

FREEDOM

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'When a man wants to murder a tiger, he calls it sport; when the tiger wants to murder him, he calls it ferocity. The distinction between crime and justice is no greater.'
G. B. SHAW

Futile to Vote Labour!

POWER POLITICS & CYPRUS

START AGAIN ICA!

The five unions in the power supply industry have at last named the day for industrial action. From 6 a.m. on March 23rd, a work-to-rule and an overtime ban will come into operation. This decision has been taken after a long series of negotiations with the Electricity Council.

After the "staff status" talks broke down, the unions ignored their three year agreement and are now claiming a 40-hour week, more pay and longer holidays. The Council has refused to consider these claims because they already have a signed agreement with the unions. Under this agreement the 40-hour week (without loss of pay) would be introduced at the end of the three year period in February 1966. The unions now want the 40-hour week by July of next year, the same time as engineers in Germany.

With the announcement of this industrial action, there has come the expected outcry from the papers. Mr. Cooper of the Central Electricity Generating Board has said that cuts of "great magnitude" may be necessary. "It all really depends on the extent to which they are bloody-minded in this". He appealed to the unions not to "put the country in jeopardy". Once again, as in the unofficial work-to-rule (called a go-slow by the papers) last year, the national press has pointed out how the hospitals could be affected by power cuts. It is the general public who will suffer, say the papers.

We had all this last year, when the union leaders joined in the attack on the unofficial action. At that time, workers backing the work-to-rule put in extra hours without pay to ensure that certain hospitals weren't affected. Now the unions have also said that these essential services will be maintained wherever possible. The Electricity Generating Board have said that the unions could not decide which services were to be maintained and where cuts were to be made. They even pointed out that they (the Board) could not to any great extent either. If this rubbish is true, then who makes the decisions or does the power just go out on its

WORK-TO-RULE IN POWER INDUSTRY - FOR WORKERS BENEFIT, or UNIONS?

own accord? Come off it Mr. Cooper! It is the Electricity Board who decides where the power is to go and if the power going to a hospital is cut, rather than that going to a factory, then it is their choice and their decision.

Another thing that has been used to attack the work-to-rule is its effect on maintenance as this might bring about a shortage of working machinery and might mean that demands for electricity next winter could not be met.

Last September we were warned by the Electricity Board (see FREEDOM Vol. 24, No. 31: Power Cuts. Who is to Blame?) that power cuts would be made if this winter proved to be as bad as the previous one. As things turned out, it was not and the Electricity Board did not have to make any cuts. But with the ever increasing demand for more electrical power, the Board is finding it harder to cope. Their plans for improved generating plant and more power stations are way behind the needs of the community.

The five unions, representing 130,000 men have been far from united over the issue of industrial action. The Electrical Trades Union, with about 40,000 members in the industry, was the first to break the three year agreement and said that if necessary, it would take action alone. Later on the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the National Union of Firemen, Mechanics, and Electrical Workers followed the E.T.U. The two general unions were very reluctant and in fact Mr. Jack Cooper, head of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, said they were against industrial action. The other union, the Transport and General Workers Union, said they will take action only if all five unions are agreed on it.

The N.U.G.M.W. has the largest membership among the power workers and there is a great deal of competition among the unions for members. Probably part of the reason for the reluctance of the two general unions stems from the fact that a section of the pay claim concerns an increased differential for craftsmen. These two unions share six votes and the three craft unions share the other six on the joint negotiating board. The N.U.F.M.E.W. is the only union that is based on the industry, but in reality it is affiliated to and forms part of the T.G.W.U.

All the leaders of the unions are well aware of this discontent among their rank and file. They are also aware that the National Shop Stewards Movement

in the industry might organise unofficial action if the unions themselves do not. This, perhaps, is the reason why there has been so much militant talk of action during the negotiations, while all the time, the action which has been needed has always been put off until a later date. For the now proposed work-to-rule and overtime ban could have been more effective if taken up earlier during the colder weather.

Mr. Tudor of the N.U.F.M.E.W. has said that the dispute would be organised in such a way that the unions would keep control. They would be running things and they would not be "leaving it to the shop stewards". The unions have often tried to smash the shop stewards movement in the industry, the

E.T.U.'s expulsion of Bro. Doyle being only one case. But if any real gains are to be made, it will have to come through the power workers themselves and if the union leaders are to run the show, what control are the rank and file going to have? These union bureaucrats must have some deals up their sleeves. The "staff status" could be brought in again, with the offer of a little more on the proposed annual salary, or a cut of one hour instead of the pay award which is due to them next February.

All the time the unions are after a more powerful position within the industry for themselves. The two largest, the E.T.U. and N.U.G.M.W. see the possibility of taking over all the members and becoming the one and only union for the industry. This would not alter things very much for the rank and file. What is needed is unity among the members of the different unions on the job. If the unions try to back out without gaining the demands, or at anytime trying to make a compromise of their own, then the rank and file must carry on by themselves, organising at shop-floor level.
P.T.

ENEMIES OF THE STATE

Thugs, Schoolkids & Tories

(From our Correspondent)

SALISBURY 3.3.64.
THE equivalent of South Africa's 90-day detention without trial is in full swing in Southern Rhodesia with nearly 100 "thugs" detained at the Wha Wha camp near Gwelo. The label "thug" has been applied by Mr. Dupont, the Minister of Law and Order who has declared his intention to stamp out tuggery. It has been suggested that some of those detained are innocent of any crime and that Dupont has detained them in order to weaken the African nationalists.

This writer has heard it suggested that the reason for less intimidation in the townships, which has followed the arrests, is not due to the fact that those bent on violence have been whisked away, but due to the fact that the violent intimidators are now rather hesitant in joining the others in Wha Wha.

If Mr. Dupont thinks his detentions will solve his problems he shows it in a peculiar way. Last Friday, February 28th, he warned that the law was going to deal with all those who attended illegal gatherings. He complained that school-children were being influenced by mysterious influences and continued:

"This shows that this is merely another phase in the war against law and order by those wishing to create anarchy and chaos in this country." He claimed that certain organisations and people had no intention of acting constitutionally—although he did not say whether the Government of which he is a member was one of these organisations—and he said that he had "grave doubts as to whether they—these unconstitutionals—have any political aims at all beyond the creation of a state of anarchy and misery for their fellow countrymen and particularly the African". Mr. Dupont denounced agitators "paid and directed by external influences" whom he described as "evil men who have descended to the depths of depravity."

The school-children whom Mr. Dupont considers were used by these "influences" were in fact demonstrating at Bulawayo for a place at a school—any school—and they were dispersed with tear gas and dogs. The dogs injured several of the children.

This week children in Salisbury have been protesting against newly imposed school fees. Thousands of children in the townships have been on strike and many Government schools have been empty. The only school functioning in Highfield Township is a non-government Community School which has had to charge fees all along. According to an article in the "Central African Examiner", "The European pays £9 per

annum for his child's primary education which costs the country roughly £40 p.a.; the African pays £3 per annum on average for education which costs £8 per annum. In 1962 the average SR European wage-earner drew a salary of about £1,200. In 1962 the African wage-earner, with a larger family, earned £101." These facts surely speak for themselves and one is glad to see that even if S. Rhodesian African politicians are somewhat unaware of where the shoe pinches, the African kids are not.

An amusing discourse has livened the lives of those who follow the news in this part of the world. A Conservative MP mentioned words it is rumoured may well be seditious in this country, namely "majority rule". He was Mr. H. Berkeley. At any rate, Lieut.-Col. H. D. Tanner, a member of the Rhodesian Front called for Berkeley's deportation from the country. Berkeley replied that the suggestion was "grotesque impertinence", and said further that he hoped

"the Prime Minister (the S. Rhodesian one) and his Government will grow up and act in a responsible manner." At which Tanner replied: "If I'd had my way I would have run him out of S. Rhodesia by the seat of his pants immediately he arrived."

Another good laugh was provided by the first reading of the Miscellaneous Offences Bill in the S. Rhodesian Parliament. Offences which will lead to a £25 fine include appearing in a public place "without wearing such articles of clothing as decency, custom or circumstances require", or "mischievously ringing bells, playing radios in public, knocking at doors, using catapults and giving false alarms of fires."

Flying kites or model aeroplanes to the annoyance of the public, skating in the street, begging without permission or letting loose a ferocious dog will also become punishable offences. It is not thought that the last item will be well received by the police force.

No more freedom for Student-Teachers?

IN the *Times Educational Supplement*, 21 Feb., David Jordan, principal of Dudley Training College, airs his views on the current controversy over the rights to sexual freedom of students at University and teacher-training colleges, started by a recent motion by an Oxford student body.

Mr. Jordan is clearly worried by the natural desire of students to be free to entertain privately whomsoever they choose—even including 'members of the opposite sex'—in their own study-bedrooms, for which latter crime many students at present could be 'sent down'.

He reports that 'Many principals and members of college staffs are not happy about the present trend. They feel a sense of responsibility about the conduct of their colleges. They believe that it is not sensible to leave the fashioning of the community style of life to succeeding generations of 18-year-old students. Most of these leave home for the first time when they come to college. They find the necessary adjustments a considerable personal strain.'

Treasured beliefs are challenged, established habits of life are questioned . . . they have a personal freedom unknown before and unlikely to be experienced after leaving college . . . (!).

'All transition period are difficult . . . To make the change intentionally violent

does not seem sensible,' etc. So he seeks to justify his fears of freedom. He admits that 'Nobody can be made moral by regulation', but adds, 'but particular arrangements within living units can make the maintenance of good moral standards easier or more difficult.'

The A.G.M. of the Students' Association of his own college dared pass a mild motion 'that students should be allowed some opportunity for meeting members of the opposite sex in privacy', i.e. in their study-bedrooms, we assume, in response to which the resident staff declared their unanimous opposition, some rationalising that it might interfere with serious study, or lead to 'a tradition that to be "with it" you must entertain a man or woman in your study-bedroom.'

So they sought allies. A circular was sent to the students' parents, which brought a response in a few days of 287 replies to 297 circulars.

Of these, 'the parents of 180 women and 81 men, 261 in all gave an unequivocal "no" to bedroom visits. Only 17—the parents of 10 women and 7 men—gave an unhesitating "yes". Seven other parents said "yes" with considerable limitations, two were neutral.'

So it seems our future teachers are not going to be trusted to form their own sexual morality and act on it.

International Sub-Committee's Meeting on Cyprus

Last Sunday the International Sub-Committee of the Committee of 100 took the initiative, lacking up until now, in calling an emergency meeting on Cyprus, to see what sort of agreement could be reached on action to be taken by the ordinary people of Cyprus.

The meeting was very well attended, with representatives from both Greek and Turkish organisations in this country, the Committee of 100, the War Resisters International, the Peace Pledge Union and other peace organisations.

There was considerable discussion on the background to the present situation in Cyprus. Greece, Turkey and Britain

all came in for a share of the blame. E.O.K.A., the "Union with Greece" organisation and the Turkish Cypriot organisation T.M.T., were both criticised for the terror and bloodshed they had caused.

There was often heated discussion between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, but it was pointed out by other people at the meeting, that we were not concerned with who was to blame but more with the preventing of any more blood being shed, whether it was Greek or Turkish.

Agreement was finally reached on a number of recommendations for the settlement of the dispute. These have been incorporated into a joint statement to be issued to the press and are as follows:—

- (1) That all Cypriots, including the police, be urged to lay down their arms.
- (2) That Greeks and Turks urge their compatriots to lay down their arms.
- (3) That culturally and historically there will always be Greeks and Turks, but that politically they will have to be Cypriots.
- (4) In the context of Clause 1, Greece, Turkey and Great Britain renounce the Treaty rights obligations to intervene in Cyprus, involving the withdrawal of bases and that the two power blocks respect neutrality.
- (5) That a committee be formed to act on these points.
- (6) That we try to send people to Cyprus to help carry out these proposals.

P.T.

ANARCHY 37: Symposium on 'Why I Won't Vote!'

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The Futility of voting Labour-1

IT is significant that only the enemies of the Labour Party (e.g. the *Daily Express*) consistently call them 'Socialists'. They themselves shy off the title. Indeed it would seem that if it was 'Socialism' (whatever that is), one wanted to see in practice, the Labour Party would be the last party to vote for. But the whole word socialism is so nebulous, ranging from the National Socialism of Roehm and the Strasser brothers to the Socialist nationalism of Harold Wilson's battleship diplomacy. The word 'Socialism' once had a meaning, indeed Oscar Wilde and many others equated it with anarchism, but that was before the advent of the Labour Party and it seems that the word 'socialism' has now become an evocative, to use Stuart Chase's expression, to be replaced by 'blah-blah-blah'.

It is impossible to judge the Labour Party except by their deeds, for to their words no one can take exception. An analysis of their deeds when in office (1945-51) has been published by the S.W.F. so this is intended as supplementary material.

Unlike Conservative critics we cannot criticize the Labour Party for being Socialists (whatever that means). Nor can we entirely saddle the Labour government with the 'austerity' consequent upon the 1939-45 war. However their participation in the coalition government of 1941-45 does not entirely acquit them of responsibility for some of the more atrocious and iniquitous happenings of that time.

Most of the social welfare legislation passed by the Labour government was foreshadowed by the Beveridge plan (a Liberal working for a coalition government) the Family Allowances Act was

pre-1945, so was the Education Act; when the Labour Party took office they had appointed no Housing minister, this was explicable because they had no prospect of building houses. All the boasted measures of nationalization were accompanied with compensation for the former owners—Sir Alec Douglas Home is one of the beneficiaries. The interest payable on these and other loans crippled all the social services. The Beveridge scheme was estimated to pay its own way eventually, the fragments put into practice were so distorted that even Aneurin Bevan resigned in disgust. It has been calculated that any insurance company would guarantee all 'welfare' benefits now granted on a premium equal to present weekly contributions.

The State opening of Parliament coincided with the surrender of Japan. The first bill discussed was, by custom, a bill for the suppression of outlaws.

The surrender of Japan was secured, as we were led to believe, by the dropping of the atom-bomb. It has now been revealed that Japanese surrender-terms had been offered before the bomb but the Allied policy of 'unconditional surrender' made the bomb inevitable. Mr. Attlee, the Labour Prime Minister was at that time in the coalition cabinet and knew of the bomb. Mr. George Strauss, Minister of Supply in the Labour Government was responsible for manufacture of the British bomb.

The Labour Government during its term of office proceeded with research and development of the hydrogen bomb.

Mr. Attlee was present at the Potsdam conference in place of Mr. Churchill. What happened at this conference has never fully been revealed but Stalin used it to force recognition of the Polish Lublin government and acceptance of the Oder-Neisse line. As a consequence of this the London Polish government proceeded to Warsaw for talks and were promptly arrested and put on trial. The 'rectification' of the boundary meant the wholesale eviction of populations under appalling conditions. True these were Germans but did it merit this? "In the woods around Berlin corpses are hanging from the trees. Other men, women and children throw themselves in the rivers. Hundreds of corpses are continually drifting down the rivers Elbe and Oder. All the roads leading to Berlin are crowded with exiles. Thousands fall exhausted at the roadsides. Children may be seen trudging along pathetically without their parents. Hundreds of people are dying daily beside the roads from hunger and disease." Mr. Attlee replied to a Church Deputation "that the particular problem of German refugees from Eastern Europe was not one for which

*Rev. Henry Carter: "New Leader 15/9/45.

His Majesty's Government were in any way responsible." This it was explained was because 'the Potsdam declaration called for humane treatment of expelled Germans'.

The first post-war set-up of the victorious powers was the United Nations. Unlike the 'thieves' kitchen' (The League of Nations as described by Lenin) it was weighted heavily in favour of the Great Powers; some of whom quarrelled, and some of whom became no longer great. Powers of veto were vested in the great powers and the membership was deliberately gerrymandered to give extra seats to the Soviet Union. These chickens came home to roost eventually but the whole brood was most carefully nurtured by the Labour Government.

To turn from world affairs and that brave new world which bore a suspicious resemblance (with some help from Labour statesmen) to the sad old one. The Labour government functioned at home with the full benefit of 227 of the 687 wartime regulations. They added these further ones of their own, for example:—tightening up the net of conscription, retaining by industrial conscription nurses in mental hospitals.

The Labour Government cheerfully employed the slave labour of prisoners of war for many months for the labours of Britain's 'socialist' reconstruction. It need hardly be said that the Labour Government, with the resources of conscript and P.O.W labour went strike-breaking with the self-righteous zeal that only a dedicated 'socialist' could practice. A Tory would blush at such an act, knowing he was only defending dividends, the 'socialists' erected smoke screens of idealistic self-justification.

The choice of which camp Britain should serve was made fairly early in

the career of the Labour Government when they boddowed one thousand million pounds from the USA. This gave the US an interest in our future; it may be that it meant that the US was in our power, as in a measure we all take interest in the fate of our debtors. Perhaps Britain was not viable as an independent nation but the attempt seems never to have been made even in the crude manner of smaller nations who cheerfully 'balance both ends against the middle' and take whatever Russian and America offer. The "Third Camp" may be a radical's dream but the Labour Government never seemed to even dream it. It played as if Britain was still a major world power; Mr. Wilson has the same Walter Mitty repertoire. In quest of world power the Labour Government jumped expenditure on armaments from £3,600,000,000 to £4,700,000,000 over a period of three years. "This," said Mr. Attlee, "represents the maximum that we can do . . . without resorting to the drastic expedients of a war economy." He was then speaking of the three thousand, six hundred million figure. Twenty weeks later (Jan. 1951) he raised it to the four thousand, seven hundred million figure.

On the part of the Labour Government there was no radical departure from the foreign policy set down by their Tory predecessors.

Indeed, a Labour Government was even more irksome to the Soviet Union, for instead of playing 'real-politik' as Tories would, they put over their brand of socialism which masked the same power politics whilst offering an alternative progressivism. The Labour Government was utterly convinced of their own rectitude and never allowed doubt to creep in. JACK ROBINSON.

(To be continued)

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Child-raising and the State

STATES have a stake in child-raising. If war be the state's "health"—and needed an uninterrupted supply of "cannon fodder"—these must be made, molded not from the time of army induction, nor from high school days, nor even grade school, but from the cradle. Freud's discovery of a personality laid down in the first three or so years of life is not missed by the state (in the same way it's not missed by the catholic church).

The state doesn't, of course, raise children directly. It can't, at least not yet, at least not in a Western culture whose basic social unit is the "biological" family. Hence it (the state) needs agents.

And what better agents than the family heads themselves? So mom and dad, for the all-important task of keeping the state alive and in good health, are "recruited".

Thus parents—today more than ever—are state agents, in the same vein, and to no lesser degree, than Western medieval parents were Roman church agents. (And it makes historical sense, the diminishing of supernatural religion being commensurately replaced—the vacuum filled—by the secular religion of nationalism).

Parents are state agents *par excellence*. The child, first of all (let's begin from rock bottom), is nowadays—thanks to his parents—generally born in a place called hospital, a place where, mirroring the state itself, depersonalization is the guiding star, a place where the infant, from the very moment of birth, is snatched from his mother to take his place as one in a neat row of cribs behind a glass wall—there, for some five days,¹ left in the care of those who can best be described in terms of Max Weber's "spirit of formalistic impersonality," left, in the name of science and sanitation, to cry it out.

Hence discipline—baby's very first experience—the discipline of being torn away from his (to borrow from Erich Fromm) "food . . . love . . . warmth . . . earth . . ." ² For 'babies', as the

head of one of England's largest children's hospitals tells us,

'need discipline . . . must not be picked up and fussed over as soon as they bawl.'³

Which discipline coincides well with state ends and needs. For to be separated from his mother at this tender age, though it might seem to instill a sense of independence (and this is what most parents think), does actually the opposite, instills *dependence*—from the fright, the separation-anxiety, the (as Sydney J. Harris comments in an article "Are Hospital Rules Driving Babies Crazy?") "fear and lonesomeness"⁴—and what else but a spirit of dependence (on itself) does the state want?

But let's leave the hospital world. We won't dwell on other of its phenomena—like mom, while in labour, being drugged into a stupor (though often at her own request)—and cut—and torn away from spouse. (The latter we may find at a place called "father's waiting room"—assured every three or four hours that "Everything is just fine Mr. —. Shes doing very well!").

So baby is taken home—where the discipline goes on—all of course for his own good, his own—a la the neo-victorianism—future independence, self reliance, so he'll be able, when he grows up, to stand on his own two feet, yet only, like the separation-anxiety of the hospital, to ensure in later years the monumental dependence. For if love is withheld, the consequence can only be, from feelings of insecurity and abject worthlessness, a state of dependence and submissiveness.

And love is withheld as a matter of course—*cultural* course. Love, yes, but careful lest it be unlimited. Love-but-not-too-much-of-it. For how would he ever stand on his own two feet? So if he cries, don't (as we don't in the hospital) fondle him too much—or walk him to and fro. This, surely, would "spoil" him, would be the starting point for his becoming a "sissy". "Sissies"

NOTES

- ¹ So-called rooming-in—in so-called progressive hospitals—though recognizing the barbarism of the five-day separation of mother and child, still insists on a 24- to 48-hour separation.
- ² *The Sane Society*, p. 39.
- ³ The hospital head, Dr. David Lawson; the place, Queen Mary's Hospital in Carshalton, Surrey. *The Detroit Free Press*, *Parade* magazine, November 25, 1862, p. 19.
- ⁴ *The Detroit Free Press*, June 21, 1960, p. 8.
- ⁵ It is true that among working class elements the yen for cleanliness and organization is not of the middle class obsessive-compulsive type. But with

and future solidaring don't of course mix. (Better, if he cries, feed him! This can take the place of love—which accounts for so many Western grown-ups seeking love in eats, especially sweets—an endless search for mama!).

Next on the agenda—toilet-training. Notwithstanding a multiplicity of psychoanalytic urgings that the child learn by imitation, curiosity—meaning the wetting or soiling of diapers or trousers be met with patience and understanding—so that the learning be gradual and non-traumatic—all this, to a straightlaced, feces-fearing mother, is hardly the way. The toilet he must use—now!—certainly by the time he's two—that's what toilets are for!—even if after each meal he's suddenly catapulted onto it—and forced to sit there—tears or no.

It's not long before, in this clean-crazy club, he's a member-in-good-standing. He might rebel by "forgetting" to make use of the toilet, or by bed-wetting. But these last-ditch stands are soon beaten down. He will be neat, immaculate, will be organized—and bourgeois.⁵

And so he will be. *Duty* is what he now knows best of all—duty to mom, to abstract god, to finally abstract society, or nation-state—the kind of duty traceable ultimately to a toilet-howl totalitarianism.

—traceable likewise—as he gets past the anal-stage brainwash—to the sex-

muzzling—or never must he play with himself! Only monkeys do such things. Naturally we're more moral than monkeys—than any other beast—than, what finally follows, other of the homo sapiens, especially those of some immoral nation or ideology.

The sex-muzzling goes on—on into adolescence—while duty (*a la* Wilhelm Reich) gets more potent—as it absorbs the sex-potency. (Though I don't wish to make too much of the sex-taboo and Reich's theories, since the basic thing in childhood would seem rather—as Ian Suttie finds [*The Origins of Love and Hate*])—not sex, but love—unconditional acceptance—non-rejection—not having the ego smashed. Basic, then, would be the love-taboo, Suttie's "Taboo on Tenderness.")

Enough, I think, has been shown how today's parent, more than at any other time in modern Western history plays into the hands of that congealed abstraction of human relations we call the state, plays its tune. Main melody is that the boy never be effeminate, never a "sissy". (Girls are taught their own variation of the tune, which I'll leave beyond the scope of this theme). Not long a baby and he's a "boy"; not long a boy and he's a "little man". . . . to make "Junior" a little man," notes Ashley Montague, is of special concern in middle class culture, to make the lad run better, skate better, get better marks, eat better, get there faster than anybody else.

You have to get ahead. . . . Continued on page 4

FILM REVIEW

DESPAIR ?

LE JOLI MAI. (Paris-Pullman).

THIS film made a very deep impression on me. It is a production of the group Cinéma-Verité, the second of its kind, and simply presents a handful of Parisians and lets them talk about their lives and what is important to them just now.

I have not seen very much television. But I understand that interviewing plays and important part in its presentations. Judging from the little I have seen, there could not be a greater difference than that between this film and the interviews put out on television. First of all, there is no personality cult of the interviewer, and in fact none of the people making the film are seen, although their voices are heard quietly. No-one is setting out to investigate a "problem" which had been got up by the press or political personalities. Nor are the people interviewed asked to give opinions in the way interviewers require in the mass media (which of course includes most cinema), where they are really being asked which newspaper they take their "opinions" from.

Among the people who appear are a workman who is also an abstract painter, a housewife who has just got a new house, a couple deeply in love, a man who became a factory worker and trade unionist as a worker priest, and when forced by the church to choose between it and the class struggle, chose to stay on in the factory with his comrades, a student from Dahomey and a young Algerian worker who just talk about their experiences of the French and life in France. If one point was quietly put up by the interviewer, it was why people were not interested in politics. It left a consciousness of an anarchist dilemma. We want people to be apathetic to the claims of politicians for support, and to realise the supreme unimportance of party politics. At the same time we share the despair of the group making the film, that humanity, and the natural goodness of people in all sorts of ways, does not somehow lead to a commitment to get rid of the political system and organise social relations themselves. P.H.

POWER POLITICS AND CYPRUS

BY the time this article appears the Cyprus situation may have undergone considerable changes. We have, unfortunately, no inside information about the actual relations between Greeks and Turks in Cyprus, but the British, American and United Nations contributions to the problem provide plenty of food for thought, and indications about the usefulness of international police forces, the solution to the world's problem put forward by liberals, supporters of U.N.A., etc.

We have no detailed information about the reasons why Greeks and Turks cannot live together peacefully, but nor it appears has anyone else (or if they have it has not been thought worth prominent discussion). The only contributions to discussion of this problem that have appeared in the press have been concerned with administrative and constitutional matters; the fact that in most branches of the civil service fixed proportions of each group must be employed and important posts duplicated. This in itself is a symptom of what anarchists need to overcome in our present society, the fact that people can only conceive problems and their solutions in terms of an authoritarian structure. While a free society would no doubt evolve some kind of accepted procedure for organisation, and possibly people who would devote much of their time to matters corresponding to "administration", in our society today the very existence of constitutions and civil services, which do not in any way spring from the needs of the people but are imposed on them in the interests of the ruling class, form a barrier to the solution of conflicts, and moreover, as in Cyprus, inflame human and communal irritations to the stage of armed civil war and international intervention.

What has become obvious is that international intervention of any kind does not solve or even reduce the problem. The truce imposed by the British Army has now given the Greeks time to stock up their arms and by forcibly separating the two sides ensures that when the clashes do occur they will be even more violent than otherwise. The evidence of India and Palestine is that even a very long period of violent "pacification" by an occupying power does nothing to remove conflicts between different national groups, although they may be temporarily concealed by mutual hatred of their invaders.

It should be clear to everyone that whatever international intervention does take place, it is not directed to solving the problems of the Cypriots. If that were a reason for despatching United Nations or British soldiers, why was there no intervention in Rwanda to stop the recent wave of massacres? The reason is that those events did not disturb the strategic plans of any of the great powers, and so far as the cabinets of the world were concerned they could go on killing each other. On the other hand, Cyprus is important as a base for N.A.T.O., and the

British and American governments are only interested in imposing a solution, however unwanted and against the interests of the people on whom it is imposed, that will preserve the "peace" sufficiently well not to interfere with the efficiency of the base, and will give the Greek and Turkish governments enough satisfaction to prevent their dispute weakening N.A.T.O. And N.A.T.O. is supposed to exist to keep peace in the world!

We would like to pose the events in Cyprus as a problem to all those who believe that world government or an international force under the control of the United Nations would solve the real problems caused by these disputes. For the United Nations is itself just an organisation which has grown out of the struggle between States and groups of States to rule over various parts of the world. An international organisation to solve problems would imply the existence of governments which did not want to rule and dominate, who did not seize every international dispute as a means of furthering their own ends, which is a contradiction in terms. Furthermore, since the problems which arise are invariably provoked and inflamed by government, the real solutions are unlikely to be approved of by the states involved in the international organisation because they would be contrary to their interests. If the Cypriots really did sort out their communal troubles and decided to run their island for themselves, the big losers would be the Turkish and Greek governments, and the British American and Russian politicians.

Needless to say, the British press has contributed its usual hypocrisy to the situation. The Conservative minister Mr. Sandys said that the British troops had suffered too many indignities and could not go on much longer, a cry which was taken up by the *Daily Express*. Why had they not thought about the indignities and sufferings the soldiers had to put up with during the years of British occupation of Cyprus, or for that matter when they were occupying Kenya or Palestine? At that time the government thought that it was important to maintain military control and it did not matter if a few soldiers were killed by the resistance movement. (This is not to say that the government was behaving rationally in trying to hold on to military power, even by its own standards, for power does not convey infallibility). One can be equally sure that if the British forces were clearly fighting for something that was in the general interests of the capitalist world, like the defence of the Fascist government of South Korea, then the press and political leaders, of all parties would be unanimous in its support, even if it was carried out under the wing of the United Nations.

The power struggles of governments, united or divided, have never brought anything but tragedy to the people of the world. P.H.

CARRIED IN an oak coffin, draped with a velvet pall there was carried to his resting place a loyal public servant. His coffin bore many floral tributes. He had worked for sixteen years and had a grant from the treasury. It was the Home Office cat, Peter. King Paul of Greece was also buried. . . .

A CAESARIAN operation was performed upon a budgerigar whose egg was too large. The Queen gave birth to her third son, aided by five doctors. Hugh Delargy in the *Sunday Citizen* commented that whilst BBC TV was stating that crowds of people had been stopping all day long to read the bulletin on Buckingham Palace railings he could see that no-one passing by stopped to read it whilst he was there. . . .

"NEWSWEEK" RAN a feature on "Poverty USA". On any given day 430,000 men, women and children live on relief in New York City. Eight million Americans are receiving public and half of all Negro farm families in the South live on less than \$1,200 a year (£400) American Indians on reservations have a death rate three times that of the U.S. average. At 11 a.m. in San Francisco, 1,500 people line up at a Catholic charity for a free hot lunch. It has been estimated that twenty million Americans live on a bare subsistence level.

JAMES HOFFA, president of the teamsters union of the U.S. was sentenced to eight years in prison and a fine of \$10,000 for trying to bribe a Federal Court jury. His union, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers is the largest in the world, claiming 1,720,000 members. Hoffa has a salary of about \$60,000 a year with an unlimited expense account. He has never denied that some of his associates have prison records, "I never turn my back on anybody," he once said. And of his many critics he said, "I don't care what they say. Jimmy Hoffa can take care of himself." Mr. Frank Haxell, late secretary to the ETU, agreed to repay £2,000 to the union, being part of profits in the sale of a house on which the union had spent a large sum in building works. At the union's conference at Bridlington in 1959, Mr. Haxell said, "Not one penny of the union's funds has been used in costs involved with either this property, its repair, building of garages or decorations." In court last week Mr. Haxell stated, "I now find it necessary to correct what I said and to state to my deep regret that the funds and labour of the Union had in fact been involved

THE intellectual has always derived the same vicarious excitement from acts of planned violence as his more earthy brethren but unlike the man who openly finds his pleasure in the area of entertainment that panders to his bloodlust, the intellectual must rationalize and justify his participation at the slaughter either by turning the whole messy business into a cult or claiming that he is there merely to act as a silent witness to the horror of the moment. Having shown their pink palms in protest the way is then open for an hour's enjoyment of "martyrs, battles, catastrophes, murder and rape". The Institute of Contemporary Arts from their hiding place at 17 Dover Street, W.1. has arranged an esoteric Chamber of Horrors that should suit the most jaded palate.

Digests and anthologies have always been the speciality (and to some, the bane) of this consciously avant garde gallery and given a sack full of reproductions they will attempt to prove any title you care to dream up. The present exhibition "Study for an Exhibition of Violence in Contemporary Art" consists in the main of photographs and magazine reproductions with a smattering of original works to act as an anchor for the whole and having said that there is little more that could be added. Roland Penrose, a wealthy dilettante and policy maker for the ICA, in his catalogue preface claims that with the exception of the Impressionist period all art is a record of violence and having dismissed the whole of Hellenic sculpture and medieval Mariolatry painting in two lines he goes on to assert that as the artist becomes more fascinated with the taste for violence so they have devised new and more violent means of expressing the angst in which we live. "If he burns, slashes, crushes, treads into the earth or blows up his own creations, the artist does so in order to convey to us not only his inner turmoil but also his delight in a wilful and sometimes exuberant violation of inertia". The baker that backed the morning bread may for all we know have kneaded the dough while in a foaming rage and he may have added the crosses to the hot



to a substantial extent in the repair and improvement of 57, Clarence Road." (The aforesaid house). . . .

"KOMMUNIST" THE journal of the Soviet Communist Party complained of time lost by workers in attending factory meetings. In Karaganda, for example, Communist Party, trade union and Komsomol office-holders spent up to a quarter of their working time at meetings and consultations.

HUNDREDS OF people gathered outside the headquarters of the single Spanish trade union organization shouting "we want free unions". They threw bottles and other objects at the headquarters where delegates were discussing a draft proposal calling for greater powers and status. 2,000 Spanish students staged a sit-down strike in Madrid after the police prohibited a speech by a professor known to have Socialist sympathies. General Franco called off his visit to the trade union headquarters where he was to have addressed the congress. . . .

THE A.E.U.'S SHEFFIELD district committee which backs financially the eight-week-old strike at Raleigh Industries, Nottingham has refused to order its members at Joseph Thompson tool manufacturers to "black" work for Raleigh. According to the *Daily Telegraph* the committee is dominated by Communists. An A.E.U. official said, "Workmen at Thompson's would only have jeopardised their jobs and not achieved a thing for the union's members at Raleigh". The French Communist Party has withdrawn candidates in some districts for local elections and told its members to support Right Wing candidates in several areas. Signor Luigi Longo, deputy secretary of the Italian Communist Party, called for more decentralization of the party with more say for local federations. He said, "The Italian Communist Party

must have great capacity for analysis and renewal. This is only possible if we adhere completely to the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism. But we reject a 'static conception' of Marxism-Leninism as held by the Chinese. The East German authorities ordered the immediate dismissal of Professor Robert Havemann from his post as director of the Chemistry Institute at Humboldt University. This action was taken because he had proved himself unworthy of trust by slandering East German workers and the power of the peasants. He had given an interview in a West German newspaper in which he said that East Germans needed more freedom of discussion in order to improve the Communist system. . . .

TERRY CHANDLER'S right to appeal to the House of Lords was denied, but he is being sponsored for a candidature in the House of Commons for Bermondsey by the London Workers Association. It is improbable that he will be free to take his seat should he be elected but it is also unlikely that he would take his seat as a manifesto says: "He has no parliamentary ambitions, believing with us [The London Workers' Association] that Parliament corrupts working class representatives who go there." Chance is a fine thing however! . . .

MR. ROBERT MELLISH, Labour M.P. commenting on CND's questionnaire to general election candidates said, refusing to answer the questions "The whole thing is thoroughly objectionable . . . a real cheek . . . an imposition". Mr. Harold Wilson accused Mr. Peter Griffiths, Conservative candidate for Smethwick of saying that the slogan "If you want a nigger for a neighbour vote Labour" was "a manifestation of popular feeling". Mr. George Brown said that Labour would fight distortion, observing no more rules than the Conservatives wanted to observe. Labour would fight back with whatever weapons "they want to use". . . .

ACCORDING TO SANITY. A Dr. Robert Greene, a London University psychology lecturer, speaking at a YCND day school said that the CND had to give materialist alternatives to the bomb like free television, to combat the feeling of safety under the shadow of nuclear arms which political parties exploit. Members of the American Committee of Public Conscience picketed on Madison Avenue, the heart of the advertising business "to point up the responsibility of Madison Avenue for dishonest and/or dangerous advertising, as in the case

Continued on page 4

ROUND THE GALLERIES

START AGAIN ICA!

cross buns with the same knife that he slaughtered his wife, but for us the spectator it is still a placid lump of baked dough that lies on our board and all the extremes of emotion will never turn a brush-mark from being anything other than a coloured smear, for the physical act of the artist cannot be transferred to the spectator and when the artist deliberately chooses to divorce himself from the elementary means of communication he leaves the field to the philistines to read into his work anything they wish to.

This exhibition at the ICA is a continuation of the gallery's study of violence and it would appear, as has happened so many times before, that facts are bent to fit theories not from any ulterior motive but because a series of fine-sounding titles are assembled and the material to justify the title is not available or those responsible simply do not know what they are looking for.

Too, too often they associate violence with movement seemingly not realizing that the latter can be the quintessence of tranquility with the result that Jackson Pollock shares the bill with Van Gogh's free-flowing landscapes and René Magritte's "The Rape" is used both as an object lesson on "Symbolic Violence" and at the far end of the gallery as an image of "SEX". Too often one feels that those responsible for this arrangement have given the most superficial glances at the mass of bumph that passed through their hands and the public would have been better served if they had been allowed to do their own interpreting. There is the panel labelled "Violence as a Weapon" and subtitled "Anti-society" that contains Ben Shahn's drawing of Sacco and

Vanzetti, and one must ask of the ICA who is condemning who when these two murdered men share a panel with Mastroianni's "Hiroshima" when by all the rules of logic Truman and Churchill should claim the place on the panel given to them. Panel 25 is given over to ANARCHY and Antonio Saura's fluid, semi-abstract portrait of Brigitte Bardot forms one of the seven exhibits on that board. I asked those in authority if not in charge why a sprawling mess of paint by Karel and Davie over the titles "Red Nude" and "Lush Life" could qualify as Direct Expression while Brigitte Bardot was used to illustrate anarchy and though the gallery guardian attempted to explain it away he was finally forced to dismiss the whole thing with a shrug of the shoulders and a wry smile. This is the fault that runs throughout this collection of works that they have been labelled without thought merely for effect. Picasso's "Guernica" shares the Anti-war panel with Henry Moore's "Woman seated in the underground, 1940", yet who could claim that these were anti-war protests. Did Picasso oppose the idea of war when he created his brilliant recruiting poster and the answer is no, for this was a cry of protest at the evil perpetrated by the Spanish Church and State upon the people of Spain. A poster from an artist who took his part in calling upon the world to bear arms in defence of an ideology. And Moore's "Woman seated in the underground"? Like the helpless victim killed by the passing car, the alcoholic dying in the gutters of Skid Row and the private soldier dying in the dust, they are considered as an unfortunate end-product of a necessary way of life. They protest nothing but their own inability to come to terms with a society unfit to come to terms with. They are the necessary evil that the technical society and its military bully boys accept as sympathetically expendable and as such they are anti-nothing in their misery. As for the Institute of Contemporary Arts, I suggest they take the whole exhibition down and start again.

ARTHUR MOYSE

ENERGY, ENTHUSIASM AND MONEY ARE REQUIRED FOR THE ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

International Notes

AT the end of last week the last four Spanish libertarians detained in prison by the French police were released, under conditions of forced residence in the localities where they had worked before arrest. The comrades, who had not been charged with any illegal activities, had been held in prison since September.

A Committee for Free Spain has been launched by the French anarchist Louis Lecoin, editor of the monthly *Liberté*. A meeting was held in Paris on 13th March, and will be followed by others in Bordeaux, St. Etienne and Toulouse. A large poster has been produced and posted widely in Paris and provincial towns, despite the fact that the Paris police have been systematically removing it. Leaflets have also been produced in support of the campaign.

Demonstrations and protest meetings have been held in France and throughout Belgium against moves to extradite Francisco Abarca, a young Spaniard who is being held by the Belgian police accused of being involved in planting bombs on aeroplanes in Switzerland.

It is proposed to hold an International Anarchist conference in Germany, from 25th to 29th July this year. It will be at the "Freundschaftshaus", Bückeberg near Hanover, and the initiative is being taken by the Dutch and German anarchists.

URGENT

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Stirner & Marriage

DEAR COMRADES,

S. E. Parker says that not only Stirner but also Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Tolstoy and Kropotkin married. It looks as if anarchists have a bad record in this matter! European society is particularly insistent on the observance of its sexual code, while it will let other divergencies go, provided they do not cause too much nuisance.

Godwin married because Mary Wollstonecraft, who became his wife, had suffered persecution and hardship as an unmarried mother. Proudhon was only an anarchist where males were concerned. For him to marry was no great inconsistency. He once said, "A woman on her knees—sublime. A man on his knees—ridiculous!" However his wife soon displayed a will of her own, and in practice his home was the usual unofficial matriarchy. Bakunin married, but appears to have been impotent. His wife had children by another man. Tolstoy married when he was still conventional in outlook, and in any case his anarchism was a queer Christian thing. At the end he denounced all sex, and if his ideas had been followed logically the human race would have become extinct, although his practice was other. He had many children by the servant girls of his estate. Kropotkin seems to have married a woman who was not really an anarchist at all, although in the first flush of young love he claimed that she shared his ideas, as she may have done for a time indeed, as women will when first in love with

URGENT

The Anti Election Committee is hoping to bring out stickers in the near future and possibly a new printed leaflet. For this we need money and at the moment our funds are rather low.

We shall be pleased to receive donations both large and small and take this opportunity of thanking all of you who have donated so far, including our anonymous friend from Norfolk who sent us some newspaper cuttings.

Donations and orders to:—
Bill Sticker,
17a Maxwell Road,
London, S.W.6.

Out of this World

Continued from page 3
of cigarettes. Regimen [a reducing nostrum], public relations for foreign dictators and promotional work for the military." A leaflet in questionnaire form asked passing advertising executives What is your M/MQ (Man/Mouse quotient). The yes-no questions list "For the right money I would work for an ad campaign for cigarettes" etc. Five items are listed. A score of five "nos" meant that "Jefferson and Thoreau would be proud of you". Five "Yes's" indicate

Child-raising and the State

Continued from page 2
Yet state institutions are more and more incorporating a psychoanalytical approach—including the raising of children. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, for instance, suggests in guides for parents a not-so-harsh toilet-training. Is, then, the state becoming non-impersonal, humane, sympathetic? Maybe so. But I think the more likely explanation would be along lines of F. D. Roosevelt's 'Reform if you would preserve'. That, plus the fact that with more and more ties between Freudianism and state (e.g., the former licensed by the latter), the latter has to at least pay lip service to the former—like big impersonal churches who have to preach Jesus.

Let's sum it up this way: To strike a child—whatever the reason—is not only bad psychology (the foundation for future neurosis or psychosis, or immoral, or medieval-oriented, or indicative of a lack of patience and understanding, or ineffectual in the long run. All this is true and has been said so by a good many worthy books and pamphlets on the subject. To strike a child means likewise—and my thesis is that this is its most fundamental, however subtle, meaning—to serve impersonal state interests. So too with scolding a child—or looking "dagger eyes" at him—or sweetly dominating him ("smothering



a man love also his ideas because they are part of him. Her daughter however has no interest in anarchism, and in this she probably follows her mother's later attitude. Woodcock says somewhere that Kropotkin's wife was rather proud of being a princess.

Stirner would probably have found conditions unbearable in provincial Germany if he had lived in "open sin". He probably would find things the same today! That is, assuming the woman would have consented to live with him at all.

The reason why this sort of thing has happened is this, I think, quite simply anarchists are too thin on the ground to be able to help and protect one another, and to provide each other with wives and husbands, or "companions" or whatever you like to call them. Unlike almost all other religions, anarchists have to marry outside the faith, which, anthropologically speaking, must be almost unique. Since they have to seek partners from the non-anarchist world they have to accept the conventions of that world, and have to have their unions blessed by the Church or the State.

The only answer is growth in numbers. When there are sufficient numbers available to supply partners the situation will be different.

Yours fraternally,
ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

NEW UNIVERSITY GROUP IN SWANSEA

Please contact either P. Henry Jones, Neuadd Sibly, Singleton Park, or Tony Simpson, 126 Bryn Road, Swansea.

"that you're headed for promotion in the Establishment." . . .

FIVE SIOUX INDIANS landed on Alcatraz and withdrew under threat of violence by the caretaker-warden. Their leader, president of the San Francisco Branch of the American Indian Council said they achieved their purpose of "staking out our claim". Their claim was made under terms of an 1868 treaty which allowed non-reservation Indians to file for up to 40 acres of Government land "not used for a specific purpose".
JON QUIXOTE.

Propaganda

DEAR COMRADES,

"As anarchist propagandists, in our various capacities we sow ideas . . . If they germinate it is because both the soil and the climate are favourable", says FREEDOM's editorial of March 14th. But something also depends on the nature and the quality of the seed.

It is timely to remind us that the function of FREEDOM is to sow anarchist ideas. At the present time in this country the propaganda of the word is almost the only avenue by which people outside our very small movement may be induced to approach anarchist ideas, and FREEDOM and ANARCHY are still the chief vehicles of this propaganda.

That is to say that people who have no previous knowledge of anarchism are going to form their first and perhaps all important assessment of anarchist ideas, or at least of the anarchist movement, on what is presented to them in our publications. It is hard to see what propaganda other than bad is presented in the item "The last interview with the anarchists", which to my mind has the ethical, ideological and aesthetic content of a "Tom and Jerry" cartoon. May I suggest that in future comrades putting contributions into print keep in mind the question: What does this say of anarchism to a stranger?

London, S.W. Mar. 14. MARY CANIPA.

Not me, Sir!

DEAR SIR,

I would like to point out that I am not the author of the deplorable pseudonymous piece "The Last Interview" in March 14th FREEDOM.

Yours sincerely,
JACK ROBINSON,
("Jon Quixote")
London, S.W.6.

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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.
- HEREFORD**
Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close, Hereford
- MANCHESTER**
John McEwan, c/o Farrish, 4, Sanby Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Manchester.

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- 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.
- 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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6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

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

MAR 22 Arthur Uloth:
Random Thoughts

MAR 29 No Meeting.
ALL WELCOME

Notting Hill Anarchist Group. Enquiries (Top Flat) 38 Oxford Gardens, W10.

For activities of other London Groups, see 'Off-Centre' activities below.

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

Edinburgh Group

Enquiries—Anne-Marie Fearon (Top flat), 31 Scotland Street, Edinburgh.

Oxford Group

Contact N. Gould, Corpus Christi.

Tunbridge Wells Group

J. D. Gilbert-Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex.
Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at 8 p.m.

Bristol Federation

Irregular meetings—enquiries to Ron Stuttle,
9 Cornwallis Crescent, Bristol 8.

Glasgow Federation

Contact R. Alexander c/o Robertson,
42 Denbrae Street, Glasgow.

Birmingham College of Commerce Anarchist Society

Discussion meetings weekly. Details from John Philby, c/o College.

MERSEYSIDE

Details from Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13. (STO 2632).
Every Saturday 2.30.

Outside Lewis's paper-selling.

PLYMOUTH

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

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