truth* is not a fixed quantity, good for all times, universally applicable, or determinable in advance, but that instead, once freedom has been secured, mankind will go forward discovering and acting gradually with the least number of upheavals and with a minimum of friction. Thus our solutions always leave the door open to different and, one hopes, better solutions.

THE FACTORS OF HISTORY are too numerous and too complex and human wills are so uncertain and indeterminate, that no one could seriously undertake to prophesy the future. But we do not want to

harden our anarchism into dogma, nor impose it by force; it will be what it can be, and will develop, to the extent that men and institutions will become more favourable to integral freedom and justice. . . .

WE AIM AT THE GOOD of all, the elimination of all suffering and the extension of all the joys that can depend on human actions; we aim at the attainment of peace and love among all human beings; we aim at a new and better society, at a worthier and happier mankind. But we believe that the good of all cannot be really attained except by the conscious participation of everybody; we believe there are no magic formulae capable of solving the difficulties; that there are no universal and infallible doctrines applicable to all men and to all situations; that there do not exist providential parties and individuals, who can usefully substitute their will for that of the rest of humanity and do good by force; we believe that social life always assumes forms that result from contrasting the ideal and material interests of those who think and who make demands. And therefore we call on everybody to think and to want.

BY DEFINITION an anarchist is he who does not wish to be oppressed nor wishes to be himself an oppressor; who wants the greatest well-being, freedom and development for all human beings. His ideas, his wishes have their origin in a feeling of sympathy, love and respect for humanity: a feeling which must be sufficiently strong to induce him to want the well-being of others as much as his own, and to renounce those personal advantages, the achievement of which, would involve the sacrifice of others. If it were not so, why would he be the enemy of oppression and not seek to become himself an oppressor?

The anarchist knows that the individual cannot live outside society, indeed he would not exist as a human being but for the fact that he carries within him the sum total of the work of numberless generations, and profits during the whole of his life from the participation of his contemporaries.

He knows that the activity of each individual influences, directly or indirectly, the lives of every other being, and therefore recognises the great law of solidarity, which predominates in society as in nature. And since he wants freedom for everyone, he must desire that the operation of this essential solidarity instead of being imposed and undergone, unconsciously and involuntarily

Means not Ends

DEAR EDITORS,

Your correspondent F.B. states that when communal ownership of the means of industrial production is achieved personal liberty can become a reality. He neglects to tell us how such communal ownership can be achieved in the first place. Science fiction writers, utopian dreamers, etc. often visualise societies with personal freedom and heavy industrialisation but never tell us how to get them. Anyway, all talk about ends is a bit of a space-waster. Talk about means and if you mention responsibility as well as liberty then the ends can look after themselves.

Whether people in the future continue

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LETTER

with science and technology or return to agriculture is their decision. Our job is to make them want to decide something for themselves in the first place. The future can only be conjecture. But IF anarchism is compatible with industrial progress then surely the thing to do is to have the best of both worlds—a proper balance between town and country. People who say that others MUST live in either rustic simplicity or in super cities are authoritarians.

John Papworth maintains that scale of operations is the key factor in the adaptability of anarchism to every day living and working. A work team of a dozen men can work efficiently with libertarian principles. But a work team of 500 or 5,000, which is what is needed for a large factory, cannot unless the workers exhibit qualities of patience, consideration, co-operation, etc. to a degree undreamed of today.

A few weeks ago in these columns I asked someone to tell me how people in massive, industrialised free societies could possibly resolve their differences remembering that healthy differences of opinion inevitably exist among free people. "Nobody has done so. I suggested voting but have since been told that voting is not libertarian and that anarchist decisions must be unanimous and not just majority ones. In individualist and small group societies such problems would not arise as people could attend to their own affairs and no mass decisions need be made. But they would have to be made in mass societies and I feel such problems would prove insoluble.

Another point against massive industrialised societies is that the whole world or large parts of it would have to go anarchist simultaneously. So widely scattered are the sources of raw materials that to live at anything above simple standards in Britain you need oil from Iraq, rubber and tin from Malaya, wheat from Canada, meat from New Zealand, etc. To maintain a massive industrial society in Britain, if it alone went anarchist, would mean that foreign governments would have to continue to let you have supplies of raw materials. Is it likely when your very existence is a threat to theirs? The world might go anarchist all at once but it is so unlikely that it is hardly worth thinking about.

The only way round both the above problems is to let capitalism build automated, atomic factories and then quietly take them over.

Meanwhile, however, individualist and small group anarchism are to some extent practical. Of all the letters in the last issue of FREEDOM the best was from S.F. because he is actually bloody well doing something.

Yours faithfully,

London, Dec. 12 JEFF ROBINSON.

ANARCHISM IN ITS ORIGINS, its aspirations, and its methods of struggle is not necessarily linked to any philosophical system. Anarchism was born of a moral revolt against social injustice. When men were to be found who felt as if suffocated by the social climate in which they were obliged to live; who felt the pain of others as if it were their own; who were convinced that a large part of human suffering is not the inevitable consequence of inexorable natural or supernatural laws, but instead, stems from social realities dependent on human will and eliminable through human effort—the way was open that must lead to anarchism.

The specific causes of social ills and the right means to destroy them had to be sought. When some thought that the fundamental cause of the disease was the struggle between men which resulted in domination by the conquerors and the oppression and exploitation of the vanquished, and observed that the domination by the former and this subjection of the latter had given rise to capitalistic property and the State, and when they sought to overthrow both State and property—then it was that anarchism was born.

I PREFER TO LEAVE ASIDE uncertain philosophy and stick to the common definitions which tell us that *Anarchy* is a form of social life, in which men live as brothers where nobody is in a position to oppress or exploit anyone else, and in which all the means to achieve maximum moral and material development are available to everyone; and *Anarchism* is the method to achieve anarchy through freedom and without government, that is without authoritarian organisms which, by using force, even, possibly for good ends, impose their will on others.

ANARCHY IS *society organised without authority*, meaning by authority the power to impose one's own will and not the inevitable and beneficial fact that he who has greater understanding of, as well as ability to carry out, a task succeeds more easily in having his opinion accepted, and of acting as a guide on the particular question, for those less able than himself. In our opinion authority not only is not necessary for social organisation but, far from benefiting it, lives on it parasitically, hampers its development, and uses its advantages for the special benefit of a particular class which exploits and oppresses the others. So long as in a community there is harmony of interests, and no one has either the desire or the means to exploit his fellow beings, there is no trace of authority; when, instead, there are internal struggles and the community is divided into conquerors and conquered, then authority appears and is of course

DISCUSSION IS THE HEALTH OF ANARCHISM

ERRICO MALATESTA is one of the best known names in the international anarchist movement, yet so far as the English speaking movement is concerned his ideas are known only through the pamphlets *Anarchy a Talk between two workers* (long out of print), a number of articles dispersed in the files of the old *FREEDOM*, and some extracts in the late Guy Aldred's pamphlets, and in Max Nomad's *Rebels and Renegades*. Yet Malatesta's writings

during sixty years of revolutionary activity would fill many volumes. To make amends for these long years of neglect, a group of comrades in the United States took the initiative some time ago to make it possible to issue at least a substantial volume in the English language which would present Malatesta's thoughts on anarchism and the many problems which need answers and solutions if anarchism is to make headway in a world seeped in auth-

oritarianism. The task of compiling and translating the selections was entrusted to a member of the Freedom Press group, and after many delays the volume is well on the way to completion and will definitely be published this year.

In this issue of *FREEDOM* we are publishing the introductory section, consisting of 18 selections from Malatesta's writings, most of which were written in the 20's, and which, in our opinion, summarise his life-long approach to anarchism and anarchy. We are printing these selections in *FREEDOM* in the hope that Malatesta's ideas will provoke discussion both in the groups and in the columns of *FREEDOM*. The importance of Malatesta's approach is that it was inspired by more than half a century of direct experience of the revolutionary agitations that took place throughout the world. His is the practical, commonsense approach; yet with all that he never compromised so far as principles, and means were concerned. He recognised the difficulties which had to be overcome, not least among them the apathy and conservatism

of the toiling "masses". He had clear ideas about revolutionary violence, the need for it as well as the dangers inherent in it; he was a communist anarchist without ignoring the cogent arguments against it advanced by the individualist anarchists; he believed in freedom for all but was not afraid to denounce the absolute freedom advocated by some anarchists as unattainable.

★

A FEATURE of the many periodicals edited by Malatesta was the space devoted to the discussion of anarchist ideas. *FREEDOM* has tried to follow in this, to our minds, healthy and effective tradition, and apart from a few lapses into acrimonious discussions of personalities, it seems to us that the discussion has been one of the most valuable aspects of our propaganda. Some comrades are, it seems, anxious to see discussion of ideas removed from the columns of the paper, to an internal bulletin, so that more space can be devoted to propaganda. But discussion is the most powerful weapon in the armoury of anarchist propaganda! For anarchism to be

a living idea, it must be continually subjected to examination by those who accept, and are agreed on, its principles but who may not necessarily be in agreement over tactics, or forms of organisation, or aspects of the day-to-day problems. Where the freedom to do so exists, then anarchists do the movement and the ideas a service by discussing them in public. The function of an internal bulletin should be to keep active members of the movement in touch with one another, so that initiatives may be co-ordinated when it is possible and advantageous to do so; and of course there might well be discussion, criticism, 'post-mortems' on propaganda activities, which would be completely out of place in *FREEDOM*. But we sincerely hope that *FREEDOM* may long continue to be the forum where anarchists will discuss ideas and anarchist tactics, serenely and uncompromisingly, and where respected critics of the anarchist idea will also have opportunities to express their disagreements with us.

With these selections from Malatesta we open the discussion for 1964!

Anarchism and Anarchy

ily, instead of being left to chance, and exploited for the advantage of a few to the detriment of the majority, should become conscious, and voluntary, and be applied for the equal benefit of all. The only possible alternative to being either the oppressed or the oppressor is voluntary co-operation for the greatest good of all; and anarchists are, of course, and they cannot but be, for co-operation which is free and desired.

We hope no one will want to "philosophise" and start hair-splitting about egoism and altruism. We agree: we are all egoists, we all seek our own satisfaction. But the anarchist finds his greatest satisfaction in struggling for the good of all, for the achievement of a society in which he can be a brother among brothers, and among healthy, intelligent, educated, happy people. But he who is adaptable, who is satisfied to live among slaves and draw profit from the labour of slaves, is not, and cannot be, an anarchist.¹⁰

TO BE AN ANARCHIST it is not enough to recognise that anarchism is a beautiful ideal—in theory everyone would agree, including sovereigns, leaders, capitalists, police and, I imagine, even Mussolini himself—but one must want to struggle to achieve anarchism, or at least to approximate to it, by seeking to reduce the power of the State and of privilege and by demanding always greater freedom, greater justice.¹¹

WHY ARE WE ANARCHISTS? Apart from our ideas about the political State and government, that is on the coercive organisation of society, which are our specific characteristic, and those on the best way to ensure for everybody free access to the means of production and enjoyment of the good things of life, we are anarchists because of a feeling which is the driving force for all sincere social reformers, and without which our anarchism would be either a lie or just nonsense.

This feeling is the love of mankind, and the fact of sharing the sufferings of others. If I . . . eat I cannot enjoy what I am eating if I think that there are people dying of hunger; if I buy a toy for my child and am made happy by her pleasure, my happiness is soon embittered at seeing wide-eyed children standing by the shop window who could be made happy with a cheap toy but who cannot have it; if I am enjoying myself, my spirit is saddened as soon as I recall that there are unfortunate fellow beings lan-

guishing in jail; if I study, or do a job I enjoy doing, I feel remorse at the thought that there are so many brighter than I who are obliged to waste their lives on exhausting, often useless or harmful tasks.

Clearly, pure egoism, others call it altruism, call it what you like; but without it, it is not possible to be real anarchists. Intolerance of oppression, the desire to be free and to be able to develop one's personality to its full limits, is not enough to make one an anarchist. That aspiration towards unlimited freedom, if not tempered by a love for mankind and by the desire that all should enjoy equal freedom, may well create rebels who, if they are strong enough, soon become exploiters and tyrants, but never anarchists.¹²

THERE ARE STRONG, intelligent, passionate individuals, with strong material or intellectual needs, who finding themselves, by chance, among the oppressed, seek, at all costs, to emancipate themselves and do not resent becoming oppressors; individuals who, feeling imprisoned in existing society, come to despise and hate every society, and realising that it would be absurd to want to live isolated from the human community, seek to subject society and all men to their will and to the satisfaction of their desires. Sometimes, when they are well read, they think of themselves as *supermen*. They are unhampered by scruples; they want "to live their lives"; they poke fun at the revolution and at every forward-looking aspiration, they want to enjoy life in the present at any cost and at everybody's expense; they would sacrifice the whole of mankind for one hour's "intensive living" (there are those who have used these very words).

They are rebels, but not anarchists. They have the mentality and the feelings of unsuccessful bourgeois, and when they do succeed they not only become bourgeois in fact, but are not the least unpleasant among them.

We can sometimes, in the ever-changing circumstances of the struggle find them alongside us; but we cannot, we must not, and we do not wish to, be confused with them. And they know it only too well. But many of them like to call themselves anarchists. It is true—as well as deplorable.

We cannot prevent anyone from calling himself by whatever name he likes, nor can we, on the other hand, abandon the name that succinctly expresses our ideas and which, logically as well as historic-

ally, belongs to us. All we can do is to try to prevent any confusion, or at least seek to reduce it to a minimum.¹³

I AM AN ANARCHIST because it seems to me that anarchy would correspond better than any other way of social life, to my desire for the good of all, to my aspirations towards a society which reconciles the liberty of everyone with co-operation and love among men, and not because anarchism is a scientific truth and a natural law. It is enough for me that it should not contradict any known law of nature to consider it possible and to struggle to win the support needed to achieve it.¹⁴

I AM A COMMUNIST (libertarian of course); I am for agreement and believe that through an intelligent decentralisation, and a continuous exchange of ideas, it would be possible to arrive at the organisation of the necessary exchange of goods to satisfy the needs of all without having recourse to the money symbol, which is certainly fraught with problems and dangers. As every good communist does, I aspire to the abolition of money; and, as every good revolutionary, I believe that it will be necessary to strip the bourgeoisie, invalidating all the symbols of wealth which permit people to live without working.¹⁵

WE OFTEN FIND OURSELVES saying: "anarchism is the abolition of the *gendarme*" meaning by *gendarme* any armed force, any material force in the service of a man or of a class, to oblige others to do what they will otherwise not do voluntarily. Of course, that definition does not give even an approximate idea of what is meant by anarchy, which is a society founded on free agreement, in which every individual can achieve the maximum development, material and moral, as well as intellectual; in which he finds in social solidarity the guarantee for his freedom and well-being. The removal of physical constraint is not enough in itself to ensure that he will acquire the dignity of a free man, or learn to love his fellow men and to respect for them those rights which he wants others to respect for him, and to refuse both to command as well as be commanded. One can be a willing slave for reasons of moral deficiency and a lack of faith in oneself, just as one can be a tyrant through wickedness or a lack of conscience when one does not meet adequate resistance. But this is not to say that "the

abolition of the *gendarme*", that is the abolition of violence in social relations is not the basis, the indispensable condition without which anarchy could not flourish, and, indeed, could not be conceived.¹⁶

SINCE ALL THE PRESENT ills of society have their origin in the struggle between men, in the seeking after well-being through one's own efforts and for oneself against the rest, we want to make amends, replacing hatred by love, competition by solidarity, the individual search for personal well-being by the fraternal co-operation for the well-being of all; oppression and imposition by liberty, the religious and pseudo-scientific lie by truth. Therefore:

1. Abolition of private property in land, in raw materials and the instruments of labour, so that no one shall have the means of living by the exploitation of the labour of others, and that everybody, being assured of the means to produce and to live, shall be truly independent and in a position to unite freely among themselves for a common objective and according to their personal sympathies.

2. Abolition of government and of every power which makes the law and imposes it on others: therefore abolition of monarchies, republics, parliaments, armies, police forces, magistratures and any institution whatsoever endowed with coercive powers.

3. Organisation of social life by means of free association and federations of producers and consumers, created and modified according to the wishes of their members, guided by science and experience, and free from any kind of imposition which does not spring from natural needs, to which everyone, convinced by a feeling of overriding necessity, voluntarily submits.

4. The means of life, for development and well-being, will be guaranteed to children and all who are prevented from providing for themselves.

5. War on religions and all lies even if they shelter under the cloak of science. Scientific instruction for all and to advanced level.

6. War on rivalries and patriotic prejudices. Abolition of frontiers; brotherhood among all peoples.

7. Reconstruction of the family, as will emerge from the practice of love, freed from every legal tie, from every economic and physical oppression from every religious prejudice.¹⁷

WHAT WE WANT, therefore, is the complete destruction of the domination and exploitation of man by man; we want men united as brothers by a conscious and desired solidarity, all co-operating voluntarily and for the well-being of all; we want society to be constituted

for the purpose of supplying to all human beings the means for achieving the maximum well-being, the maximum possible moral and spiritual development. We demand bread, freedom, love, science—for everybody.¹⁸

- 1 Pensiero e Volontà, May 16, 1925.
- 2 Pensiero e Volontà, Sept. 1, 1925
- 3 L'Agitazione, June 4, 1897.
- 4 Umanità Nova, Aug. 25, 1920.
- 5 Umanità Nova, Sept. 2, 1922.
- 6 Umanità Nova, April 27, 1922.
- 7 Umanità Nova, Sept. 16, 1921.
- 8 Pensiero e Volontà, May 15, 1924.
- 9 Pensiero e Volontà, Jan. 1, 1924.
- 10 Volontà, June 15, 1913.
- 11 Pensiero e Volontà, May 16, 1925.
- 12 Umanità Nova, Sept. 16, 1922.
- 13 Volontà, June 15, 1913.
- 14 Umanità Nova, April 27, 1922.
- 15 Il Risveglio, Dec. 20, 1922.
- 16 Umanità Nova, July 25, 1920.
- 17 Il Programma Anarchico, Bologna 1920.
- 18 Il Programma Anarchico, Bologna 1920.

News from the Groups

The Social put on at the Lamb & Flag in order to raise money for the anti-election campaign realised eleven guineas. Some of the comrades made cakes and these were sold, also a bottle of whisky was raffled and admission was charged to those who could afford it. Not too much effort was expended by the comrades who were all able to enjoy it. There was dancing, drinking and a great deal of talking. It was quite a pleasant way of raising money. Perhaps groups out of town could try it.

At a meeting of the London Federation of Anarchists the idea of a conference in the near future was turned down. Only one dissenting and one abstaining. The statement that was issued will be in the next issue of "The Anarchist", with the signatures of the comrades there. Jack Stevenson said he would still try to get support for a Conference and if enough was forthcoming he would go ahead anyway.

The London Anarchist Group at their meeting decided that they would send out the following letter to groups in London and individuals. As this is the easiest and cheapest way to do it, it would be put in *FREEDOM*.

Dear comrades,
It has been suggested by various comrades that meeting called to put the LFA on a more organised and representative footing might prove fruitful.

Should this idea meet with the approval of local groups or individuals, to whom the meeting would be open, kindly let us know at this address.
J. E. Stevenson, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Fraternally,
London Anarchist Group.
A copy of this letter will also be sent to the new internal bulletin "The Anarchist" (Copy is all in for this).

Also at this meeting it was decided to throw a party for our comrade Peter Moule when he comes out of the house of correction.

Deviationism and Elitist Fascists

DEAR COMRADES,

How nice of comrades Gibson and P.R. to try and correct my ballot-box deviationism. I fear however that in their enthusiasm they may have credited me with more ingenuousness than I can claim to possess. Comrade Gibson (how odd, by the way, that he should ever have found the Tories to possess a degree of obnoxiousness, actually less than of somebody else, most heartening, no doubt, to those in the Central Office who may have thought that every one on the Left always hated them)—Comrade Gibson thinks that no self-styled (itself an odd pejorative) anarchist should express preference for any one form of government.

Now, I would never claim that a Labour government needs to be opposed by anarchists any less than a Tory one (why else be an anarchist), but if a Labour government would ensure, for example, less people being hanged than a Tory one, even were this the only variant, then a Labour government is obviously preferable to a Tory one which contains Mr. Brook. I wonder if, hand on heart, comrades would really rather see the Tories in office again when there is a chance to boot them out, supposing (perhaps optimistically) that anarchist activity could make a difference. If only in one small way might things be 'better' with a Labour administration, then I am not prepared to let the opportunity go by. But nor am I going to delude myself that Harold Wilson and his crew are less worth attacking, as a government, than Alec Home. Perhaps it boils down to a wish to choose my enemies.

Comrade P.R. (may I call him P?), in his desire to absolve my sins with his pity, without which I can quite well manage, thank you, holds up the Labour Party as a bogey: 'preferring Labour . . . to the Tories . . . dangerous'. This shows the not unusual habit on the Left of devoting energies to abuse of the Labour Party (which, Devil knows, is worth abuse) which might better be spent on that consignment of the Tories to oblivion which Macdonald and Attlee so signally failed to attempt. Let's set

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Letters

the Labour Party on to the Tories and then sweep away the remnants of both. The unsullied purity of Tony Gibson's and P's anarchism is surely unimportant beside packing off the scoundrels who have 'governed' us for the last twelve years, in a manner which, failing the Revolution, is the only one feasible.

Oxford, Dec. 25.

DAVID ROSE.

DEAR COMRADES,

Christ! No not again. So now poor old Pete and Malcolm are elitist fascists are they? Well how P.R. (Letters, FREEDOM Dec. 21) works that out is beyond me. He obviously doesn't know them and I should think they wouldn't want to know him.

It seems to be becoming impossible to do anything in the anarchist movement without someone throwing these two words at your head.

Well, P.R., if you don't like the posters I suggest you do better, or are you just another of those who stand on the side jeering at those who are getting on with the job.

One of the comrades re-defined the words elitist, fascist and capitalist the other day. He said, "Elitist is one who chooses the people he wishes to do a job with". "Fascist someone who gets the job done". "Capitalist someone who wants money from people in order to do the job".

There seems to be a glut of name-calling in the anarchist movement nowadays. But be fair. If the posters aren't what you think they should be, give suggestions for better one, or better still do better ones.

People who criticise without trying to help in any way are the most unfair people I can think of. I've had people write to me saying that FREEDOM doesn't reflect the feelings of the movement. Well if that's true, it's because those in the movement who disagree don't write articles isn't it?

If you don't like it YOU do something about it, don't wait for someone else because he's waiting for you.

If all those who criticise wrote stuff and did things, we'd have a lot better paper and a lot stronger movement too. What this paper wants is more articles so that the badly written ones (like mine) don't have to go in. This will raise the standard of writing and then the circulation will go up, because people like to read a good thing, not a mediocre one.

But people have got to do it. They've got to get down to work. I've no doubt in my mind that if FREEDOM's critics took it over from next week on, this would be the last issue.

Enfield.

JACK STEVENSON.

The Function and Future Editorship of 'The Anarchist'

AT summer school last year it was decided to launch the above journal and that it would have a two-fold function. Firstly to provide an opportunity for discussion of theoretical subjects, e.g. non-violence and productivity and secondly to act as an open forum for people's views on co-ordinating the activities of the various groups.

It was also decided that a different group or federation would be responsible for producing each separate issue. London Federation have produced the first two and offers regarding future issues are urgently required. The continued publication of "The Anarchist" will mean that the number of libertarian periodicals will soon be eight, probably for the first time. "Freedom", "Anarchy", "Direct Action", "The Bridge", "Anarchist Youth", "Anarchist International", "The Anarchist" and a literary journal which will be appearing shortly, called "Germinal". Editing involves:—

1. To arrange and to prepare for publication articles and letters received. It was agreed that editors would not

it was an amusing phrase that stuck in people's minds and they did connect it with the fact that promises made in election speeches by candidates are forgotten when they have been elected. I had confirmation of this from people who were completely unsympathetic to anarchism. This poster appealed to people's sense of humour, for after pasting a number of these posters up on walls and the windows of empty shops just before November 5th, I saw people reading them with obvious amusement. The idea for the "Sheep" poster came from an anti-smoking poster in St. Pancras.

As for elitism, I thought we had heard the last of this accusation in the letter column of FREEDOM. After all the anti-election propaganda group did ask for ideas and I don't remember P.R. coming forward with any and so we went ahead with our own ideas.

I am all for giving something constructive to people during an anti-election campaign and the group has attempted to do this during the by-election at Marylebone. Here we gave out leaflets explaining Anarchist ideas, and a list of questions for electors to ask their candidates and canvassers. For example, one question to ask the Labour Party was:— "How often will the Labour Government bring out troops against strikers as they did in October/November 1945, (London Docks), July 1946 (Southampton Docks), May 1949 (Avonmouth Docks) and against the Smithfield Lorry drivers, and the Power and Gas workers?" (Perhaps David Rose will consider this before he votes Labour). As well as giving out these leaflets in the streets, we put them through letter boxes and distributed them at the party meetings and we also fly-posted the "Sheep" poster.

Perhaps the fact that we didn't sit around but got on with it is what P.R. means by elitism. As for "intellectual fascism", this reminds me of George Orwell's account of the Spanish revolution in his "Homage to Catalonia", when he wrote that the Communists in Barcelona were saying that the P.O.U.M. were in the pay of Franco's fascists. All this while members of the P.O.U.M. were fighting the fascists on the Aragon front.

If one attempts anything, it is expected that there will be criticism. To do nothing may be the way to avoid it. Let us have your ideas P.R. instead of your slogan-shouting.

Yours fraternally,
London, S.W.6 BILL STICKER.

Aldous Huxley

DEAR EDITORS,

Milward Casey's appalling jibe (FREEDOM Dec. 14) at Aldous Huxley's implied lack of physical courage needs answering, as it shows such muddled argument and fact that only for charity's sake could it be called ignorance. Throughout his life Huxley suffered from a painful eye disease; at 20 he was three-quarters blind and had to study and write with the aid of a huge magnifying glass, besides having many different coloured sun glasses to filter the light, as any naked light was too bright for him. And did he not suffer from cancer in his last few years?

Perhaps Aldous Huxley had some rather curious moths that he used to display as exotic butterflies: Krishnamurti, Alexander's physical culture, the Bates' method of improving poor eyesight, Ramakrishna, Vedanta, Zen . . . but they worked for him and he believed

they might have worked for everyone else even his religion was typical of the man; mild and unauthoritarian with the only anarchistic god in the business.

As for his politics, his "Ends and Means" is still essential reading for all anarchists. "By habitually talking of the nation as though it were a person with thoughts, feelings and a will of its own, the rulers of a country legitimate their own powers. Personification leads easily to deification; and where the nation is deified, its government ceases to be a mere convenience . . ." From "The Olive Tree". All good stuff.

Finally, Huxley's heroism "would have been greater . . . if his writings had been refused publication for years"; does Milward Casey speak from personal experience? Such rubbish could only come from someone who has not conception of the reality behind the words "heroism" or "suppression". Again read Huxley's essay "Words and Behaviour" ("The Olive Tree").

But perhaps Milward Casey has mixed the Huxleys up. Thomas Huxley died some time ago. And then, wasn't he always in trouble with the bishops?

Yours sincerely,
Leeds, Dec. 15. JAMES BURKITT.

Retreat?

DEAR EDITORS,

It has been distressing of late to read the pleas of certain people for a retreat from activity in the 'political sphere'. Nearly as sad was Jack Stevenson's review of the biography of Charles Parker which seemed to lack all sympathy.

All these trends in FREEDOM show a definite retreat from commitment. The former example reminds one of the school clubs one was allowed to form which excluded any political clubs, it reminds one of school debates when all political references were banned. This withdrawal from politics because it is 'a disease' must surely be backed by some definition of politics, this desperate desire for purity must surely point to the 'political' nature of recent anarchist activity.

S.F. complains about glaring headlines in the Press to the effect that anarchists had broken police cordons as being in the same bracket as assassinations. Might one deliberately point out, without plugging a party line, that breaking a police cordon is not the same as killing someone. Is it too much to remember that anarchists do not write the headlines in the Press? And is it so diseased to break police cordons—are all your comrades psychopaths if the protest against the policies of the State in the event of nuclear war?

The talk about 'chips on shoulders' comes directly from the Right-wing bigots. Is it too much for people to be resentful, angry and frustrated in this capitalist society of ours? One expects those who conform with the iniquitous status quo to sneer at those who complain as having chips on their shoulders, but one expects anarchists to understand and sympathise. Why are the chips there? And why don't more people kick out at the suffering that is inflicted on the world by every State and political party in the world?

J.W.

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.

First Thursday of each month, Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).
2nd Friday at Brian and Doris Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

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PROPOSED BRITISH FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

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CENTRAL LONDON

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

JAN 5 Ted Kavanagh:

The Anti-Election Campaign.

JAN 12 Max Patrick:

Subject to be announced.

JAN 19 Nicolas Walter:

Beyond Non-Violence.

JAN 26 Jack Robinson:

On Violent Non-Resistance.

ALL WELCOME

PROPOSED GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM AND WEST MIDLANDS

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

BIRMINGHAM (UNIVERSITY)

Dave Chaney, 7, Birches Close, Moseley, Birmingham, 13.

COUNTY OF STAFFORD TRAINING COLLEGE

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

EDINBURGH

Anne-Marie Fearon, c/o Traverse Theatre Club, James Court, Lawnmarket, Edinburgh.

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.

READING

Meetings third Friday of each month 7.30 p.m. at Eric and Carol Morse's, 16 Foxhill Road, Reading.

ROMFORD & HORNCHURCH

John Chamberlain, 19 Chestnut Glen, Hornchurch, Essex.

SHEFFIELD

Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS

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

Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at 8 p.m.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP

Secretary: Brian Scott, Balliol. Meetings each Wednesday.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION

Details from Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13. (STO 2632). Every Saturday 2.30. Outside Lewis's paper-selling.

CAMBRIDGE GROUP

Meets Tuesdays (in term), Q5 Queens. Details and information, town and gown, Adrian Cunningham, 3 North Cottages, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.

TYNESIDE FEDERATION

Meetings alternate Thursdays 8 p.m. Adelaide Pub (upstairs), Newgate Street, Newcastle.

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

Last Friday of the month at 8 p.m., at 76, Ansell Road, S.E.15. (Nearest Station, S.R. Nunhead).

NEW MEETING—Stamford Bridge.

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21, Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

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