

'When the people rebel, the people are always justified.'
MIRABEAU.

The Anarchist Communist Approach

ANTI-ELECTION!

Moon Madness

HAVING studied some of the photographs sent back by the American spacecraft Ranger VII—and one assumes that the Press were supplied with the most exciting of the 4,000 odd available—and read all the columns of interpretations, the breathless editorials and details of greater things to come, our wonderment at the technological achievement was soon overcome by a feeling of despair. We are living in a world where science and technology have become ends in them-

selves; and scientists and technologists have a vested interest in this mad-spending-spree. Before they make our world into one huge mad-house they must be curbed—or perhaps dispatched to the Moon by the first manned spacecraft they succeed in launching.

A FORTNIGHT ago a 45-year old Dane sailed his ketch into Newport, Rhode Island, the last of the fleet of single-handed sailing

boats that had crossed the Atlantic. He had been 61 days at sea. On arrival he said

I was very unlucky. I ran into a lot of calm weather with no wind. At night I would lie on the deck and watch the moonlight on the water. I thought of the people I knew and all the things I could have done better than I did. I did not think of the race or my position. It was beautiful to be at sea alone. I thought about my past and my future, and now I think I may give up sailing and return to farming.

Some men seek to conquer the

Moon others are content to enjoy its reflected glory which transforms the black night with a mysterious light which inspires the poet and the lover in most of us.

We believe in a world in which both the scientist—the seeker after knowledge—and the poet can live their lives in harmony with each other. For after all, basically both are seeking to reach beyond the existing frontiers of knowledge and experience.

TODAY the scientist is no longer the lone seeker after knowledge, the explorer of uncharted areas of thought, but a civil servant, a prized asset of the Industrial Empires, a tool in the politicians' game of power politics. Today his field of exploration is determined for him by his bosses: governments and industrialists, and therefore willy nilly we, taxpayers and consumers are subsidising, directly and indirectly, this Monster variously calling itself "the scientific age", and "Progress" in the full knowledge that we are also its voiceless, gutless victims. And the dangers we face are all the greater because we have at the same time abandoned our poets.

EVERY day thousands of human beings die because they haven't enough to eat, or from diseases

which go beyond our knowledge and control at present. Other thousands die through lack of medical attention, from occupational diseases, and by "Acts of God"—preventable if only one could "afford" to take the necessary precautions. More thousands are dying violently unnecessarily, stupidly, because Man has still to learn self-respect. Large tracts of the worlds' surface are desert or man-made desert which we accept supinely as yet another "Act of God."

Yet when after years of preparation in which the scientific brains of the world and all its resources irrespective of cost are poured into a project to take close-up photographs of the Moon's surface, and it is discovered (or more accurately scientific opinion of the past sixty years is confirmed) that the Moon is full of craters, large and small as well as a desert, we are expected to join the chorus of praise for our wonderful scientists and technologists who have made this discovery possible and who have paved the way for "trips to the Moon".

The scientists and their employers are welcome to the Moon with its dust and its craters. We shall respect the scientists when they turn their attention to the deserts on this planet and the problems of mankind. In the process we may also learn to cherish our poets.

Union Rivalry in the Docks

Ship owners in the Port of London and Tilbury stopped all cargo handling over the August Bank Holiday weekend. An employers' spokesman said this was because "the tally clerks and stevedores employed by the ocean ship-owners in the enclosed docks are refusing to comply with the national agreement under which the 40-hour week started last Monday."

Tied up with this dispute are the inter-union rivalries of the Transport & General Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, the latter being unrecognised by the employers and purged from the T.U.C. for poaching members.

The T.G.W.U. negotiated this 40-hour week agreement last October and it gives double time rates for any overtime worked on Saturday mornings. The N.A.S.D. is against any Saturday working and also called for a ban on all week-end work. At the London Docks, the N.A.S.D. membership is small, but it has gained much sympathy from the dockers and tally clerks who are members of the T.G.W.U.

This ban by the employers is obviously a move against the proposed action of the N.A.S.D. and it has the backing of the T.G.W.U. as their agreement states that "reasonable requirements for Saturday working shall be met and local joint committees shall make appropriate arrangements for the engagement-ordering of men for such work." This ban might possibly give T.G.W.U. time to get their members to toe the line of the agreement and not to support the N.A.S.D. ban as 700 dockers in the Royal Group have already agreed to do.

The T.G.W.U. is finding the N.A.S.D. no small embarrassment and to combat its rival's influence, is organising a membership drive throughout the ports, mainly concentrating on Merseyside where N.A.S.D. has a very strong following.

An organising pamphlet infers that

the N.A.S.D. has hindered negotiations and because of this the employers have resisted demands. This is a lot of rubbish, for the N.A.S.D. has shown more militancy towards the employers than the T.G.W.U. At one time on Merseyside, the T.G.W.U. even tried strike action against the N.A.S.D., but this failed as the rank and file of the T.G.W.U. refused to take action against their own work-mates. There is no guarantee that if the N.A.S.D. gains official recognition and rights of negotiation, it would not become another T.G.W.U. which has been described by a busmen's breakaway union, now discontinued, as the Tired and Generally Worthless union.

It is at rank and file level that the strength really lies and if unity and solidarity can be built up here, it does not matter to what union you belong.

Added to the question of the implementation of the 40-hour week, are the negotiations over wages. The employers offer of 10/6d. on the basic wage of £9 9s., has been rejected. The T.G.W.U. has not actually given the employers a figure, but it is likely to be about 25/- The N.A.S.D. is claiming a £15 basic minimum and they are organising a meeting in Hull on August 9th to press for this and their 40-hour week policy. At this meeting reports will be given by delegates from different ports, on the implementation of the 40-hour week and the question of wages.

This meeting will be a good opportunity for rank and file dockers to get together and the reports will give them a chance to see the overall picture throughout the ports and to draw up a policy of action to gain their demands.

Union Leaders Fear Goldwater

It seems that because of Senator Goldwater's nomination as Republican Presidential candidate, negotiation demands by the union leaders are likely to be toned down. It is thought that any large-scale strike action taken by the unions would only serve to help Goldwater at the elections in November.

Goldwater has something of a reputation for his attitude of opposing the unions. They, for their part, have recently published a report which says that Goldwater voted "wrong" on all 53 of the votes taken in the Senate during the last six years.

The American unions of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. are lined up in support of Johnson and the Democratic Party, but with a number of negotiations taking place now and with other union-employer contracts nearing expiration, it looks as if workers will be asked to accept the meagrest of claims. A guide to the pattern that will emerge, are the negotiations which are now taking place

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

between Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers Union and the car manufacturers. Although the car industry is buoyant, it is expected that Reuther will not press the employers too hard.

With the election coming up this year, the capitalist boat must not be rocked too much and union leaders will not go too far in their demands. Meanwhile the employers can make even bigger profits, unions will keep the peace so as to help in returning the Johnson administration and the workers are saddled with a giveaway agreement.

P.T.

SOUTHERN AFRICA IN NEED

THE Minister of Trade, Industry and Development in Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Rudland has stated recently that "While the prospects for the immediate future are good, in the long term they are even better." In the *Financial Times* (10/7/64), the editorial speaks of South Africa continuing to flourish despite disapproval. The editorial concludes that "It is possible that the next five years may pass more quietly than most people outside the country assume." Mention is made of "the failure of spasmodic attempts to boycott South African goods" whilst, in the last three years "industrial production has risen by a third and its (S. Africa's) output of gold by more than a quarter."

A closer look behind this smooth facade shows us about "immediate prospects" being "good" in S. Rhodesia—it shows that the "quiet" in South Africa is punctured by moans of despair. In Southern Rhodesia there are (Dec 1963), 3,830,000 Africans, 222,000 whites and 19,500 Asians and other races. The total African employment figure (March, 1963) is 627,000, nearly half of this number consists of migrant labour from Mozambique and Malawi. The number of Africans employed has dropped by 20,000 since 1960. We are left with a figure of roughly 3½ million Africans unemployed in Southern Rhodesia. The average yearly income of the non-African in S. Rhodesia in 1962 was £1,172, compared with £101 a year for Africans.

In the educational sphere in S. Rhodesia more than 600,000 African children enter school at present, only one out of a hundred is able to enter secondary school. Yet almost every European child compulsorily remains at school until 16 years of age. The European education vote is at the annual rate of £103 per child, the African rate is £8 per child. In some European schools classrooms are empty, in African schools classes of anything up to 45 are common. In African Community schools the average number per class is over

50. Thousands of African children have no education at all. Now the Government is closing down several schools because Africans will not or cannot pay fees. The reason for school fees is that the present Government spends £5 million per annum on the police force. Of the fees charged, to the European they represent from 0.3% of the yearly income to 1%, for the African fees represent from 3% to 10%. When the huge African unemployment figure is borne in mind the difficulty of paying fees for the African can be fully realised.

As regards health, almost every other day a child dies in Salisbury's African Hospital from malnutrition. Thousands of children die from malnutrition every year because of poverty in S. Rhodesia—the children are all black. Doctors remark that these children could be saved by two cups of milk a day. Last year 384 African children were admitted to Harari hospital; half are now dead. In six months last year in a ward of children up to 4 years of age 252 children were brought in with malnutrition—114 of the children died. As a reporter recently put it: "This ward is never silent. It is filled with moans and cries of babies, whose limbs are twisted, bodies wasted and skins swollen or ulcerated because they are slowly starving." Meanwhile one reads of a survey of Europeans in S. Rhodesia in which it is discovered that they are making themselves ill from over-eating. One reads of gay young students at the University here who are complaining because they have beef stew too often, and who have to eat bread at breakfast instead of toast. We read with a feeling of loathing the statement by Mr. Rudland: "While prospects for the immediate future are good, in the long term they are even better."

As regards South Africa, where things might remain "quiet" for the next five years, the latest rash of 90-day detentions has made incursions into the press which makes a pretence of opposing the Government. It has recently been

brought to my notice that the Press in South Africa, which the Verwoerd Government grumbles so much about, has been rigorously censored for some years. My information is that at Cato Manor where nine Africans were reported killed in 1961 shortly before Sharpeville, the actual number killed was 600. The Press, I am informed, were not able to print the truth about this massacre. I cannot be entirely certain of the truth of this suggestion. I have heard before that machine guns had been heard for some five minutes in the area of Cato Manor; my "bush telegraph" contacts certainly do not deny the likelihood of such a massacre and my source of information claims to have spoken to the Afrikaans road worker who boastfully asserted that he had shovelled dead Africans into mass graves after the massacre. I should be grateful if these assertions could be passed to the anti-apartheid movement who might well have information of their own so that they could consider whether approaches might be made towards the United Nations.

The mention by the *Financial Times* editorial of the "failure" of the boycott of S. African goods is both premature and inaccurate. Inaccurate because the boycott has been effective if not successful, premature because steps are now in hand for really important boycott action by Northern Rhodesia when it becomes independent as Zambia in October this year. Although one has read of fine international solidarity with the African workers in South Africa by dockers in Australia and Scandinavia, these scattered actions are not enough by any stretch of the imagination. The official trade unions will mouth their disgust and abhorrence for apartheid but it is really up to the unofficial bodies to act. Surely the thousands of people in Britain who boycott S. African goods could seek to further the boycott by campaigning with the dockers and transport workers who handle S. African goods to take direct action and "black" all goods coming from S. Africa. The very forceful condemnation of the boycott by all the enemies of the African people demonstrates that the boycott is a weapon which they fear.

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ON SALE NOW

DISCUSSES

INDIA

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Birth Control & Malnutrition

DEAR COMRADE:

I am both perturbed and surprised at the article "Birth Control: no solution to world malnutrition" which appeared in FREEDOM (25/7/64). The arguments of Monsignor Ligutti, the Holy See's observer on the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organisation are quite fallacious as far as they deal with the threat of growing over-population, and it puzzles me that the Editors of FREEDOM should take the line that "Birth control as a policy arises only when natural resources combined with know-how cannot provide sufficient food for everybody. This situation has not yet arisen, and probably never will arise."

Such a view is to me utterly mistaken, and flies in the face of such elementary facts that only a Catholic can overlook. Let me quote from a pamphlet "Food Production and Population" which I wrote and FREEDOM PRESS published twelve years ago.

"A conservative estimate allowing four offspring to every mated pair leads us to calculate that a single pair of humans will produce a population of 2 million million ancestors in forty generations if the human reproductive process suffers no check from disease, war, etc. Now, if mankind order their social relations properly, which is all that we anarchists advocate, they will certainly have the power to reduce these disastrous checks to a minimum. What then—do we complacently approach to a time when the Earth is chock-a-block with human beings and we have to colonize the other planets? The limitation of breeding by contraceptive methods is the obvious solution, and if we do reach a condition of social harmony which makes the conquest of death by disease and violence a practical possibility, we will also have the opportunity to render rational contraception a world-wide practice."

Since I wrote the above, and FREEDOM PRESS published it, the position has got rather worse, a growth of population is taking place in the areas of the world least able to deal with it. It is pointless—repeat pointless—to give these areas a hand-out of food unless it is accompanied by the means of controlling population by birth-control. It is not a humanitarian act to save babies from death by starvation if it results in the population snowballing so that there are many more starving babies in the next generation. What do the Editors of

FREEDOM mean by the statement that "This situation has not yet arisen, and probably never will arise"? If this planet were to be miraculously changed into a Dutch cheese and we bred and bred and tunneled into it like maggots, a time would arise when we became too numerous to avoid starvation. We certainly must apply birth control as a widespread policy if we are going to oppose war, famine and disease, the 'natural checks' which have made our species' life on this planet possible so far.

Of course policies which favour the more equitable distribution of available world food supplies are reasonable in themselves, but what is more reasonable is the distribution of power and know-how. The power to make the best of one's own resources is far more valuable than a hand-out from any "rich" nation. Such power, if it includes the technical know-how to increase agricultural production and to combat disease includes

the technical know-how to control population by contraceptive means.

I know that no responsible writer in FREEDOM would actually oppose the dissemination of contraceptive know-how, but what is remarkable is that the silly, irresponsible and basically disingenuous remarks of a Catholic apologist should be quoted with approval simply because he calls for "revolution". The Catholic position is that contraception must be opposed at all costs, with a callous disregard of the consequences in human suffering, and some priests are even prepared to talk vaguely of "revolution" in support of their dogma. A few of the more intelligent and humane Catholics are beginning to question their Church's dogma in this matter because of its terrible social consequences. It is odd that FREEDOM should support the casuistry of a reactionary.

London

TONY GIBSON.

Editor's Reply

TONY GIBSON is "perturbed and surprised" only because he fails to distinguish between what are, in our opinion, two distinct problems: (1) malnutrition among large sections of the world's population today and (2) what he calls the "threat of growing over-population". We do not, as he suggests, deny that such a "threat" exists, that is, the possibility that world population

may exceed Man's productive resources. What we are saying, and we think on "good authority", is that this situation certainly does not exist today, and is a long way off—even assuming that Man's reproductive pattern of behaviour does not in the meantime change in the direction of greater family restriction.

Anarchists have been among the

"YEAH" 8, Birth Press, 381 East 10 N.Y. 9, N.Y. America.

"BLUE BEAT", edited by Kiviat & Montgomery, 25 5th Avenue, N.Y.C. 3, N.Y., America.

CAN Tuli nod? Can the scourge of the American Way of Life take the afternoon off? Can the white glow of the golden west afford to leave the battlefield when so many values are at stake, so many reputations based on the

FALSE IMPRESSIONS

DAVE WALLIS: "Only Lovers Left Alive" (Anthony Blond, 1964).

THE idea is such a good idea that one wonders why no one else ever thought of it before. All the "oldies"—that is, all those who have ceased to be teenagers, except a few madmen and hermits—bump themselves off, and the teenagers are left to sort themselves out. The old order does not merely change, it disappears completely; and the survivors are left with nothing to build on but their human nature—and its overlay of civilized habits, nothing to build with but what nature yields up to human effort—and the left-over provisions of a consumer society: baked beans, motor bikes and petrol. These left-overs make possible a short period of riotous living terrorised over by warring gangs. Dave Wallis traces the history of one of these gangs which survives the decline and fall of this period, survives the last sensational agony of the old civilization and finds, one assumes, underlying the habits made possible and encouraged by the old civilization, a hitherto unused ability to deal with the natural world.

One assumes this because, as other reviewers have pointed out, the story of the Seely Street gang's discovery of the way to live naturally (i.e., off the land) is not very convincingly told. One could object that the mass suicide of the oldies is the subject of impressionistic speculation ("They got fed up of standing in bus queues", says Ernie, the leader of the Seely Street gang) rather than serious analysis. And an anarchist in particular might be disappointed that no better way is found of describing the breakdown of that old order which we all know is no true social order but a mere patching over and a concealment of that suppressed and unresolved disorder which lies underneath. But the real deficiency of the novel is its failure to suggest at all what are those hidden resources upon which the Seely Street gang are able to draw when they respond (successfully) to the challenge of primary production: the nearest Dave Wallis gets to a theory of human nature (one feels that the doctrine of original sin might have helped him here as it helped William Golding, though one suspects he

TRUE PROFESSIONS

band wagon from Greenwich Village?

We, who have consistently sung the praises of the Birth Press have a right and a duty to see that the New York protégé of Maxwell Road maintains a high and rigid standard and should he fail then let us be the first to flay him. Not for our pleasure but for his own good. For Tuli has nodded with "Yeah"

did not correctly understand or at least present it, in "The Lord of the Flies") is a suggestion that a newborn child learns to kick even before it learns to weep. What seems a set speech suggests that now the "oldies" have gone the teenagers will have to learn a more realistic and responsible mode of existence than the old one of exhibitionistic role-playing (p83), and there is some attempt to describe a growing sensitivity of human relationship among the members of the gang. But these suggestions are not backed up by that sustained analysis of individual character which would enable them to carry conviction. Dave Wallis does not sustain the brilliance of his original idea, and one feels that his talent for fluent and easy description is better suited to reportage than to speculative insights.

MARTIN SMALL.

COMMITTEE OF 100 THIRD POLICY STATEMENT

THE COMMITTEE OF 100 stands for non-violent direct action. Our aims extend beyond nuclear disarmament. We are totally opposed to the solution of international problems by means of war. We believe that all such conflicts can be resolved by peaceful means. We think that people of every country should refuse to fight.

BEING OPPOSED TO WAR we are also opposed to all preparations for war. We oppose the return of conscription and the production and use of nuclear, biological and chemical and conventional weapons.

WE HAVE FOUND that *peace and freedom are inseparable*. We stand for complete freedom of speech, association and the press in all countries, East and West, North and South. We identify ourselves with all those who are exploited or who are denied human rights. In each case we ask, "What can we do to help?" We do not believe in frontiers. We believe that individuals acting together across all boundaries can stop wars and can secure human rights. We are determined to resist tyranny by non-violent means and we endeavour by the same means to support others who are resisting tyranny or injustice in other

pioneers of contraception in all countries not as a means of solving the problems of malnutrition but of ensuring that everybody should enjoy a full sex life without having to endure endless unwanted pregnancies. We have no doubt that if contraceptive education and the means were available to everyone Man's reproductive pattern would change. The dramatic fall in the birth rate in Japan from 3.2 per cent. before the war to 1.75 per cent. in 1959 is not, however, necessarily typical of what might happen in other countries. For instance in countries where contraception has long been available the birth rate has either remained stationary (Sweden 1.41 per cent.) has risen very slightly (United Kingdom 1.69 per cent.) or has risen sharply as in the United States from 1.69 to 2.41 per cent. On the other hand in the same period Catholic countries such as Italy and Spain show appreciable reductions in their birth rates!

Tony Gibson writes that "a growth of population is taking place in the areas of the world least able to deal with it" and that it is "pointless" to give these areas a "hand-out of food unless it is accompanied by the means of controlling population by birth control". Supposing just this were done what guarantee is there that the birth rate will drop dramatically—or to put it another way what means does Tony Gibson suggest should be used to ensure that the birth rate drops? And how would he define these "areas". For instance should Ar-

FREEDOM

entina, Spain, Italy Canada and the United States as exporters of food be encouraged to grow while Britain, Germany, Sweden, India and Switzerland as importers of food be discouraged?

The problem of malnutrition in the world today is economic and social and birth control will do nothing to change this situation. No-one will describe the United States as a poor country. It has vast resources, technical know-how, huge food surpluses, yet 20 per cent. of the population, on the admission of the President himself, live in abject poverty. Should the problem be solved by imposing birth control on this 20 per cent. or by giving them access to the surpluses? Again millions of acres of land on which food could be grown, and has been grown until the recent past (40 million acres of food growing land have been put out of production during the past few years in the United States, and farmers compensated) could provide food for millions of hungry mouths. If the Americans, the Australians and Canadians have no use for these acres why not make them available to those who would?

There is widespread malnutrition in the world today because (a) of the inequitable distribution of the world's resources (b) insufficient food is produced to provide everybody with the minimum required to maintain health. A birth control campaign will solve neither of these problems. As the Monsignor pointed out only a "revolution" can do this; and this writer, for one, agrees with him!

do for the Americans what Geering, for good or ill, has done for the British. Page after page of light and heavy verse play tootsie with the epic and the lyric. The bleeding heart and the crashing bore share a duplicated bed with Sanders penis poems and Szabo's pedantic avant garde cry that "JEHOVAH'S A MOTHERFUCKER" and I think they do protest too much and in too shrill a voice. The Beat generation of poets had their brief hour, sang their harsh songs and are now enthroned within the anthologies and here are the new battalions strutting like puppies ready for their first public piddle. Not for them the metropolitan protest at the chain-store world and the super-market culture for they are happy to gorge upon the liberties of the four four-lettered words that the old school won them the right to use and we must wait until saturation calms their fevered pens.

Only Tuli Kupferberg with his Williamsburg Bridge echoes the old protests with his opening line "Earth has not anything to show more foul": and for that we can forgive "Yeah" 8. But though we wave the finger of admonition at "Yeah" 8's single lapse and "Blue Beat's" cult of the ego-erotica it must be with the knowledge that with but one exception we have nothing to offer in exchange. We can prate and we can preach but unfortunately all too often we fail to practice. We have the talent, time, duplicators, paper and the willing pens only the editors are missing.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

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FREEDOM

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THE ANARCHIST COMMUNIST APPROACH

(Based on a talk given at the Anarchist Summer School, August 1964).

DURING the past few decades, national states have evolved the power to control the lives of their citizens to an extent undreamed of at the beginning of the century. Monopoly capitalism has developed across international borders, and it has shown that far from clashing with governments in a fundamental way, state and private capitalism can collaborate to the mutual advantage of both and the disadvantage of the ordinary people. In the face of these developments the traditional labour and trade union movements have fallen into the most complete disarray. In view of this situation, it might seem utopian to suggest that the most worthwhile kind of political activity is the advocacy of anarchist communism, that is the idea that the power in society which is exercised in such a corrupting way by the financial and bureaucratic ruling class could be done away with in a sensible length of time, and the social relationships between human beings necessary for producing the necessities of life, organising communications, providing welfare services and so on could be carried out on a basis of voluntary agreements, entered into not through coercion, but mutual agreement.

Fortunately, the theories of communist anarchism have been expounded with far greater ability than the present writer is able, by Alexander Berkman in *The ABC of Anarchism*, recently reprinted by Freedom Press (2s. 6d. or 40 cents), an essay which is in broad outline as relevant now as when it was written in 1928. The intention of the present article is to assume that the reader is familiar with the general ideas of anarchist communism, and to bring out for discussion some ideas arising from the impact of social developments during the post-war years, and the new current of ideas that has brought new life to the broad left wing and progressive movement since 1956, on traditional anarchist communism.

Perhaps the most familiar demand, common to all left wing movements, has been for the expropriation of the means of production and distribution, by, or on behalf of the workers. This idea, in the way it has been interpreted both by the social democratic and bolshevik movements, has led to the disastrous belief that nationalisation is a significant step towards socialism, and that any residual bureaucracy, and oppression of the workers would just be administered away. In looking at the development of capitalism in such different guises as the Scandinavian social democracies, the English mixed economy, and the U.S.A. which claims to be a classical capitalist economy, it is clear that the old-fashioned type of ownership, in response to which early anarchist and in particular anarcho-sindicalist theory was developed, is no longer in practice. For instance no one owns the British railways, yet it is controlled by a small minority of civil servants who run it in a way that is obviously not in the interests of large numbers of ordinary people. On the other hand large capitalist concerns cannot behave according to the liberal capitalist model of society because their chief manufacturing function is to supply useless goods to a sole consumer, the state. In a society in which goods were produced to satisfy human needs, and the coercion and authority brought about by exploitative production would no longer operated, social relationships would be so different as to be hardly describable with our present vocabulary, and so although the phrase "common ownership of the means of production" is harmless enough, it would be more accurate to say that in an anarchist society the concept of ownership would become redundant. The fear of individualist anarchists that the communist conception of society would lead to a new form of oppressing the individual is thus seen to be baseless. In general the anarchist emphasis on the control of

production and the exercise of power, rather than the Marxist emphasis on the ownership of production and the precise division of profits, is far better able to provide a valid approach to the world of today on which to build a revolutionary movement.

A frequent criticism of anarchism looked on as a social theory, rather than an expression of personal protest within an authoritarian society, is the supposed impossibility of organising a complex economy without central direction and the incentives of power and profit. It is suggested both by opponents of anarchism and some individualists that a choice has to be made between accepting authority in return for certain kinds of material comfort and security. It is important to consider this argument, as lack of housing, food and transport caused by social disorganisation is just as much freedom-denying as when caused by political domination. When one looks at the way society is organised today however, it is obvious that it is far from efficient, despite what people have to be told by their education, the newspapers and radio. It will suffice to quote a few examples where bureaucratic decisions have been carried through against the wishes of the workers, and have resulted in diminished services. The delivery of unaddressed mail which was opposed, if not as vigorously as anarchists would have hoped for, by the postmen, will obviously detract from the effort that goes into the ordinary personal postal service, yet it was pushed through by the government in the interests of commerce. Many railway lines have been closed down when the railwaymen wanted to keep them in existence, leaving some village communities isolated. In agriculture, "factory farming" has been introduced with the drive of the chemical fertiliser firms and high financial backing, against the general wishes of the farming community. Now that it has been carried through, the realisation is beginning to dawn on people that this type of machine farming is destroying the countryside and depressing the quality of food. In another direction there is a growing voice of protest among scientific workers against the way scientific research is directed firstly into military projects, but after that into projects concerned with national prestige, rather than intrinsic value. Now if the organisation of the postal services was decided on by the postmen on a local basis; railways services agreed between railway workers, the local communes and people in the factories which supplied them; if farming was a matter of producing the food known to be wanted; and scientific research initiated and co-ordinated by people involved in it (readers will be familiar with other examples) there would certainly be mistakes made and effort misdirected, but it seems likely that they would be less in number and disastrousness than the combined efforts of capitalism and the state.

P.H.

(To be continued)

ELECTION ANTHOLOGY-6

WHY ANARCHISTS DON'T VOTE
EVERYTHING that can be said about the suffrage may be summed up in a sentence.

To vote is to give up your own power. To elect a master or many, for a long or short time, is to resign one's liberty. Call it an absolute monarch, a constitutional king, or a simple M.P., the candidate that you raise to the throne, to the seat, or to the easy chair, he will always be your master. They are persons that you put "above" the law, since they have the power of making the laws, and because it is their mission to see that they are obeyed.

To vote is befitting of idiots. It is as foolish as believing that men, of the same make as ourselves, will acquire in a moment, at the ringing of

THE *Daily Express's* American correspondent on the heels of race-riots in Harlem and Rochester reported an "urgent demand for better weapons to beat the mobs" . . . "The most important prerequisite is that the weapons should be just powerful enough to send the rioters running without killing them or inflicting wounds that might produce sympathy. For example there is the electric police car—a mobile refinement of the cattle prod which is already in use by some U.S. police forces. Anyone touching the outrider of the car will be thrown off and get a painful shock." The *Express* goes on to list further blessings of science in this field—the electrified water-jet (high voltage which shocks anyone it hits, range 150 feet); electronic racket raiser—high-intensity, variable-pitch shrieking sounds so loud that the human ear will find them intolerable (not recommended in residential areas); a flashing spotlight mounted on a car roof, so brilliant that it could blind rioters temporarily, invisible particles which can be sprayed on a mob and will show up under special police scanners (recommended for revealing participants who swear they weren't present—presumably particles could be planted at a police-station as required); new smoke-bombs—non-toxic, non-staining, obscuring smoke which irritates but doesn't damage ("the main purpose is to make mobs lose their sense of direction"). "When all else fails," says the writer pessimistically, "there is the new plastic armour-vest." There are also prospects of new tranquilizing gases and dart-injected soporifics. . . .

FOR THE MOMENT the authorities had to make do with the old fuddy-duddy methods in Harlem, Rochester, Chinsali, Singapore (8 dead, 341 injured), Athens (46 police and 24 workers injured when sit-down strikers were evicted from a factory); and Hastings.

LAW AND ORDER prevailed with minor lapses such as an accusation by a Nigerian diplomat that he was beaten up by the police for a traffic offence; an award to a Hungarian refugee for assault and personal injury against a Hull C.I.D. man; a Fulham police-constable was said to be mentally unfit to appear on the charge of attempting to murder one of his eighteen months' old twins; a policeman and a detective were accused at Leeds of inflicting grievous bodily harm on a labourer; an ex-prisoner is suing



the Home Office for personal injuries arising out of alleged negligence on the part of prison medical officers and staff resulting in the amputation of his right leg; two Flying Squad men were accused of obtaining a gift or consideration of money, and two others were charged with them of conspiracy to defeat justice, it was alleged that whilst searching for mail-train robbery money they discovered £9,000, being war-time black-market proceeds, they asked for £200 "for a drink" not to disclose the presence of the money (later the money was stolen); five men who were sent to prison in a case in which Detective Sergeant Harold Challenor was in charge had their convictions quashed by the Court of Criminal Appeal and Alfred Hinds won his libel action against former Detective Chief Superintendent Herbert Sparks. . . .

ON THE OTHER hand Lord Parker, the Lord Chief Justice, addressing Metropolitan Police Cadets said, "Do not consider, just because you have put on uniform that you are different from anyone else. You are just like any other member of the public. Unfortunately, the public may think you are different, but you must break that down by patience, civility, and understanding. . . . Don't let criticism get you down. We are living in an age when it is fashionable to criticize and attack anyone in authority, what is now known as the establishment. It doesn't matter what job they do, what their profession is, what political party they belong to, how good or bad a job they do. It is enough that they are in authority" . . . "Free speech," Lord Parker continued, "and a free press were just as much a part of democratic society as law and order. By all means,

dwell on criticism, think it over and turn it to good account in the future if there is validity in it . . . We must all do our best according to our training and conscience with absolute honesty, fairly and fearlessly, and if we do this, I do not think at the end of the day we shall have found to have gone far wrong". . . .

A JUDGE who gave two shop-breakers the option of joining the Army instead of going to prison gave the men conditional discharge and probation respectively when the Army turned them down. He criticized the military for their action. . . .

THE CHIEF CONSTABLE of Durham writing in the journal of the Forensic Science Society said that a great knowledge of the psychological aids available to those interrogating suspected persons was necessary today. "It may well become increasingly difficult to take cases to court based simply upon statements made by the accused person to the police officer concerned". . . .

A RELIGIOUS SECT, in N. Rhodesia compared (by the *Financial Times*) to the Doukhobors has been attacked at Chinsali by the police with 100 deaths after the killing of two police officials. The cult has a commandment "thou shalt not take part in politics". They refused to register as voters or buy UNIP party cards. They moved out of UNIP-controlled villages to their own villages with stockades. Dr. Kaunda ordered them to move back and told his own UNIP party not to interfere with their freedom of worship. They refused to come back but they believe they will go straight to heaven if they die fighting for their Church. During the meetings of the sect her assistants play a scratchy record of the war-time speeches of Sir Winston Churchill. An assistant would announce "Leshina says that is God talking". . . .

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL himself retired from public life. Plans for a TV fiction serial about the lives of three MPs have been dropped by ITV. A Rediffusion spokesman said it had been found impracticable to deal properly with the theme. . . .

THE POPE told a crowd at his summer home that he joins in admiring the moon-shot as a "further advancing towards God".

JON QUIXOTE

Terrorism and Sabotage

(From our Correspondent)

WRITING of the terrorist act recently perpetrated in South Africa the *Sunday Chronicle* (a S. African liberal-conservative "quality" newspaper) carries the following editorial: "The Bomb outrage in the concourse of the Johannesburg Railway Station is in a totally different category from all the previous acts of sabotage which have marked the past two years of South Africa's increasingly troubled history. Earlier explosions, though they might well, as when railway lines were the target, have resulted in incidental loss of life, were not directly intended—and evidently intended to cause injury and loss of life. The explosion of a bomb in a crowded railway concourse at 4.33 on a Friday afternoon can have no other purpose. This is not sabotage. It is terrorism."

Your correspondent concurs with this view and feels it well worth emphasising

that sabotage and terrorism are two very different things. The former can be a sensible means of protest, the latter is mindless and indiscriminate. How can any worthwhile eventuality be stimulated by—in this S. African example—seriously injuring a 12-year-old girl or a 77-year-old woman? Terrorism that leads to the death or injury of innocent people is as senseless and as idiotic as the apartheid regime the protest is aimed at.

It is naturally necessary to point out that a large amount of the blame for this terrorism is to be laid at the door of the South African Government. One needs to realise that British and American investment helps to stabilise the regime that British and American statesmen consider immoral. A sympathetic understanding of the frustration, humiliation and degradation of life in South Africa is to be desired. No one stoops to terrorism except in dire desperation. None the less no libertarian can, in this writer's opinion, condone this or similar acts of terrorism.

In Southern Rhodesia to-day the African nationalists are turning more and more terrorist. Recently a man and his wife had their car stopped at a road block and the man received fatal injuries through stabbing. Africans in one political party, the P.C.C. have made a scapegoat out of the other African nationalist party, ZANU, and murder is part and parcel of this feud. The frustrations of unemployment, poverty and plain unhappiness are vented in attacks on fellow Africans. People are terrorised into joining one political party or the other, in Salisbury's African townships no African can afford to be indifferent to politics. A plea that one supports no political party can result in a knife wound.

When one attacks Africans for their actions an awareness is aroused of the dangers in doing so. The manifest and

latent racial prejudice in the world is enormous. Yet the phoney, ignorant bleatings of some liberals show to this observer only inverted racial prejudice. It is surely an insult to the African people to wet-nurse African leaders, to turn blind eyes to the far larger number of refugees from Rwanda than S. Africa, to always mouth the argument about the "teething troubles" of African leaders.

Any student of the investigations into African history knows full well that the civilisations of Africa's past are in many respects praiseworthy. Anthropologists can turn to arguments showing the greater value of a simple tribal life to the frantic Westernised rat race. It is well known that people with coloured skins are not innately inferior. With these facts in mind it is therefore weak and foolish to give one set of values to Africans and another to Europeans. If one is to excuse the massacres of Africans by Africans in Rwanda and the Congo, one must excuse the extermination policy of Hitler towards Jews. To ignore the one is a plain invitation to ignore the other.

Readers of FREEDOM we know from a readership survey find the *Observer* the least indigestible of newspapers in Britain. To some extent the choice is warranted. As regards Africa the *Observer* news coverage is fair and the editorial policy at times enlightened. Yet it suffers from smooth and phoney racialism, of the inverted type. Not so long ago a petrol bomb was put into a post box at the Post Office in Salisbury—the *Observer* reported this as "two bombs thrown into the Post Office". Further, to mention this without mentioning a man burnt to death because of his political views by fellow Africans, is unbalanced news reporting. If the liberal policy to Africa of support for African nationalism is due to the expedient policy of placating future powers in the world, and not due to a genuine dislike for racialism, then it is to be condemned. If African nationalism is not considered objectively and even critically, racial discrimination is simply standing on its head.

Birth Control

DEAR FRIENDS,
 Where are we going? FREEDOM (July 25 issue) tells us that... "the struggle for freedom and responsibility (my italics) is central to anarchism." (page 2... The Great War and Modern Anarchism), whilst on page 3 readers are given arguments which, on the birth control debate, indicate that man has no responsibility to limit his family even when food resources will not support the large family.
 It is suggested that the problem involves the distribution of available food production and whilst this is true it is a pity that no mention could be made of the humanitarian responsibility of a "have-not" father to mitigate the suffering in the world by avoiding the procreation of children whose main lot in life under the present system will be suffering by virtue of having insufficient food to eat. On this point I hope that anarchists will not reduce their arguments on this subject to the opportunist level taken up by the political left who will gladly indulge in racial polemics along the lines of "the white man has no right to increase his numbers at the expense of the coloured man". It is time that the human race woke up to the fact that it is not important that the white races are outnumbered by the yellow races 3 to 2 and that the white races in turn outnumber the black races by 3 to 2. What is important is that every individual human being on earth who has the capacity for responsibility should exercise it by fashioning his life, even in the face of manifest injustice, along lines that will reduce actual and potential suffering to a minimum.
 Those member countries of the UN who blackmail the specialised agencies with threats of withdrawal of support in the event of UN resources going into birth-control projects must take careful stock of the overall suffering in their respective lands, and, where this suffer-

ing springs from a population greater than food resources can cater for must do one of two things:—
 They should either take the approach that due to their exploitation by the "have" countries, the latter are to be held fully responsible for their difficulties and sufferings OR
 They should take advantage of every avenue of action that can, in one humane way or another, eliminate or reduce in large measure the causes of their suffering. And birth-control I would suggest IS one such avenue of action. Other avenues of action of course include such things as a fair distribution of existing supplies (which the FREEDOM article mentioned in some detail) and the maximum potentialisation of food production (which it only hinted at).
 I am one of those old-fashioned people who get rather nervous when people start talking about *lebensraum* and I would suggest that all population pressure is one fruitful source of war. I have a little sympathy for the Soviet propagandist who says that Siberia can take a LOT more people (with one eye on the Chinese perhaps) as I have for the Right-winger who would convince us that there are vast tracts of land in Africa south of the Sahara which are crying out for white settlement.
 Harlow, Aug. 1. CHARLES MARSHALL
 [This letter unfortunately arrived after we had replied to Tony Gibson. We are in general agreement with our correspondent!—EDITORS].

Bourgeois?

COMRADES,
 Ralph Hurne in his rather muddled letter (FREEDOM, July 18th), seems to be unable to grasp the essence of anarchism.
 Firstly he asks what would happen if the governments said to the anarchist

fraternities "over to you", and these minorities attempted to establish anarchism. But this would be an impossibility, because anarchism can only exist when the mass of the people want it and are prepared actively to work for it. The Bolsheviks believed that, due to the absence of a sizeable Russian working class, they had to act in place of the proletariat and that the party had to be the catalyst in the transition from capitalism to socialism. Now we can see the dangers of such an attitude which caused the rapid emergence of a largely self-interested Stalinist bureaucracy, entirely parasitic on the working class and certainly not benevolently leading it to communism.
 Another thing that irks me is Hurne saying "the working masses are just as piggish as the others and not worth 'saving'." He seems to imagine the role of anarchists like himself is to act as saintly apostles graciously converting a heathen proletariat. Left-wing types often suffer from the condition of worker-worship but I can see no reason why they should expect the workers to be any better or worse than the others. Capitalism degrades everybody and every class involved in it. The point is that the workers are *forced* into a more "noble" position because in a capitalist society we are unwillingly the exploited ones and are thus in no position to exploit anybody ourselves. But apart from this we are not in any way superior to other men, and only a person from outside the working class would suggest it.
 Hurne believes that "in all classes you get the few potential anarchists who are reasonable and fair." In countries like Britain or New Zealand where the petit bourgeoisie is largely eliminated, the population can be divided into proletariat and bourgeoisie. The differentiating feature is that the latter con-

trol the means of living while the former are forced to sell themselves as wage labour. Now it may be true that various members of the boss class have deeply submerged libertarian tendencies but, in my experience, they generally manage to keep them pretty effectively controlled. "By definition an anarchist is he who does not wish to be oppressed NOR WISHES TO BE HIMSELF AN OPPRESSOR... His ideas, his wishes have their origin in a feeling of sympathy, love and respect for humanity: a feeling which must be sufficiently strong to induce him to want the well-being of others as much as his own, and to renounce those personal advantages, the achievement of which, would involve the sacrifice of others." (Malatesta). So Hurne's ideas of bourgeois anarchists seem to me pretty daft.
 Finally Hurne is worried about the problems presented by the police and others who would have to be "depoliced", etc., in an anarchist society. But he is putting cart before horse. Once Lenin had achieved power he said "We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order". But this is not an anarchist (nor in fact a socialist/communist) position. We do not believe that, having first manoeuvred ourselves into a suitable position, we can then impose our beliefs. The job of breaking up "the police, bureaucrats, church, bosses, judges", etc. is the immediate one and its achievement will be the deathblow to capitalism. Only after this can a free society be established.
 To wind up, for various reasons I do not call myself an anarchist. Yet Mr. Hurne, who is I reckon farther from the libertarian position than me, announces himself as "a newcomer to anarchism". Well you might be travelling in that direction; let's hope so; but you haven't arrived there yet.
 London, S.W.18. JOHN CRUMP.

Pleasures of Selling 'Freedom'

(From a Bristol correspondent)
 NO-ONE can say that selling FREEDOM doesn't provide excitement. On Saturday, July 25th, I was standing outside the Bristol Central Library selling the paper, with a placard saying: FREEDOM—the paper your library banned—FOR Peace and Anarchism, AGAINST Church, Bombs, Politicians, Monarchy and State. Also on the steps were a dog chained to the gates, a bicycle, and a dear old lady selling R.S.P.C.A. flags "Yes, I'm against fox-hunting too, young man".
 After a while I saw a copper approaching. He peered suspiciously at the placard and walked on. A few minutes later he came back the other way and stopped. I asked him if he would like a paper. He declined. He asked my name and address. I declined, and asked him why he should want to know. When it finally dawned that I was not dim but merely unco-operative he told me I was causing obstruction. Although I was in fact standing on municipal (i.e. 'private') property I let that pass and pointed out that so was the old lady and why didn't he ask her name. "Ah, but she's different, we know about the R.S.P.C.A., that's alright". He again demanded my name and I again refused

because he wouldn't tell me what for. At this he began to get a bit annoyed, and finally stalked off after giving me ten minutes to "get off my beat".
 About an hour later two of his pals arrived and walked into the library. For the next ten minutes I was the subject of much glancing out and finger pointing while they persuaded the librarian in charge that I was trespassing. I gathered from the porter, who apologised to me afterwards, that the librarian had not been particularly interested in my activity, but anyway out came the coppers and told me that I was to move off of private property. Unfortunately the old lady had left by then, or I would have stayed put, but instead I told them that I would move to the pavement at the bottom of the steps. They agreed that this was alright.
 The moment I stepped foot on the pavement one of them said: "Now you're causing an obstruction". I asked who I was obstructing, and became involved in an abstruse legal argument which soon lost its appeal. "Have you got a street-trader's licence?" "No." "Then you can't sell papers here". I pointed out that the police were hardly likely to give me any licence, but was assured that a visit to the Chief Constable on Monday morning would secure one. I agreed to give it a try, and was then told to stop selling until then. I refused, and the game began all over again. They demanded my name. I asked why. "How do we know that you might not be a wanted criminal?" they said. I assured them that I wasn't, but that wasn't good enough if I wanted to keep on selling that afternoon. I had to answer questions they said. I

began to quote them the Judges' Rules and pointed out that unless they arrested me they could not make me say or do anything. I gathered from the astonished looks on their faces that they'd never heard of any Judges' Rules.
 They seemed reluctant to accept my invitation of arrest, and began to get a bit desperate and incoherent. One asked to look at FREEDOM. I said only if he bought one. That finally did it, and they grabbed my bag and placard and made off down the street wearing Challenor grins on their faces. "You'll have to come down the station if you want these back," one said, and I said I'd see him later. I carried on selling my remaining copies, feeling slightly less victorious than I looked.
 Eventually I made my way to the police-station and asked for them back. To my surprise they handed both placard and bag over the desk. The distribution of contents indicated that they had looked through it all. They had also discovered, no doubt with great disappointment, that the street-traders' licence wasn't necessary. So if I'd walked up and down instead of standing still they'd have had nothing on me at all... I wonder what they'll think next week? And they never found out my name.

MONEY!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT AUGUST 1st 1964

Weeks 30 & 31	£2,170	
EXPENSES: 31 weeks at £70		
INCOME:		
Sales & Sub. Renewals	£	£
Weeks 1—29	1,506	
Weeks 30 & 31	58	
		1,564
New Subscriptions:		
Weeks 1—29 (145)	161	
Weeks 30 & 31 (4)	6	
		167
		1,731
	DEFICIT £439	

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Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 4/-;	
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5/-; Woldingham: F.B.* 5/-;	
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	1964 TOTAL TO DATE £496 16 6

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 Anti-election campaign advancing for the last leave. If you find it all sick-making, meet for leafletting 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6, Monday, Aug. 10th, 8 p.m.

If you think
 that your 'fings' are worth inclusion in this column let us know...

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 AUG. 16 Ian Vine of Bristol, on: Morality 'J.P. Sartre'
 AUG. 23 Philip Sansom on: Just Speaking
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