

'Once fully enslaved, no nation, state, city of this earth, ever afterward resumes its liberty.'

WALT WHITMAN

FAIR Wages or Profit? False outlook

Macleod's Revelation

—why Now?

THE undoing of politicians is their insatiable appetite for power. On the other hand without this appetite they could never hope to occupy the top places of government. Politics is both a freemasonry and guerilla warfare. There are no short cuts for the ambitious politician. To reach the top he must ingratiate himself with those at the top, judge correctly the moment when he can cut the political umbilical cord which has as it were, given him life, and make his own way. And this, in political terms means persuading other up-and-coming young politicians (as well as the experienced ones who, by reason of age, or through cutting the cord at the wrong moment, have missed the boat, but who still have political standing in the eyes of the millionaire mass-communicators — and therefore of the mass public — and can be relied upon by the finance houses and the industrialists for their political orthodoxy), to hitch their wagon to his star.

Far from politics being a dying profession, it is a growing one. The emergence of the Labour Party as an alternative government to the traditional, "born" leaders, the aristocracy of past centuries, has only added to the existing struggle for power. The fact too that those who wield political power are not necessarily those who control the organs of mass communications or the finances and the means of production and distribution, of a nation, further complicates the issues.

That the tendency in our time is for politicians themselves to spill the beans when there is a crisis rather than leave it to historians a

generation or two later to examine the hitherto "secret" diaries and official documents and seek to unravel the facts from the fiction, must surely indicate that the unity, the freemasonry which has been the "strength" of the ruling class is breaking down.

The publication last week of Randolph Churchill's "The Fight for the Tory Leadership" is an attempt, so far as we have been able to gather from the reviews, to whitewash the traditional ruling class of this country, and show that the choice of Mr. Macmillan's successor was the result of democratic processes: "Never in the history of the Tory Party, or indeed of any other British political party have such full and diligent inquiries been made in the selection of a new leader."

Such a palpable lie might well have passed unchallenged fifty years ago; today within the political parties, apart from the journalists and other parasites of the body politic, someone is almost certain to break the silence, and the unwritten rules that what goes on in the exalted circle of government and power is not for public disclosure

until it is only of interest to historians Mr. Iain Macleod in his *Spectator* review of the Churchill book last week, has done just this. He has done it, however, in the measured terms of a politician who has no intention of burning his boats. He exposes the "tightness of the magic circle" which "on this occasion" kept senior members of the Cabinet without "an inkling of what was happening" while at the same time paying tribute to the Party Whip and the former Premier whose "decisive roles in the selection of Lord Home" was acted "at each stage in the interest, as they saw it, of the sort of Tory Party in which they believe". And of Lord Home, Mr. Macleod writes that he told him to his face that

there was no one in the party for whom I had more admiration and respect; that if he had been in the House of Commons he could perhaps have been the first choice; but I felt that those

giving advice had grossly underestimated the difficulties of presenting the situation in a convincing way to the modern Tory Party.

Clearly Mr. Macleod has no intention of quitting the political- for the journalistic- circus. If anything he is using the latter to promote his chances for the plums of the former. And since Mr. Macleod is much too fly a politician not to know that the last thing the Tory Party wants to do is to wash its dirty linen in public in Election Year, one must conclude that both he and the Press, which is giving so much publicity to his "revelations" in the *Spectator*, have their reasons for wanting to let the Labour Party get in. It is, surely, difficult to draw any other conclusions from such strange behaviour.

It will be noted in the extract we have used that Mr. Macleod refers to the "modern" Tory Party. And in the *Sunday Telegraph* (Jan. 19) the suggestion is made that the *Spectator's* new editor has, by his "attack" on the appointment of Sir Alec Home as Premier, "revealed a long-term attempt to establish himself as the new middle-class leader of the Party". This seems to us a

sensible explanation for the otherwise inopportune public examination of the workings of the Tory Party at this time.

★
THE Macleod "revelations" confirm what we outsiders had surmised long ago about the workings of the political parties. Mr. Macleod however does not go far enough. He writes

It is some measure of the tightness of the magic circle on this occasion that neither the Chancellor of the Exchequer nor the Leader of the House of Commons had any inkling of what was happening.

Who then, apart from Mr. Macmillan *did* know? Obviously it wasn't Mr. R. Churchill who on the eve of Home's appointment gave Hailsham as the certain winner. And if the leading members of the Cabinet were excluded it is hardly likely that junior members were invited to advise the Premier. It is much more likely, as we suggested at the time, that Mr. Macmillan had decided months before who his successor would be, and that any advice he sought in coming to his decision was not from his political entourage.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

FIGHTING REDUNDANCY

Last November, the Raleigh Industries at Nottingham decided, that because of a fall-off in sales, to sack 850 men. Of this number, 25 men worked in the toolroom and when the sackings were announced, their mates in the section immediately protested. The other sections put up no effective opposition and the other 825 men lost their jobs.

Then men in the toolroom are members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, whose national policy on redundancy is for a shorter working week instead of sackings and who have been negotiating along these lines since last November. The management refused to accept the A.E.U. policy and last week the talks broke down. The union was preparing to issue a 21-day notice of strike, but the Company moved faster and gave the 25 men their notice. Following this, a meeting was called by the shop stewards, after which all of the 300 men in the toolroom came out on strike.

The A.E.U. is backing the toolroom men who are demanding that the management should cut the working hours to absorb these 25 men. The firm claims that it is impracticable to work short time and points also to the fact that A.E.U. members in other sections were sacked earlier. In these sections the A.E.U. members were in a minority and other unions accepted the dismissals. Ken Hooley, chairman of the toolroom stewards, said they had plans to cover all departments for a shorter working week.

At a strikers' meeting on Friday, it was decided to ask the millwrights to join them as this would prevent the management from passing any toolroom work on to them. The A.E.U. District Committee is backing this move. An offer from Raleigh to find jobs for the 25 men was greeted at the meeting with derision. Ken Hooley said, "We all know the type of jobs these are, they have been advertised on and off for the last five years, conditions are so bad that no one will stay in them and it

would mean a reduction of anything up to 75% of our earnings."

A dispute of this nature attacks the very foundations of capitalist management. Raleigh Industries made a decision to sack these men and this was immediately countered by the action of the A.E.U. members who challenged the management over an issue of control. What this amounts to is that they are claiming the control of employment and it is the men at the point of production who are demanding that they should decide what happens when trade falls off.

Work sharing is the obvious solution to this problem. After all, why should some suffer when, with work sharing and by reducing the working week by about four hours a redundancy situation would be avoided. The toolroom workers have shown solidarity which is lacking among the men in the other sections. Here again we get workers divided into different unions, each jealous of one another, and this only weakens the rank and file and assists the management. Obviously there isn't any co-ordination at shop-floor level. Where are the joint committees of shop stewards and what have they done to solve the problem of redundancy? It is these organisations which are based on the rank and file, that can resist sackings. Action should have been initiated in November, no matter what the policy was of the other unions.

If this joint action had been organised, then other men's jobs might have been saved. Although the toolroom men are putting up a good fight, it could have been more effective if the rank and file had had a joint shop stewards' organisation.

STILL OUT!

Workers at the William Denby dye works in Bradford are still holding out against the management after twelve weeks on strike. Mr. Wright, the Managing Director, has said that they will only take the men back on an individual basis.

At the moment, a scab labour force of 60 is carrying on production and the 250 strikers are demanding that these men be dismissed and that all of the strikers be reinstated. This week, the strikers who are members of the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers, called for support in the form of strike action by the craft unions at the firm.

All this time these 250 men have been isolated. Not only has other labour been smuggled past picket lines, but union men have been scabbing. Support from other trade unionists should have been given in the first place. It is all right for the Yorkshire Federation of Trades Councils to express its support by this is not much help. These men need real solidarity, not just pious words that mean nothing at all.

All of the workers at Denby should be out on strike for this is the way to hit the management. Financial support has been good and local people have shown sympathy by giving assistance, but even though this is good, the dispute must be extended if these men are not to remain isolated. P.T.

OUR BETTERS

Chamberlain to the City of London, 57-year-old Col. Ean Kendal Stewart-Smith, was found hanged wearing a black sweater, black ballet tights, a gold chain round one ankle and a rope round his neck. The Halstead, Essex, inquest was told this today.

The coroner, Dr. Charles Clark, said: "I conclude his death was accidental. He was engaged in some elaborate ritual, involving the dangerous practice of putting his head in a noose. On this occasion, he went too far."

"I think it would be indiscreet of me to say more. What goes on in a man's bedroom which harms only himself is nobody's business but his own."

Police-sergeant L. Sparling told the Coroner that in the bedroom at Stanley Hall, Penmarsh, he saw the dead man lying on the floor with a piece of rope tied in a slip knot around his neck.

There was another length of rope on the door leading into the bathroom. It was attached to the handle of the door

and tied round the door several times.

The deceased was six feet tall and could have stood up with the rope around his neck with no tightening.

Black tights

There was a polished floor. The colonel was dressed in black sweater and ballet tights, which were pulled up to his buttocks. A small length of gold chain was round his left ankle.

Strewn about the room were a leather band with a lock and two sacks tied together.

A key for the padlock was on the bedside table.

Pathologist Dr. Jack Lacey, of Chelmsford Hospital, said that the cause of death was asphyxia due to hanging.

In answer to the Coroner, he said: "I have come across cases like this before. He must have been engaging in some elaborate ritual of some sort."

"I think people do sustain partial anoxia, that is a lack of oxygen in the blood. This state may induce many forms of fancies and hallucinations."

"I think sometimes they get into such a state, that having induced anoxia and intending to release the apparatus causing it, they find they are unable to do so and lose consciousness."

The Inquisition

The Colonel's widow, Mrs. Edmee Margaret Stewart-Smith, said: "At Dunkirk during the war he was blown up with a bridge and had very bad nightmares after that."

In answer to the Coroner about whether her husband had any unusual habits or ways, Mrs. Stewart-Smith said he had been recently reading books about the Spanish Inquisition.

"But I didn't attach any importance to it," she said.

● Liverymen of the City of London have been summoned to a meeting at Guildhall next Friday to begin the lengthy process of electing a new Chamberlain. It is a post worth £4,174 a year.

Evening Standard 17/1/64.

ANARCHY 35:

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Some Reflections on

Malatesta and Anarchism

MALATESTA has appealed to me as one of the few anarchists reared in the Bakuninist tradition of romantic social revolutionism who, at least in later life, was prepared to face certain problems posed by his beliefs which most of his contemporaries preferred to ignore. All honour is due to him for this, but, because he never completely abandoned this tradition, his attempts to grapple with these problems revealed an ambivalence that considerably weakened his proposed solutions. All too often he wanted to have both the penny of utopia and the bun of hard fact. For example, the editorial introduction to the extracts from his writings published in the last issue of FREEDOM (3/1/64) stated that he was a "communist anarchist without ignoring the cogent arguments advanced by the individualist anarchists". Now, if Malatesta recognised the individualist arguments against communism as cogent ("compelling assent, convincing" L.O.D.) how could he continue to accept communism? Only, it would appear, by an act of faith characteristic of the religious mentality.

According to Malatesta, one can only be an anarchist if one loves "mankind". What, however, was the "mankind" he loved? It was obviously not the sum total of individuals living at the time he wrote, for he did not love politicians, exploiters, police or magistrates. Again his object was the "love of mankind and the fact of sharing the sufferings of others," but the examples he gave of what inspired this loving and sharing were of oppressed or deprived individuals, who, if added together, would not constitute mankind in this sense. But perhaps the "mankind" he loved was the mankind of a future free society. In this case, it was not the sum total of living individuals that he loved, but the concept of "mankind" as it should be as it would be if it conformed to his ideal. In other words, the basis of Malatesta's anarchism was a religion of humanity, a restatement in secular terms of the religious yearning for a heaven—a heaven, in this case, of a humanity redeemed by the saving grace of the Revolution (Revelation).

I cannot accept Malatesta's view that "anarchism would be either a lie or just nonsense" if anarchists did not have this feeling of love for "mankind". If "we are all egoists, (and) we all seek our own satisfaction," then I base my anarchism on the tangible reality of me and my desire for self-expression, not on

"the driving force of all sincere social reformers" who clamour to serve the nebulous abstraction of "mankind" (as they would have it). I do not need the ideological carrot of a future utopia, because I am my starting point and goal, and you, if sensible, will be your starting point and goal. And neither of us will be deflected by the illusion that we can work for the "good" of all, but will rather work for our own good, which may well benefit others, but equally may not. (Why should the "individual search for personal well-being" be necessarily opposed to a co-operation bringing well-being to other individuals as well? On the other hand, if rulers are threatened with the loss of their power by this search they will not see it as being to their benefit. One man's good can easily be another man's ill.)

Malatesta claimed that anarchism was "not necessarily linked to any philosophical system," but his own anarchism was clearly rooted in a moralizing philosophy in which no alternatives existed except to be for the Revolution, or for the Bourgeois. This is made plain in his attack upon those who want "to live their lives" and "poke fun at the revolution and at every forward-looking aspiration." He does not say who these sinners were, but I assume he was referring to those who called themselves individualist anarchists. If this is so, he makes no attempt to distinguish those individualists like E. Armand, who were for living one's own life here and now and were sceptical about the Revolution,

from charlatanical demagogues like Mussolini, who changed at the drop of a hat from professing individualism to preaching the absorption of the individual in the State.

But why must we accept these two alternatives as the only ones? Why must we think that if one is sceptical about social revolution one must therefore be for the bourgeoisie? It is simply not enough to dismiss in this way those anarchists who reject existing society, yet can see no convincing hope of a universal brotherhood of harmony. As a contributor to the current issue of "The Anarchist" puts it: "People think that individualists must be near to despair when they see the great roaring mass society which surrounds them. Those anarchists who look forward to a mass free society are the ones who should be despairing for the mass society of capitalism shows no sign of becoming the mass society of anarchism." In historical fact, the appeal of anarchism has always been to certain types of individuals, and a small minority of individuals at that. To put one's faith in the masses getting "the message" is to invite despair, for there is no real evidence to support such a belief.

Malatesta's implication that those who "want to enjoy life in the present" (when else can one enjoy it?) "have the mentality and feeling of unsuccessful bourgeois" shows that he had no real understanding of this particular individualist anarchist position (I do not deny that there existed some pseudo-individualists who might have given him this bogey-man). If those who want to live their own lives in the present became "exploiters and tyrants" they would only bind themselves with a fresh set of social chains. Exploiters and exploited are two necessary ingredients of the same mixture and cannot exist without each other. As Stirner wrote: "He who, to hold his own, must count on the absence of will in others is a thing made by these others, as the master is a thing made by the servant. If submissiveness ceased, it would be all over with lordship." My interest is not served by a world composed of such people and I want to secede from it as far as I can.

To me, the most meaningful activity for anarchists today is to find ways of making this secession possible. It may be that these take the form of experiments in the arts, in education, in creating bootleg economies, in housing and/or child-caring projects, in work co-operatives or rural communities, or just in one individual's search for a life satisfactory to him alone. The particular form will depend on individual tastes, capacities and circumstances, but it will at least be far more relevant to our present reality than attempting to convert an indifferent herd of 'other-directed' beings to a freedom which cannot be given to them in any case. Certainly, it will be so for those who have emerged from that apocalyptic phase of anarchism of which Malatesta was one of the more beguiling and attractive figures.

S. E. PARKER.

[Comrade Parker cannot understand how

"BEST FANTASY STORIES", edited by Brian W. Aldiss, Faber & Faber, 16s.

FANTASY writing is very much a hit and miss affair. The editor in his introduction says... "In fantasy of course it is no surprise to come across dogs with blue ears, orange tails, and the rest of it. While reading material for this volume I bumped into talking dogs, flying dogs, invisible dogs, mechanical dogs, and canine ghosts, together with similar unorthodox strains of other animals. At one point I met a dragon that swallowed the sun, at another an amoeba that taught relativity—I think it was—in an American university. All this makes me somewhat uneasy. I suspect the authors of putting therapy before art..."

I think the story in this collection I liked best was that of Baron Bagge, which is strange and haunting and set in the Carpathians, which seems to me a more suitable setting for fantasy than Britain or America. Britain is too self-consciously homely, and fantasy tends in such an environment to assume a curiously ghastly quality. Americans lapse into whimsy.

The last story isn't a "story" at all. It's not fiction. It's true. It comes Couch. Dr. Lindner practised hypno-couch. Dr. Lindner practised hypno-analysis, despised Wilhelm Reich and most other analysts (but then most analysts do), and wrote several interesting books, including *Rebel Without a Cause* (no connection with the James Dean film) and *Prescription for Rebellion*.

At least, if this story isn't true it was certainly presented as fact unless *The Jet-Propelled Couch* was meant to be an elaborate spoof at the expense of psychology. It tells of the treatment of a young scientist, named in the book Kirk Allen, who is an atomic physicist. He helped to make the bomb which tortured to death many thousands of Japanese, and it now on some other equally diabolical project. His work is falling behind, and when questioned by his employers he apologises, saying that he will try to spend more time on this planet.

In other words he is stark, staring, raving mad. He believes that he spends only part of his time on Earth, the rest being spent in other parts of the universe, leading scientific expeditions and fighting wars. This delusion he acquired quite by chance in the course of a lonely and unhappy childhood, from reading a series of books rather similar to the Martian tales of Edgar Rice Burroughs. The hero of the series had the same name as he did, and he ended by launching forth from these books and "remembering" whole series

DREAMS AND NIGHTMARES

of adventures for himself.

Dr. Lindner tries to cure him by pretending to accept his fantasies at their face value, and begins to take an interest in them. Soon he has found inconsistencies in the star maps of other universes that Kirk Allen has drawn, and slowly the whole fabric crumbles. But what really cures Kirk is the fact that someone is sharing his obsessions with him. This robs them of their power. They no longer constitute a secret and private world.

But now a rather funny thing happens. The doctor becomes so interested that the patient continues to pretend interest so as not to hurt the doctor's feelings.

'Radical Action Needed by Busmen' ★

TRANSPORT IN RIO DE JANEIRO

IT has interested me, coming from elsewhere, to compare London's transport system to Rio's. In the South (residential) zones there are three forms of public transport, and one more (trains) is added for the suburbs of the North. All work on a standard fare for a route; or, if their route goes into and then out of town, one standard fare and one standard-fare-and-a-half.

The three are trolley buses, buses, and "lotaços". The trolley buses are state run, very comfortable, very clean and very large; they are also pretty cheap, though not so cheap as the old clanky, bench-fitted trams which they are intended to replace, and which still serve Northern districts in their stead. The buses are smaller, have (like the trolleys) driver and conductor, cost more to travel on. The lotaços are smaller (and cheaper) buses, usually old, and have a driver who also collects fares: standing is permitted on trolleys and buses, but not on lotaços. Lotaços, and most buses, stop anywhere to pick up or put down, according to the need of the passengers. The buses are owned by companies, usually small, and the lotaços by small companies or even singly by the driver—so there is a range of ownership from the State trolleys to the one-man-one bus lotaço. The most

efficient from the passenger's point of view is unquestionably the lotaço. Their service is extraordinarily continuous, and gives the type of service which is most needed—they are the fastest vehicles (hair-raisingly so: but most have astonishingly clever drivers), they always provide seats, they stop anywhere, and at rush hours there are queues of them at terminus points to shuttle-service passengers away. The buses are almost as good, though dearer, and the conductors have sometimes a little of the petty official in them. The trolleys are very slow, sticklers for people waiting at stops and nowhere else, and notorious for leaving twenty-minute gaps and then making journeys in threes. One may not travel in them in shorts (shorts are standard dress in Copacabana and most beach areas) and, as the conductor is sat in the middle of the bus, one often only passes him (and pays him) as one is getting off the bus, thereby causing more delay. Being large, the trolleys are even less manoeuvrable in the crowded streets than a small trolley-bus would be. Even if there were many more of these, they would be an inferior service to the lotaços. (I must add the lotaços continue to drive to and from the city well into the night, when they are empty or almost empty).

*FREEDOM 30/11/63.

Continued on page 4

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Malatesta could at the same time be a communist anarchist and aware of the cogent arguments against it advanced by the individualist anarchists except by "an act of faith characteristic of the religious mentality". Does the following extract from an article Malatesta wrote in *Pensiero e Volontà* (1/7/1924) confirm Comrade Parker's impressions: "The individualists assume, or speak as if they assumed, that (anarchist) communists want to impose communism, which of course would put them right outside the ranks of anarchism."

The communists assume, or speak as if they assumed, that the (anarchist) individualists reject every idea of association, want the struggle between men, the domination of the strongest—and this would put them not only outside the anarchist movement but outside humanity.

I reality those who are communists are such because they see in communism freely accepted the realisation of brotherhood, and the best guarantee for individual freedom. And individualists, those who are really anarchists, are anti-communist because they fear that communism would subject individuals nominally to the tyranny of the collectivity and in fact to that of the party or caste, which, with the excuse of administering things, would succeed in taking possession of the power to dispose of material things and thus of the people who need them. Therefore they want each individual, or each group, to be in a position to enjoy freely the product of their labour in conditions of equality with other individuals and groups, with whom they would maintain relations of justice and equity.

In which case it is clear that there is no basic difference between us. But, according to the communists, justice and equity are, under natural conditions, impossible of attainment in an individualistic society, and thus freedom too would not be attained. If climatic conditions throughout the world were the same, if the land was everywhere equally fertile, if raw materials were evenly distributed and within reach of all who needed them, if social development were the same everywhere in the world, if the work of past generations had benefited all countries to the same extent, if population were evenly distributed over the whole habitable area of the globe—then one could conceive of everyone (individuals or groups) finding the land, tools and raw materials needed to work and produce independently, without exploiting or being exploited. But natural and historical conditions being what they are, how is it possible to establish equality and justice between he who by chance finds himself with a piece of arid land which demands much labour for small returns with him who has a piece of fertile and well sited land? Or between the inhabitant of a village lost in the mountains or in the middle of a marshy area, with the inhabitant of a city which hundreds of generations of man have enriched with all the skill of human genius and labour?"]

LFA Notes

URGENT! URGENT! URGENT!

Money is urgently needed if the Anti-election Campaign is to continue. We have had many promises of money from people to whom we have sent leaflets and posters, but some of these have not been implemented and what small resources we have are now practically exhausted.

The posters cost 3d. each, leaflets work out at about 2/6d. per hundred, and on top of that comes the postage. So let's have your orders, with cash if possible and donations from anyone who is so inclined. All will be gratefully received and be put to good use.

Any suggestions and offers of help are needed for distribution of leaflets and fly-posting in the West London area. Let's make this General Election year an effective one for anarchist propaganda.

Orders, ideas, and offers to Bill Sticker, 17a, Maxwell Road, Fulham, S.W.6.

ANTI-ELECTION COMMITTEE.

The editor of the next issue of *The Anarchist* will be Jack Robinson, 21, Rumbold Road, S.W.6. Please send any manuscripts or offers of help (financial or physical) to him at that address.

ANARCHIST PLEASE NOTE

JANUARY 31st at 7 p.m.

A meeting will be held to attempt to put the London Federation of Anarchists on a more organized footing. All self-proclaimed anarchists are invited. Meeting at the 'White Swan' public house, Farringdon Road, E.C.1.—lay-by (near Clerkenwell Road and the D**ly W*rk*r).

THE FALSE OUTLOOK

THE announcement of the government's intention to end retail price maintenance, following hard on the propaganda war over trading stamps, has brought out yet another deluge of hypocrisy and stupidity from spokesmen of the interests affected, and deluded commentators who still cling to the idea that governments and authorities are really interested in the welfare of the people.

On the one hand the super markets are jubilant at the prospect of competition which will free them to make greater profits, but on the other the middle class shopkeepers, and their supporters in the Conservative party are lamenting the harm that the revision will cause them.

The extraordinary feature of it all is the way in which so many people's minds are obviously geared to an approach to economics and politics, to a system of judgments—the day to day life of the country which has nothing whatever to do with reality.

Recently the writer overheard a train conversation between an elderly couple in which the woman said: "I went into the butcher's yesterday. They were selling fruit and lemonade and everything. 'Tisn't right you know, 'tisn't right". Her husband agreed that it was "all wrong". The shopkeeping classes are convinced that because they feel they are doing useful work, work without which they cannot appreciate how society would survive, it is a natural right that society should provide them with a high standard of living. Now there is nothing exceptionable in a society which possesses the materials and development for everyone of its members to enjoy a high standard of living when an individual or group insists that it is their right. The hypocrisy latent in the shopkeepers' approach is that on the whole they are among the most violent opponents of workers' movements, which, with considerably more justification, set out to defend the rights of ordinary workers to a more comfortable and secure standard of living.

Our second objection to the claims of small shopkeepers to have their interests defended by law applies equally well to the demands of the multiple stores that the law should be manipulated in their sectional interests. That is that when they claim that they intend to provide better service and cheaper goods for the consumer, they and the press which takes their part continue with the assumption that the capitalist method of production and distribution is the only one conceivable.

It is on this particular point that many people begin to introduce what they consider to be ethical considerations. Either they depict the small profits of the village shopkeeper as a kind of service charge for the work of distribution or point to the enterprising man who merges two supermarket chains and knocks "2d. off" a pot of jam as a rugged individualist who deserves the profit he makes through helping the consumers. These functions are only possible in a certain kind of society. The society in which the village shopkeeper, and the local butcher who didn't sell lemonade, were really viable, have passed away long ago, and it is fairly widely admitted that when a powerful businessman talks about competition he really

has a monopoly in mind. The point is that any discussion of the rights and wrongs involved in a subject like this is irrelevant as long as the ordinary people can do nothing about it. The public relations experts of the retailing companies or the small shopkeepers' federations can talk themselves blue in the face about the benefits to the man in the street if their views are put into effect but the man in the street has no choice but to accept what the capitalist class decides on, because he has no economic power.

The vast majority of people want to buy their everyday purchases as cheaply as possible, but it is important not to imagine that the produce or services are in any way enhanced either by the governments, the supermarket tycoons, or the profit system of the sturdy English shopkeepers, who don't actually want to put the clock back to J. S. Mill's time because they don't realise it has moved on. Money, wages and prices would not be necessary in a free society, and it is always a good idea to try to think about economics without bringing them in. In other words it is worth while to think about a branch of economic activity in terms of the work put into it, the use of existing wealth and the amount of beneficial produce, as far as possible without putting it in the framework of modern capitalism.

When that is done, it is the anarchist claim that the present system of production and distribution is about the most inefficient one conceivable, and that in comparison with the facts that the people do not control the sources of production, the wastefulness of competition, the amount of effort put into advertising and allied salesmanship, the difference between the prices of everyday commodities before and after any merger or act of parliament is negligible.

Our alternative is a very far-reaching one, but the obstacle preventing its acceptance is not so much the problems involved in people living together in a non-authoritarian society sometime in the future, but in freeing them here and now from the false outlook which thinks in terms of fair profits and fair wages, and looks on financial wizards as useful and acceptable citizens.

Production and distribution are essentially social activities, and anarchism involves convincing people of this and persuading them to take control and responsibility for it as part of the working of society. The attitudes of the political parties are largely irrelevant, but it is interesting to note in passing that the Tories having brought in the bill, Labour is opposing it; while an individual Labour M.P., Mr. Stonehouse brought in a private bill with the same object which the Conservatives opposed. *The Guardian* quoted this as an example of British politics that the foreigner might find difficult. *The Observer* with its worldly realism now seems to assume that parties are motivated chiefly by the prospect of power at the next election and commented accordingly, but neither of them explicitly drew the attention of its readers to it as yet another example of the fact that in matters which affect the everyday life of real people, party politics is a complete farce. P.H.

RESALE PRICE maintenance was offered up on the election altar, British Loan was thrown to the Philistines, the TUC asked for more pieces of silver for the *Daily Herald*...

A BOOKIE offered 20-1 if Perry Mason lost. He didn't. A house owner in Dulwich is staying put whilst new houses and flats are built around her. She has 35 years' lease left and has turned down an offer of £9,000 for her house, her price is £12,000. Curt Jurgens, the actor, has his eye on a mountain-top mansion in Hong-Kong, he already has a Spanish-style villa in California, a mansion in a vineyard outside Vienna, a hunting lodge in the Bavarian alps, a seaside bungalow near Cadiz in Spain, a farm in the foothills of the Cote D'Azur and a large estate in Zurich. 'Why so many?' asks the *Evening News* columnist. 'Jurgens' reply is simple. 'I don't like hotels' he says...

THE COMMONS Estimates Committee pointed out that the Anglo-French agreement to build the Concord supersonic airliner could cost us another £80 million if the French backed out of the project. France will probably recognise China. The leaders of the revolt in Zanzibar gave the Chinese special facilities whilst the British, Russian and American correspondents were given rough treatment. A mutiny broke out in Tanganyika...

A CATHOLIC woman doctor who opened a birth-control clinic has been refused the sacrament. Mr. Francis Hetherington, secretary of the East Anglian Committee of 100 expects to have to appear in court soon because he refuses to pay the part of his rate which is spent on civil defence. He has deducted the few pence that are used for civil defence purposes for the last two years. He now owes 2s. 10. Kensington's Civil Defence is to combine with other London boroughs to provide a protective umbrella for disaster homeless if homes are hit by flood, fire or any other catastrophe. The scheme will immediately go into action to give temporary accommodation and food over a wide area...

THE AMERICANS exploded with the force of 20,000 tons of TNT an underground nuclear device in Nevada. The French are reported to be launching a 3,500 ton submarine on March 15th, to test missiles. The French missiles are slightly bigger than Polaris. Their maximum range is expected to be about 2,000 miles. They expect to have possibly five



nuclear submarines by 1972 with about sixteen launching tubes each. A B52 bomber of the U.S. Air Force with two unarmed nuclear weapons on board crashed in Maryland. The plane was burnt out but, said the Air Force spokesman, "There is no danger of nuclear explosion". A Royal Warrant has been granted by the Queen to a firm of mushroom spawn growers...

THE INTERNATIONAL Confederation for Disarmament and Peace was formally constituted at Tyringe in Sweden...

THE LEADER of the Turkish-Cypriot delegation for the London conference on Cyprus said "The real danger is a take over by the Communists when they feel strong enough... already the Communists number 37% of the Greek-speaking community." Ten missionaries from Britain, America, Canada and Holland have been sent for trial in Turkey for forming an organization to spread Christian propaganda without official permission...

A REPORT on Church of England clergy states that one-fifth are overworked and another fifth are under-employed. The *Sunday Bulletin* of the Catholic redemptionist Fathers says that "any dancing is wrong which is a temptation to those participating or watching. It is wrong to dance in such a way that the movement of the body can be a temptation to 'any normal person'. Modern dances, with almost total exclusion of bodily contact are less likely to give temptation than other 'close proximity' dances. Extreme exponents of the twist manage to contort themselves into provocative positions. And the unwary teenage girl may well find her partner is a boy whose sole purpose in dancing is to seek sensual satisfaction"...

IN AUSTRALIA the publishers of the magazine *Oz* were fined £20 each for publishing obscene matter. In New Zealand, Howard Thomas Brock initiated a prosecution against the *New Plymouth Daily News* for publishing an indecent document under the NZ Indecent Publications Act (1910), this was the account of Vicki Barratt's evidence in the Stephen Ward case. The newspaper was fined £30 but acquitted of "selling an indecent document." Mr. Brock has been town assistant engineer in Hawera for three and a half years. He is to resign from the town council because he has become a drainage contractor and has the contract to lay the sewage system which he has spent three years planning. Sydney University Dramatic Society producer was prosecuted for obscenity in a performance of a *Revue of the Absurd* with a song by Alfred Jarry including the words "shit" and "arseholes". It is reported by the *Broadsheet* of the Sydney University Libertarian Society that the police asked to see Alfred Jarry who died in 1908. The case was dismissed but the producer had to find £50 costs. *The Times Educational Supplement* reported A. S. Niell as saying "Henry Miller sent me \$1,000 recently. He says he's going to make a fortune out of *Tropic of Cancer* so I might as well have some". *Fanny Hill* appears in court on Monday to appeal against a destruction order. The same author's *Memoirs of a Coxcomb* is to be published soon in paperback. The University Student Council of Oxford in a report on college discipline say that undergraduates should not be sent down because they are found in bed with a woman and it should not be a college scout's job to report them. "When a man sleeps with a woman in his college room overnight the only disciplinary offence is a violation of the rules concerning visiting hours". They report that scouts have been bribed into silence on these matters...

AN ELDERLY Moscow man who used his flat for orgies with teenage girls has been sentenced to three years imprisonment in a corrective labour colony. "He had", said the Moscow newspaper "at least 41 girl pupils who he invited to his comfortable flat. He served them with foreign wine, sweets and taught them" (according to the *Standard* report) "simple... foreign morals".

A HEADLINE from the percipient *Socialist Leader*, "Panama Conflict Brought on by U.S. Occupation"...

JON QUIXOTE.

REFLECTIONS ON FREEWILL

FREE-WILL means the ability to make decisions without outside interference. In present society the pressures of mass communications, religion, education, etc., all combine to influence peoples thinking although I suspect that the number of people who have ideas of their own but are unable to implement them due to the nature of society is quite high. This article is not concerned, however, with discussing whether men's minds are free now but whether they could be free given the most favourable circumstances in which to develop. In a society of purest anarchy men could freely translate ideas into action but could those ideas ever be freely arrived at in the first place? Let us examine and discard some of the more irrational fetters to human will so that we may discover the limits, if any, within which it can operate freely.

To some people free will is an impossibility—a concept for fools. The Greeks for instance believed that the Fates had weaved a web of destiny from which no man could escape. Few religions have much time for free will. To both Islam and mainstream Christianity pre-destination is a fact (key phrase 'it is written') although Catholics follow the double-think of Aquinas and maintain that even so men are free. Both Greek and Christian world views hold that whatever you do, even by the most strenuous efforts, you are only doing what forces greater than you meant you to do. It is hard to disprove such ideas but they can be made to look pretty silly by reflecting on the logical consequences, in a pre-ordained world, of doing nothing at all.

The more men turned from myths toward science the more it came to be believed that the world was ruled by apparently inexorable materialist laws and that man was subject to law too and all that existed was a vast machine. Marx the prime materialist maintained that economic was the main determining

factor in society and that by applying the dialectical process to history it was possible to foresee the broad outline of the future. He considered that just as the synthesis of feudalism and capitalism was the working class so the synthesis of capitalism and the working class would be revolution leading on to the classless society. He was adamant that a country must pass through a capitalist stage before THE revolution could occur and considered anarchist ideas of peasant risings as short cuts doomed to failure. It was imperative, he argued, that feudal countries such as Russia should undergo capitalism. But, as someone asked Lenin before 1917, if this was so why did he (Lenin) not cease revolutionary agitation, buy himself a top hat and help establish capitalism.

The dialectic view of history is as good as any other so long as rosy dreams of the future are not used as the basis of current activity. 19th century optimism motivated Marx. The synthesis of capitalism and the working-class has not been revolution and the classless society but apathy and the bingo hall.

Having discarded the views of men as the playthings of Fate, God or iron economic laws we are left with him as he really is with his thoughts influenced by environment, upbringing, heredity, instinct and public opinion. These five factors would exist in any society, authoritarian or free and it is within their framework that free-will can exist. Confined though the area of freedom may seem it leaves plenty of scope for important decisions—like whether to have society based on fear, greed and force or on equity, peace and mutual consent.

The capacity for free-will varies greatly from person to person and hence Stirnerism is useless as a basis for a harmonious society. For what prevents Stirnerites from riding roughshod over each other or even treading on each others toes, is mutual respect. If they

show respect to people as tough minded as they are, what then do they show to people weaker than they are? No, I haven't read Stirner but I have read articles by his adherents.

The people who show and exercise the most free-will today are a few individuals in the top strata of the ruling class. They are not slaves of the social and economic set-up for they themselves helped to create it. It is sometimes maintained that the upper crust are just bumbling incompetents caught between their own propaganda about freedom and democracy and the realities of power. I believe that far from being bumbling the uppercrust broadly speaking are shrewd and intelligent and that their propaganda about democracy, communism or what have you is mere tongue-in-cheek hypocrisy. The rank and file of the ruling class are usually sincere however: anyone who has seen Nabarro or Biggs-Davidson on T.V. will realise this: no men could be such good actors. But Franco, does anyone believe that with his bloodstained record and the cynical use he has made of the church he can be sincere in his Christianity? Who believes Home or Brooke when they talk about British liberties? One of the reasons that Home and not Hogg succeeded Macmillan is that Hogg is a clown believing his own propaganda and liable to make embarrassing scenes. Home, however, is cool, competent and initiated like Macmillan the man who chose him. There is no conspiracy either nationally or internationally as though the upper crust when in the Carlton Club or meeting their opposite numbers at a summit conference wait until the doors are locked and then all sit back and have a good laugh. There is no great plot but there is very little sincerity either.

In spite of all the pressures that exist in society to stifle initiative and free thought we must remember that they only stifle and do not annihilate. Under the authoritarian cloak the capacity for free thought still exists and when it develops and is translated into deeds then anarchy can become a reality.

R.J.

Shooting T.G. down in Flames

DEAR COMRADES,

Unaccustomed as I am to writing letters to your splendid paper I think it is time that Tony Gibson was shot down in flames and that a "detached" anarchist—one who is proud to call himself a "pragmatic" anarchist—was allowed to answer Comrade Tony's rather foolish and juvenile remarks. So I hope you will allow me plenty of space for a "newcomer" who is not of the small rather esoteric circle of which T.G. is such a typical representative.

First let me say that I shall not be voting at the next election—I am not on the registered voter's list and it doesn't worry me too much. But David Rose and S.F. appear to have a much more sensible and mature outlook than Gibson.

Certainly the election bally-hoo is silly and misleading and certainly the scoundrels elected to Parliament do not in fact govern us in the particular power structure of this country. (So T.G. will be astonished at my particular objections). Nevertheless it does make a difference who governs us and the election of M.P.'s does have some effect on the power structure.

Even if the only difference between the Tory and Labour Governments was that only one man less was hanged by the neck until he was dead it would be sufficiently serious for me to vote Labour and not Tory.

Tony Gibson has the incredible effrontery to write "unthinking people (Note the unconscious bourgeois intellectual arrogance) imagine that anarchism has something to do with the left in party politics". How an intelligent educated person such as Gibson can write such unthinking bloody stupid rubbish as this is utterly beyond me!

In an anniversary symposium (in ANARCHY 8 I think—I may be wrong), Colin Ward (or possibly someone else) pointed out that the original Freedom Group consisted of exiled Russian revolutionaries plus two members of the



Fabian Society—Dr. Burns Gibson (my relation?) and Mrs. Charlotte Wilson, who issued the first number of FREEDOM as a "journal of Anarchist Socialism". (Incidentally Annie Besant, a member of the Fabian Executive lent the Publishing Company as an office and the type was composed at the printing office of the Socialist League, thanks to William Morris).

So thinking seriously over it as a pragmatic anarchist I am sorry—though not worried—that I didn't arrange to get myself a vote at the next bally-hoo election—even if it mean saving only one man's life by abolishing capital punishment or curbing the tobacco monopolies. Of course anarchism was something to do with the left!

Anarchists have often worked with Socialists, Revolutionary Marxists and yes—even those wicked fellows the Communists. It is after all only 32 years since we actually had a provisional government with a socialist prime minister, a communist minister of defence and an anarchist Minister of Justice!!!

I am, perhaps, one of the few people left in this country who genuinely regret

that the left is now split and that anarchists, Communists (and yes Tony Gibson, I know all about the past in Spain, Cuba and elsewhere) and other socialists can't work together.

Actually that is not strictly accurate because in fact many of them do—in C.N.D., the Committee of 100, for Civil Liberties, in Freedom from Hunger and many other practical projects. But we could do much more together if we stopped quarrelling among ourselves and remembered our common historical background.

Ideologically, as even Gibson must admit, Anarchism, Communism, Trotskyism, and other forms of socialism and revolutionary marxism, have as their objective the ultimate withering away of the state.

We may disagree about the methods but ultimately we have a damn sight more in common in our objectives than with the Tories, the Fascists—yes even the Liberal Party. Please read Clause 4 of the Labour Party Constitution—an anarchist principle.

I can imagine Mr. Gibson reading this letter and impatiently, haughtily, arrogantly dismissing this as so much emotional blatherskite. But contrary to English traditional beliefs ideology is not all blatherskite. The blatherskite comes from the dogmatic, intemperate narrow-minded, sectarians who are always against everybody, except their own particular group (London Anarchist Group included). I don't belong to any special party or group but I hope I am sensible enough to work with any group for a limited practical sensible object without necessarily dotting all the i's and crossing all the t's.

Gibson once wrote an interesting and accurate article on the "anarchist personality". He should perhaps apply his own analysis to his own personality and ask himself, seriously, and with humility, why he and so many other middle class intellectuals like him, nowadays take up a completely negative and destructive attitude. Does he really believe that all Communists are fiends and stupid fiends, that all Christians are dogmatic and narrow minded authoritarians, that all journalists (like me for example) are liars and cynics, and that all politicians are completely immoral opportunists? If his bitterness hasn't made him take leave of his senses then he should remember that the most important thing about human beings (whether they are Communists, Catholics, Tories or even Fascists) is their humanity—and not, definitely not their ideology. But although all governments are bad and although no ideology is completely true and without blemish, some governments—and some ideologies—are rather worse than others. This means that as we are all in the left—and if Gibson isn't on the left then I can only conclude he is in cloud cuckoo land—we should be prepared to admit that we have more in common with left wing parties than right wing parties.

Just as, I hope, we would be sensible enough to admit that we have more in common with say Iain Mcleod or even Macmillan than say Colin Jordan or Mosley. To do this, Mr. Gibson, is not to be "unthinking" but to have sufficient mature restraint and humility to admit that we are living in the world as it is and not as we would all like it to be.

Yours fraternally,

Letchworth, Herts MICHAEL D. WARD.

P.S.—If you don't like the label "pragmatic anarchist" and you must insist in attaching labels to people I suppose you could call me a progressive realist. How many converts has Gidson made to anarchism I wonder? If you all read Clause Four of the Labour Party constitution you will see a principle ex-

pressed which is the fundamental principle of anarchism. Not a single mention of the word nationalisation or state or centralisation. True nobody takes it seriously (either inside or outside the Labour Party) but perhaps that is because it is in fact a good anarchist principle—which even self-styled anarchists seem too defeatist these days to take seriously.

Please excuse this horribly typed letter—I am a busy journalist in one hell of a hurry. All I ask you to remember is—please, those of you like Gibson, have a little more humility, a little more tolerance, a little more charity towards those erring humans outside the anarchist fraternity who don't possess the "Revealed Truth" that the Gibsons of this world think they possess. It is strange that people who have such very accurate and profound insight into the character of others reveal such a total misunderstanding of themselves.

Just for the Record

DEAR EDITOR,

I didn't reply to the two critics of my article on President Kennedy's assassination before, because neither of them seemed to have understood it and I didn't want to waste your space, but it may after all be worth clearing up a few points for the sake of the record.

Firstly, when I said that "we can't condemn someone who goes out and does what we just talk about," I was of course referring to removing rulers, not to killing people. The point is that we say we are for the former and against the latter, but we haven't yet found a way of doing the former without also doing the latter—which was what I said we should learn to do.

Secondly, when I said that President McKinley was killed by an anarchist, I was of course aware that many anarchists have denied that Leon Czolgosz was an anarchist, because the Free Society said five days before the assassination that he was a police spy, and because Walter Channing and Vernon Briggs said afterwards that he suffered from the delusion that he was an anarchist. The point is that many accuse a good anarchist of being a police spy or of suffering from the delusion that he was an anarchist—and who is to say who is an anarchist? I would believe poor mad Czolgosz rather than the respectable apologists for the anarchist image.

Finally, when I wrote my article, I wasn't trying to vilify Kennedy, to glorify assassination, to gain notoriety, or to speak for "anarchism". The point is that anarchism is what anarchists think, and I said what I thought. Milward Casey and John Pilgrim shouldn't have attacked something they couldn't have understood.

N.W.

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Transport in Rio

Continued on page 1

Looking hindsightedly at London, I can see the Corporational disease in transport there, but there with a monopoly. Someone from above decides the shape and size and fittings of the bus—'comfortable' seats, but no thought of the complete discomfort of standing or even sitting in a cramped bus; unwieldy size; bus crews interested in private carve-ups: buses in inseparable trios, and that agonizing 10 m.p.h. crawl at off-peak hours to keep to some Platonic schedule; get on and alight where you're told to; routes decided by a Central office—and so on.

Stemming from this are the attitudes of the work-to-rule: the crews' first sacrifice to their own interests and grievance is the passenger, who is treated as an irritating extraneous burden on the transport service: the passengers have little sympathy for the busmen's case because the busmen are not providing a service anyway, and why should a man keep paying higher fares for an unsatisfactory bargain?

It puzzles me how an anarchist paper can keep writing about an ossified oligarchic system like London Transport without pointing out that no Higher-Wages, no More-Crews, no New Fly-Overs, no Better-Planning can cure there being no real contact between driver and driven; no direct and mutually satisfactory bargain between the individuals who give the service and those who wish to benefit by it.

JOHN ROE.

Not a bad Start!

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EXPENSES: 3 weeks at £70	£210
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Weeks 1—3 (23)	20
	286
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1964 TOTAL TO DATE £59 8 3

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