IFIRIE IE ID O IM

AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d.

OCTOBER 10 1964 Vol 25 No 31

Even voting for the right thing is doing nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly your desire that it should prevail."

H. D. THOREAU

DON'T BE A DON'T KNOW-REFUSE TO

A FEW days and the battle of words will be over, the tons of printed matter will be finding their way on to the rubbish dumps their way on to the rubbish dumps and into the pulp mills; the faces TO Those About to be Double-Grossed

of the leaders on a thousand hordings will be obliterated by "Beer is Best" or "Thinking Men smoke Cigars" or "You've never had it so white" posters; the votes will have been counted, the winning candidates declared; the new government formed. For a few weeks the political analysts, wise after the event, will be trying to show how right their forecasts were, however wide of the mark they may have been, and then the country will sink back into political apathy for another five years. For whichever party wins, life for the people of this country will go on much the same as it as done these past five years, and they will have as little real voice in the nation's affairs whichever party takes office. Indeed for about three months (counting the

past month Cabinet Ministers have been proclaiming their worth from public platforms up and down the country . . . and yet the machine of State works on as smoothly or as inefficiently (according to your party allegiance) as ever!

W/HATEVER differences of objectives divide the two main parties (and we have tried to demonstrate in previous articles that they are differences of emphasis and not of principle) what is clear in the summer recess) Parliament has not programmes of both parties is that been functioning, and during the the people will still have no voice

in their affairs; that the existing political and economic machine will go on determining our "values" and our "objectives" which thoughtful, radical people this past century have invariably condemned as inhuman, unjust as well as wasteful of human energy and resources.

According to all three parties the panacea for a "New Britain" is contained in the magic "4 per cent" growth in production each year. Yet it is, as a writer put it in last week's Observer, not only "an ideological escape-hatch for politicians of all parties" but that "growthmanship is the cult of

making everybody better off without affecting the structure of society". vidual. These words of wisdom, were surprisingly enough, penned by Sir Jock Campbell, head of the huge trading concern, the Booker Group, who, if we understand him correstly, has penetrated the smokescreen of wealth and status to discover that the values of today are all wrong,

artificial and do not fulfil the indi-

Now while it is probably true that there are few tycoons thinking along the lines of Sir Jock Campbell, and fewer still who will give up their wealth and power to seek to put into practise their social beliefs, we believe that in the years that lie ahead

Continued on page 3



ON THE PATH TO DISASTER

The Spectre of World Famine

paradise. The day will come, if if we have the money to buy the food we do not produce for our needs, it will not be available from other sources and large sections of the community surrounded by their gadgets, motor-cars and all the other accoutrements of the affluent society will be faced with starvation.

This is the message contained in the annual report of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation's annual report to be published shortly. The stark facts it reveals are that though the world's population increased in the 12 months to July, 1964, by 2 per cent, food production per head fell by nearly 1 per cent, or in more tangible terms agricultural production increased by between 1 and 2 per cent—that is less than the population growth, and since food production anyway was insufficient to provide at least half of mankind with the food it required to maintain normal health, it will be appreciated that today in the world in spite of vast increases in industrial production more people are without the necessities of life than a year ago.

ANARCHY

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THE political parties are telling The growing shortage is reflected Each year the Food and Agriculthe public of this country that in a rise in world food prices. Acprosperity depends on increasing cording to the report, in 74 of the production annually by about 4 per 85 countries for which information cent. In Britain we live in a fool's is available the cost of living has gone up because food cost more. present trends continue, when even Retail food prices increased by 6 per cent in Greece and the Netherlands, by 9 per cent in Italy and Japan, by 10 per cent in Spain and 17 per cent in Iceland. And in South America food prices soared: in Uruguay by 15 per cent, while in Argentina, Colombia, Chile and Brazil the respective percentages were 23, 39, 49 and 67.

In this country we are living in a fool's paradise because we are at present able to live off the fat of (other countries') land; because we can outbid the people of the foodproducing countries, but there is no guarantee that such a situation will go on indefinitely. Even in the poorest countries industrialisation has increased the purchasing power of large sections of the community who if it comes to the pinch will forego the gadgets in order to secure food at any price because whatever the economists may say about "growth", what matters above all to humanity is the food without which life would be extinguished.

The only realistic programme of expansion in the world today is that which aims at putting every acre of cultivable land into production. Yet every country in the world, with few exceptions, is geared to more industrial production at the expense of the land. Workers in their thousands are leaving the land each year to work in factories. Millions of acres of land in the world are going out of production yet each year the need for food grows as the world's population increases. We know that in these islands

there is not the land to produce all the food we need. But this should not deter us from utilising every available acre to produce as much as we can. But we don't, for both the Labour and Tory Parties are more concerned with increasing production of cars and refrigerators than of food.

turai Organisation'es report warns Mankind of its folly. The politicians and industrialists who rule our lives do nothing. How much longer are we going to allow them to lead us on the path to world famine and disaster?

HE HARDY SPICER STRIKE

After voting, by 132 to 125, to return to work to allow further negotiations, and following the failure of these, inspectors at the Birmingham components factory of Hardy Spicer again took strike action to gain their demand. This was for an increase of 9d. per hour.

Mr. Frank Briggs, general secretary of the National Society of Metal Mechanics, the union to which the vast majority of inspectors belong, has said, "This is an unofficial strike inasmuch as it has not been backed by the executive but it is constitutional inasmuch as the men have exhausted all the negotiating procedures."

In fact, deadlock was reached in May and since then, the conciliation procedure of the engineering industry has still not brought any progress. The inspectors have been very patient and only took

the present action as the very last resort. It appears that all through these long negotiations, union officials have found it difficult to come to terms with the management. Probably one of the reasons for this is that Hardy Spicer is in fact a subsidiary of the Birfield Company, in which American capital holds a 40% controlling interest. Union officials say, "Things have continually to be referred to higher management. And this is manifestly the case with Hardy Spicer. We have been dealing with shadows all the time. I think we might have been able to settle this strike if we had been able to talk to the chairman."

The chairman, Mr. Herbert Hill is also chairman of the parent firm of Birfield Ltd., among several others. He has shown his attitude towards his employees in no uncertain way. Here are some of his comments:- "They are all being much overpaid . . . Some of us have got to fight and really for our workers in the end ,because the poor dears have pretty poor mentality, most

of them . . . They have a pretty poor level of intelligence . . . we would be doing much better if we did not have restrictive practices rife . . . They have refused to work the new machines and the new methods."

Mr. Hill's image is very different from that which is now being fostered and projected with the help of public relations men, industrial psychologists and others who consider that management and workers should work together in harmony. The "public relations" minded management may try to smooth over the divisions that exist between the employers and employees, but these nevertheless remain and Mr. Hill in his outspoken way has only served to emphasise this.

The Guardian has taken Mr. Hill to task for his attitude and says that he "sees strikes in simple terms. If only 'they' would pull their forelocks and accept that 'we' are always right, there would be no problem." Although the Guardian may deplore what Mr. Hill says, basically they are the same, for when have they ever given their support to any strike action? No, it has always been a call to go back to work while negotiations take place or accept arbitration.

Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, Conservative candidate for the constituency which includes Hardy Spicer, has quickly pointed out that Mr. Hill "resigned from the Conservative Party many years ago." Bur Mr. Hill is a member of the central council of the Economic League. This organisation, while claiming to find out about the activities of the Communist Party in industry, also keeps tabs on anyone or any organisation which it feels are a threat to the employers.

But for Hill's outspoken remarks, Mr. Harold Wilson's accusations that these election strikes were a "Tory plot"

would seem to have misfired, for he seems very unwilling to bring forth his evidence. The 1959 strike at British Oxygen plants was given as a previous example, but it seems to me that as both this and the Hardy Spicer strike were unofficial, Wilson is only trying to turn things around. Just as the 1958 official bus strike and the present possibility, now very slight, of official action

INDUSTRIAL

NOTES

time. The British Oxygen strike was as much a show of dissatisfaction with the union, the Transport & General Workers', as with the management. The rank and file members were not satisfied with the 2d. per hour increase gained by the union and so they demanded more. However, the unions were reluctant to re-open negotiations for more money

in the docks, have been used by the

Tories and are thought to be against the

interests of the Labour Party at election

Continued on page 4

NEW 1964

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The Baiting of the Hook

WENT into the House of Commons as a young man, believing that we might do much for the people by a bolder and more unsparing use of the powers that belonged to the great lawmaking machine . . . I met Spencer and thought over what he taught, and finally I lost my faith in the great machine. saw that thinking and acting for others had always hindered, not helped progress; that all forms of compulsion deadened the living forces in a nation, that every evil violently stamped out still persisted, almost always in a worse form when stamped out of sight. I no longer believed that the handful of us-however well intentioned we might bespending our nights in the House, could manufacture the life of a nation, could endow it out of hand with happiness, wisdom and prosperity. It was a work that could be only done in one way . . . by the living energies of free individuals left to combine in their own way, in their own groups, finding their own experience, setting before themselves their own hopes and desires. ... All this taking of a nation's life out of its own hands into our hands, was but a bewildered dream, a careless conceit . . . it might, on the other hand be only too easily in our power to mislead and to injure . . . to break down the national fibre, and in the end, as we flung our gifts broadcast, to turn the whole people into two or three reckless quarelling crowds, that had lost all confidence in their own qualities and resources, that were content to remain dependent on what others did for themever disappointed, ever discontented,

to posses the evil-mocking gift of power. . . . From that day I gave myself to preaching, in my own small way, the

because the natural and healthy field of

their own energies had been closed to

them and all that they now had to do

was to clamour as loudly as possible

for each new thing that their speakers

hung in glittering phrases before their

eyes. I saw that no guiding, no limiting

or moderating principle existed in the

competition of politician against poli-

tician; but that almost all hearts were

filled with the old corrupting desire . . .

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17a MAXWELL ROAD

Why I came out of Parliamentby One who went in

saving doctrine of liberty, of self-ownership, and self-guidance.

There is no region of human thought which is so disorderly, so confused, so lawless, so little under the rule of the great principles, as the region of poli-

tical thought. It must be so, because that disorder and confusion are the inevitable consequence and penalty of the strife for power. . . You cannot devote yourself to the winning of power and remain faithful to the great principles. The great principles, and the tactics of the political campaign, can never be made one, never be reconciled. In that region of mental and moral disorder, which we call political life, men must shape their thoughts and actions according to the circumstances of the hour,

and in obedience to the tyrant necessity of defeating their rivals. When you strive for power you may form a temporary fleeting alliance with the great principles, if they happen to serve your purpose for the moment, but the hour soon comes as the great conflict enters a new phase, where they will not only cease to be serviceable to you, but are likely to prove highly inconvenient and embarrassing.

Now let us look how that winning of the political battle has to be done.

Winning means securing for our side the larger crowd; and that can be only done as we know in our hearts . . . by clever baiting of the hook which is to catch the fish. It is of little use throwing the bare hook in the salmon pool; you must have the colours brightly and artistically blended—the colours that suit the particular pool, the state of the water, the state of the weather,

So in the political pool you must skilfully combine all the glittering attractions that you have to offer, you must appeal to all the different special interests, using the well-chosen lure for each. You must utilize all the ambitions, desires, prejudices, passions and hatreds of the people. . . The best men in every party stoop unwillingly, but they are not their own masters-The great game laughs at all things . . . but the purpose of securing victory. Men must conform, or stand aside. . . As our system works, it is the party interests that rule and compel us to do their bidding. It must be so, for without unity in the party their is no victory. . . . When we have taken our place in the great game, all choice as regards ourselves is at an end.

AUBERON HERBERT.

DEAR COMRADES,

read last week's comment "Room at the might as well pack up and forget about Top". For once we had an image of a mature, self-controlled, tolerant, nonfixated anarchist, understanding that other people can disagree—and be wrong -without being knaves or fools.

Regarding Nicolas Walter's remarks on Christie-I think that though he is correct in this particular instance (concerning the error of some of Christie's defenders)-"terrorism" can be defended.

I have called myself a pragmatic anarchist in the past because I believe that modern anarchism must be pragmatic if it is to be at all relevant or mature.

There are too many doctrinaire pacifists like Nicolas Walter and too many doctrinaire bomb throwers like Christie.

There was nothing wrong in principle with the bomb "outrages" of the old anarchists-it was simply foolish and misguided tactics. I am pleased to hear of an anti-election campaign and I am pleased to hear of people who believe in non-violent civil disobedience. But

"THE SYDNEY LINE: A Selection of

Published by L. R. Hiatt, 8s...

Libertarian Comments and Criticisms".

The Sydney Line is a selection of

articles from the first twenty-five issues

of the Broadsheet of the Sydney Liber-

tarian Society. An offshoot of the Syd-

ney University Freethought Society, the

Sydney Libertarians have developed a

distinctive anti-authoritarian attitude

which shares the classical anarchist

critique of authority, but rejects the

belief in the possibility of a free society.

view that society is not a single thing

but a diversity of different and often

competing activities and interests . . .

Contrary to the unitary view of society

. . there are in society many different

interests, some of which are simply

irreconcilable and remain in permanent

conflict." They therefore reject the idea

that one day a society will be established

in which all interests will be harmonised

and all conflicts eliminated. They argue

that authoritarian forces can be expected

The Sydney Libertarians hold "the

BOOK REVIEW

unfortunately if they believe in them as It was satisfying-and reassuring-to principles-and not tactics-then they anarchism.

Anarchism is-or should be-different from Marxism or Social Democracy in that it is not based on dogmas and a romantic conception of social activity or revolution. Utopians-however sincere—are to be opposed at all times because-their idea of "progress" is always paid for in blood and misery by others less fortunate enough to share their idealism.

Pacifism is also wrong because it leads to the naive assumption that we can be neutral in a choice between evils. Kropotkin may have been wrong to support the Allies in the First World War but he was not as wrong as those anarchists who naively imagined that the Nazis in the Second World War could be defeated with brotherly love and sentiment.

So too with doctrinaire anti-voting. Voting by itself is useless. But this should be a starting point-not a petri-

to exist in any kind of society and that

the struggle for freedom is a continual

application to particular aspects of con-

temporary life. Whether one agrees or

disagrees with these libertarians from

'down under' (I, for one, do not see eye

to eye with them on individualism which

at least one of their spokesmen has

traduced) what they have to say should

get a serious hearing. It was once re-

marked that the Socialist Party of Great

Britain was not a party but a monument

If the anarchist movement is to avoid

petrification, then it needs the clash of

ideas and the stimulus of criticism in

order to keep alive. The Sydney Line

is one such stimulus and it is a pleasure

-for once-to quote some lines written

by the young Karl Marx which seem to

explain the publisher's intention very

well: "To make the future and to estab-

lish things for all time is not our

concern. All the more surely what we

now have to do is the uncompromising

critical evaluation of all that exists,

uncompromising in the sense that our

criticism fears neither its own results nor

S. E. PARKER.

conflict with the powers that be."

fying dogma. I shall take no part in the coming election because it does not concern me and whoever wins the result will be the same. But this is rather different from pretending that we should never, under any circumstances, vote.

If I had been living in the Weiman Republic I would vertainly have voted to keep out Hitler for Social Democrats can be defeated without resorting to mass violence-not so with the Nazis.

I would have liked to have contributed to the Symposium on "Why shall not vote" but I confess the only one which struck me as both relevant and sensible was Philip Holgate's article. There is nothing particularly constructive or satisfying in getting on to a box and telling other people why you are not going to do anything.

Voting by itself is useless-but so is not voting, by itself. The question, like the complex problem of when to use violence, is essentially a question of

tactics, not principles.

I base my anarchism on the existentialist insight that it is often impossible in this imperfect world not to do harm to others. Even when we choose not to choose we still choose. This means that like it or not we often have to take sides in a contest between two evils. Like it or not it is better-and less cowardly -to choose the lesser of two evils than not to choose at all. For if we only

want to keep our precious pure conscience clean and our person removed from the harsh modern world we should retire to a monastery and not call ourselves anarchists. Even men as saintly and benevolent as Gandhi or Kropotkin may have been responsible for the deaths of many others.

Even when we, in the name of an abstract anarchism or other ideology, refuse to take responsibility for the world—we are still responsible.

Royton, Lancs. MICHAEL D. WARD.

A Record ?

GREETING,

At the age of 64 I am proud to reflect that I have voted in local and national elections on one occasion only. Many years ago on a polling day a friend called, who was ignorant of the system so I took him to the nearest polling station to show him what goes on.

Is my long abstention from using the cross of illiteracy a record?

I seem to be a born anarchist, with the added advantage of being also a life-long Social Crediter (and ex-bank clerk!).

London, W.11, 29 Sept. J. W. LESLIE. No J.W.L. this is not a record! One of the Freedom Press Group has refrained (or been denied!) from voting for over eighty years!

one. This struggle is expressed in oppo-LIBERIARIAN INDIVIDUALISM AND sition to authority, the critical examination if political, religious, and moral ideologies, and by practising libertarian LINE FROM THE ECONOMIC PROCESS "ways of going on" here and now. In an article called "Sydney Libertarianism" Jim Baker ably outlines this SYDNEY A REPLY TO P.H. attitude and other contributors show its

THE dispute between "individualistanarchists" and "anarchist-communists" is normally presented as a question of ownership: in an anarchist milieu,

would property be owned by the individual or the community?

Unfortunately, however, there is also a dispute about the very concept of ownership in an anarchist milieu: would it become redundant, as P.H. has said, or would it survive-despite the disappearance of the State and legal ownership—as S. E. Parker maintains?

I submit that those two issues are really quite different and should not be confused. Fundamentally, the dispute between individualism and communism is not about ownership at all. It concerns a deeper question: who is to be the subject of the process of production, consumption, and accumulation?

Is it to be the individual, working as an independent economic unit-either alone or, if he chooses, in association with other such individuals? Or is it to be the community as a whole, working incorporating the individual, who thus becomes a cell in a larger economic organism?

This question is quite different from the dispute about the concept of ownership, because, whether or not that concept survived, an anarchist economy could be carried on in either of those two ways.

Either the economy could be of such a nature that it necessitated association (and let us never forget that economic necessity can be at least as tyrannical as any Government), or it could be based on the individual unit, leaving each individual free to associate, but never submerging him in any group from which he could not withdraw without economic ruin.

The attraction of a communist economy is that it can achieve far higher productivity, and far higher livingstandards, than an individualist economy. If the subject of the economic process is an entire community, in which limitless numbers of people function as one unit, while mass-production makes it possible to exploit modern technology

to the full, then productivity can go on Bristol 7, 29 Sept.

rising indefinitely. But if the subject is the individual producer, who associates with others only up to a point—the point beyond which he would lose his independence—then the whole process is restricted, and modern technology, in my opinion, is out of the question.

But the attraction of an individualist economy is that it offers the only basis on which voluntary association is possible. Though comparatively poor, the individual keeps his independence. Nor does he sell his soul for a mess of mass-produced prosperity.

P.H. has tried to show that somehow, even in a communist economy, individual independence would survive. He argues that the productive processes of the big community would be controlled locally -factories run by the workers in them, building programmes undertaken by builders' and architects' groups, and so forth. Localized control and the "gang system" are already used even in capitalist industry. In an anarchist-communist world they would be used exas a sort of super-family, and necessarily clusively and the managerial ranks would become reundant, says P.H.

But that is only a variation on the Marxist idea that the State will "wither away". There are no rulers in the Marxist paradise, which, in that sense, is an anarchist world. But the supposedly "free" individual is merely a cog in a gigantic social machine, held together by the sheer force of economic necessity. P.H.'s local groups and gangs would be bound by the same force. They would control, but would not be the independent subjects of, the economic process. Nor could the individual escape from his group—and even if he did, he would be an individualist, no longer an anarchist-communist!

Anarchist-communists are certainly "with it". Modern technological civilization (so-called) is moving in their general direction, so comparatively little effort is required of them. But individualists are making a desperate effort to resist the whole modern trend, because they can see where it really leads: to the final extinction of human individuality.

FRANCIS ELLINGHAM.

Film Review

'BEHOLD A PALE HORSE', Columbia.

THIS might even be a film about an an anarchist. Gregory Peck plays the part of a Spanish refugee from the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War who seeks to return to Spain from France to see his ailing mother whilst the Spanish Police Chief sets a trap for him and uses an informer to guide the insurgent into his trap.

Anarchism is never mentioned but our hero has desecrated Churches and has utter contempt for priests. He has made raids into Spain from France several times but has lost his touch of late. It takes the son of a comrade-in-arms to enthuse him again with the anti-Franco struggle.

The boy is well depicted and has an authenticity some of the main characters lack. Especially good is his query: "Do priests ever tell the truth?" Also worthy of note is the interesting personal conflict that is built between the insurgent

and the priest who comes to warn him

of his dangers.

The Spanish police are not shown in a very good light, though the truth is probably murkier still. The Police Chief is a Catholic who prays to God in his battle against the anti-Christ and his methods of obtaining his quarry together with the personal prestige it will give him ,are not spectacularly admirable.

The film is quite good, but a little too long allowing the tension to drop and interest to lag. I think anarchists will find it well worth seeing. A point in the film's favour is that the Spanish authorities have banned all Columbia pictures in Spain because of it.

Read ANARCHY 37 SYMPOSIUM ON

'WHY I WON'T VOTE' 2/3 by post Freedom Press

FREDOM

October 10 1964 Vol 25 No 31

DON'T!

Continued from page

we shall see the beginnings of a social conscience among the growing number of people who have achieved affluence and status in society only to discover that in so doing they have lost, or are denied, values which money cannot buy, which governments cannot legislate for however well intentioned, and without which affluence, prosperity, material success are empty achieve ments.

"THE fundamental difference between the parties - Lord Attlee declared in St. Pancras the other day—is that the Conservatives believe everything imust be worked for a profit, and Labour believe in service to the community". If the distinctions were true, then it is difficult to understand why Labour should not win the present contest hands down, or why the Conservatives handsomely won the last three elections, after the post-war landslide to Labour. It is more true to say, as the Guardian did (Sept. 24) that "Only a minority of Labour Party members—and a tiny minority of supporters—want a fully socialist society. And only a small minority of Conservatives want to let the market rip". Or as Iain MacLeod wrote in the Sun (Oct. 5) "All the parties and all their candidates long to see peace and prosperity, and any politician who pretends otherwise is a charlatan". Apart from the fact that no politician could ever hope to be elected if he preached war and poverty for the masses, capitalism in this age of technology and automation has adjusted to the idea of widespread prosperity without thereby abandoning the class structure of society which confers power as well as greater prosperity on a privileged minority. The possibilities are, and certainly this must be what the ruling classes hope for, that we shall in due course find ourselves living as well-fed contented cows without a care in the world or a rebellious thought in our heads. We believe instead that the more affluent we become, the more education our children receive, the more leisure we will enjoy with automation, the more dissatisfied will we become with the values of the acquisitive society, and the more stifled by the regimentation, the dreariness of our daily lives. We, in the affluent West, will also have to take into account the growing frustration of the peoples of the non-affluent world which will manifest itself in different ways, moral as well as military, until an equitable solution of the socioeconomic problems on an international scale is arrived at.

WE have touched on these questions in order to react against the faint-hearted on the revolutionary Left who see every step in the direction of economic prosperity, at least in the West, as nails in the coffin of revolution and anarchism.

When a tycoon explains that he

is voting Labour because I don't like the present structure of society, however much production grows. In particular I don't like the values and standards it imparts to what used to be called the ruling classes, and through them to the rest of the community. The criteria for these are based largely on aristocratic traditions, and on conventions of behaviour, attitudes and manners . . . They are arrogant values and standards in the literal sense that their upholders arrogate to themselves the assurance that their own standards and values are those of eter-

nity. Whereas in practice they are mostly . . . irrelevant to the real modern world. In this code, moral goodness, aesthetic quality, vision, imagination, cleverness, skill, professionalism, hard work, ambition, score few points. Money, on the other hand scores a good many.

Thus the present structure of our society brings to the top an unworthy amalgam of aristocratic idealism and plutocratic mediocrity. It seems to me that the High Tories are today's most impractical idealists, trying to live in a bygone aristocratic Utopia.

Sir Jock Campbell is no aharchist revolutionary, and we do not expect him, or Lord Sainsbury or any other pro-Labour Party successful capitalists to pave the way to a noncapitalist, free society. But that among the tycoons of capitalism are some who are prepared publicly to express a moral uneasiness, and a social conscience indicates, so far as we are concerned, that there are moral and social pressures from below day in day out gnawing away at the existing structure of society in spite of a surface skin of apathy, resignation, and successful brainwashing.

ANARCHISTS cannot be uninterested in this month's election results whatever their views about the demerits of the contending parties. The fact that the anarchist movement has campaigned to persuade people not to use their vote is proof of our commitment and interest. If there is, say, a 60 per cent poll we will not assume that the other 40 percent are anarchists, but we would surely be justified in drawing the conclusion that among that 40 per cent there was a sizeable minority who had lost faith in political parties and were looking for other instruments, other values. If the Tories are returned to office we cannot ignore the fact that a majority of electors have cast their votes for the traditional party of privilege, just as a similar result in favour of Labour is a vote for the traditional party of the underprivileged, even though we believe that there is nothing, or very little to choose, between a Tory, Labour or Liberal government.

If the anarchists could persuade half the electorate to abstain from voting this would from an electoral point of view contribute to the victory of the Right. But it would be a hollow victory, for what government could rule when half the electorate by not voting had expressed its lack of confidence in all governments? In other words, whichever government was in office would be subjected to real pressures from people who believed in their own power. Anarchists call on people not to use their vote and instead to be conscious of their power as individuals which, linked to that of others of like mind, can command the respect of governments, can curb the power of governments as millions of crosses on ballot papers never

N Britain we have universal sufferage yet a minority rules the country and controls the nation's wealth; women have won the vote but they still live in a man's world; the right of workers to organise is now recognised (and even encouraged) by government and employers, yet they have failed to win their freedom from wage slavery.

How many of you will think on these grim truths when you are exhorted by the politicians next Thursday to be "responsible citizens" and use your vote?

THE FINGER (to quote the Mirror) remained on the election tranquiliser, except in Ireland (Northern) where the display of a republican flag caused street fighting. In Fulham Town Hall the Irish question was said by Mr. George Brown to be the concern of the Irish but Major A. R. Braybrooke who is the Patriotic Party candidate for Fulham said that his party "consider it desirable that Ireland should be united and should resume its honoured place in the commonwealth after a free expression of all its peoples." Mr. Quintin Hogg, speaking in Scotland to a party known as the Unionists, said, "This Unionist Government that has been in power, particularly in the last Parliament, has probably been the best Government Scotland has ever had since King Duncan was murdered". . . .

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME admitted that in the stress of events he had forgotten to register for a vote. Dr. C. Edwards (ex-Liberal) announced his intention to contest Newcastle, North as a Liberal-Labour candidate and has asked support from both parties. A former Labour candidate at Basingstoke has decided to support the Conservative candidate at Holborn and St. Pancras. He says: "I am a sick and unhappy man. My decision has been made as a result of years of agony inside the Labour Party." A husband and wife have put posters for opposing candidates in their East London shop windows. One is labelled "His" the other "Hers". The wife said, "Harry suddenly changed his views. He studied the Labour plans and decided that they were better than the Conservative plans"....

SCREAMING LORD SUTCH says that he is standing against Mr. Harold Wilson at Huyton "instead of the Prime Minister, because I think that Mr. Wilson is the one that all eyes are going to be on in this election"....

all possible to get a trampoline at Westminster"....

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shot Firers has voted to affiliate to the Labour Party. This is the first time the union has declared itself politically since 1910 when it was formed. The national president said, "Nationalisation has saved the mining industry and the fact that the Labour Party has clearly shown on its manifesto that it intends to pursue a policy of further nationalisation is sufficient for us to vote for it". . . .

THE CANDIDATE for the Anti-Common Market League at Bexley, Mr. John Paul, was photographed in the Evening Standard with his wife holding Wiggly -a dachshund. Rufus, a Great Dane, owned by the Tory candidate for Barking carried his masters nomination papers to the Town Hall. He refused to give them up but after a slight struggle they were handed in, slightly chewed. . . .

MR. WOODROW WYATT, Labour candidate for Bosworth said, "There is a ridiculous story going round that a Labour Government would immediately get rid of the H-Bomb. If I thought that I MR. ANTHONY FLETCHER, Tory candidae would not be in the Labour Party. Who at Romford said: "If elected I shall do made the H-Bomb? It wasn't the

Tories. It was the Labour Government under Lord Attlee". . . .

MAJOR R. A. BRAYBROOKE of the Patriotic Party, said, "To return me as the member for Fulham would be the greatest political sensation for years, and would have tremendous consequences both in the country and throughout the world. A vote for myself will be a blow struck for freedom against international usury and the tyranny of the money power" . . "In place of the communistically controlled United Nations which wants to impose world government by force there must be a free association of countries by choice. Great Britain must strengthen her ties with friendly and like-minded nations, but cease diplomatic relations with Communism". A vote for Major Braybrooke he says "is a vote for Britain prosperous, gay and free". . . .

THE "GUARDIAN'S" 'London Letter' claims that they were told that Mr. Michael Craft, the Independent Nuclear Disarmament candidate for Twickenham had received a sizeable donation from a 'prominent anarchist'. It was pointed out in an (unpublished) letter that to speak of an anarchist election-supporter was like speaking of a vegetarian meateater-in fact we were carrying out an anti-election campaign. Finally it was added that whilst there were prominent people who were anarchists, there were no prominent anarchists. Donald Rooum was described in the Sunday Telegraph as 'diminutive'. . . .

THE WORLD hand-shaking record was broken by a non-candidate, a schoolboy of 18 at Ilkeston shook hands with 10,294 people in six hours, 43 mins. . . .

MADAME TUSSAUD'S, the waxworks, has begun moulding the figures of the most probable members of the next Government's Cabinet. "We could have at least 40 members of the new Cabinet on display in the exhibition within 20 minutes of the official announcement."

JON QUIXOTE.

Ullul lilling I I I I I I I

TOAN MIRO the petit maître has been the order of the day. The unfortunate done proud by the Tate Gallery and the Arts Council with a list of acknowledgements in the magnificent catalogue too long and too unnecessary to quote. This seventy-year-old Catalonian painter has been given the full poe-face treatmen by the art Establishment, ranging from the catalogue introduction by Roland Penrose, the man with all the money, in which he managed to introduce Van Gogh and Titian in his first three lines, to a full page spread in the New Statesman by Robert Melville. This is Roland Penrose's third caper for the Arts Council and follows on from his organization of the Picasso and Max Ernst exhibition so that it must follow that information and adulation must be

Anti-Election Campaign

LAST MINUTE ORDERS FOR POSTERS, LEAFLETS AND STICKERS

'Circus Posters 3d. each 3d. each All for a X Led to the Slaughterhouse 4d. each Leaflets: Hazards of Voting 2/6 a 100 Why Vote? It gets you nowhere

2/9 a 100 Anarchist Alternative-sold out.

Stickers: Politics Out! Anarchism In! 1/9 a 100 Politics Equals War! 1/9 a 100 These prices do not include Postage. All orders, don't delay:-

> Bill Sticker, 17a Maxwell Road, Fulham, S.W.6.

Help needed for last week of Fulham Anarchists' Anti-Election Campaign. Leafletting, door to door and at meetings, fly-posting, and other activities to get our ideas over to the public. Please contact:

> Freedom Bookshop, Tel.: REN 3736. 17a, Maxwell Road, S.W.6.

part of this treatment is that by its very use of the same old tired terms of automatic glorification it kills whatever

virtues the work possesses. It was left to Robert Melville to lay on his back and kick his legs in the air for three solid columns which began with the statement that "Miró has a great fund of natural piety and in another time it would have taken the form of reverential obedience to God. In Byzantium he might have painted the Nativity and the Raising of Lazarus, in the 14th century he would probably have painted like Sassetta, but in the 16th and 17th centuries, when the great painters were flesh painters, he might have been confined to still-life, painting the fruits of the earth, like the devout Juan Sanchez Cotan, as thank-offerings for God'es bounty", "for" continues Robert six hundred words later "(The Farm) is certainly one of the most beautiful pictures painted in our century". And where have we heard all this automatic fulsome and unnecessary praise before if not from the dark days of Stalin when yard upon yard, mile upon mile of this type of verbiage was churned out to order. But while so many people by the virtue of hindsight, recognise and mock the unfortunate men who by force of circumstances churned out this garbage too, too often they ignore the pap factory of the Establishment working at full production to vaunt the virtues of every mediocrity who happens to fulfil their purpose of the moment.

Methuen in their Dictionary of Modern Painting gives Miró his due recognition as one of the contemporary painters who has brought pleasure to many by his paintings but as the unknown writer states, Miró "is a painter who poses no problems, for he is aware of none", and he rightly concludes, "he holds a place apart in contemporary art. It is not the highest place, but it is the least disputed. Having said all that let us acknowledge Joan Miró as a minor painter whose artless and charming paintings are always and ever a pleasure to discover.

Their charm lies in their simplicity and their childlike innocence and their constant repetitions dulls the mind to criticism. Like Japanese paper flowers they repeat with but simple variations sweet patterns of fiat contained colours and it must be impossible to recall any don't hurt.

ROUND THE GALLERIES

one painting for each is but the echo of the others.

Lake and Maillard have described Miró as "an anarchist by birth, naturally hostile to any tradition or cult, either of Nature or of museums, his enthusiastic enlistment in a movement that proclaims the bankruptcy of the intellect, contempt for reality and the sovereignty of intuition can be easily understood". That the hackles of many a professing anarchist will rise at these statements must be accepted and explained away by reporting that the quotation referred to Miró's association with the European surrealist movement. Of its English disciples little can be said in their favour for their's was the bourgeois revolt against the established Establishment and all revolt faded when they placed their arses onto the vacant thrones. Penrose, Melville, Read, you name them and you will find that here are the guardians of the temple filling print, museum, gallery or committee with the same tenacity as the defunct old guard.

man out. But Miró himself soon shrugged off any sign of individual revolt and he has become the most bourgeois of contemporary popular painters. The choice is his and there is no reason why it should be otherwise for him so let us accept what he offers without reading into it signs and tokens that were never there. Here is his early work in a competent pastiche of Picasso, Braque, Chagall, van Gogh and Lewis, and here is the 1925 period as representational material disappeared from his canvas leaving the bright and primitive scratchings by which we know Miró today. Occasionally Miró would chance his arm on another style but it was always a fashionable style that could be accepted without protest for it lacked the passion of true exploration and when Miró takes over it becomes an act of embalming.

In 1944 Miró in company with his old friend Artigas ventured into the field of ceramics and his efforts are again nought but charming trivia yet for all that these slight works still bear his stamp for speaking for them all is a piece of casual clay and rock no larger than a garden decoration called "Person with a large Head" and this twisted Lump of clay with its sightless eyes, its flattened nose and its urchin grin is the embodiment of all that Joan Miró has to offer, simple, shallow, gay and happy asking no questions, posing no problems, in a word lovable; so please ARTHUR MOYSE.

TO THE EDITORS OF "FREEDOM".

The Editor's reply to my letter of 26th September makes men think that the Editors of FREEDOM have genuinely not understood my criticism, or else have deliverately misunderstood it. I hape the former is the case. Anyway, I don't think these is much point in repeating it again. My arguments will by now have been understood by everyone who can distinguish between lying to friends and lying to enemies, or between helping to keep people out of trouble and helping people who are in trouble.

Philip Sansom's letter of 26th September makes me think that I was probably right to leave the Freedom Press Group and the London Anarchist Group, and was probably wrong to speak to the latter in January. I hope this personal difference won't confuse the real issues. Anyway. I don't think there is much point in pursuing it further. My reasons for not belonging to any existing anarchist group are not interesting or important.

But I am sorry that any of my anarchist friends should answer careful criticism with careless abuse, or should suggest that the anarchist movement demands total identification from its members. I certainly don't belong to that kind of movement. On the other hand, I certainly do belong to the unilaterialist movement—as a founding member of the Committee of 100, and then of the London Committee of 100and I sometimes think it knows more about freedom than FREEDOM does, and does more for anarchism than the anarchist movement does.

NICOLAS WALTER.

.. and the Truth

DEAR SIR.

With reference to Mr. Walter's letter in 19th September issue of FREEDOM, and your reply. It may not have been stated that Christie was a pacifist or believed in non-violence as either a strategy or tactic, but it was stated, on 12th September, that "comrades . . . were convinced that he was the victim of a frame-up because from what they knew of him, he would not have been willing to become involved in activities connected with terrorist violence". No

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

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Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications: Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A tribute cloth 5/-Journey Through Utopia cloth 16/- paper 7/6 Neither East Nor West paper 7/6

LETTERS *

mention was made of comrades who knew Christie had professed political violence and has previously practised it in this country. You say "I think that one has the duty to protect one's friends from the consequences of their actions". Perhaps it doesn't occur to you that you have harmed Christie more this way. In your editorial of 12th September, you did not give all the facts, though there was no reason why you should not have done as Christie had already been sentenced. A week later you allow the truth to be dragged out-I presume Mr. Walter is telling the truth as you make no denial-and you insinuate that you knew on 12th September that Christie had expressed nonpacifist views. I cannot understand this, and in my opinion your reply to Mr. Walter is completely inadequate. I for one feel less sympathy for Christie because of your actions, though I believe as anyone must that the sentence of 20 years is unjust.

I do not expect Freedom to know the whole truth, but certainly expected to receive all the facts, not merely the ones you thought put Christie in the best light. In future I shall read FREEDOM with the same suspicious attitude as I read other papers, and believe nothing that is printed. I see now I was a fool to think I was getting all the facts the editors possessed, but I was idealistic.

Yours faithfully, Leeds, Sept. 23. A. C. ADAMS.

[Since our correspondent is so concerned with the truth he could at least take the trouble to quote us accurately. We stated that "Christie's alleged confession ber of comrades up and down the rise. country who from the outset were convinced that he was the victim of a frame-up . . . (the italicised passage was tion of a sentence which was followed the considerable publicity given to the has supported this, but Mr. Green has case will have done great harm to the anarchist cause in this country . . .

And we followed these two statements of opinion and feeling in certain circles with the view that since all that could be done had been done and there was little that could be done in the immediate future we therefore had time "to regain our breath and examine that situation as calmly as our intelligence and objectives permit".

Nicolas Walter's "revelations" in FREEDOM (Sept. 19) that Christie "far from believing in non-violence has frequently professed political violence and has previously practiced it in this country" and his conclusion that "this rather alters the picture" of "an innocent tourist who had been framed by Spanish policemen" or "a young idealist who had been duped by Spanish terrorists" does not in any way oblige us to withdraw a single word we have written in either of the editorials published on the Christie case in Freedom, because so far as this writer is concerned we defend him, as we have repeatedly

HELP!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT OCTOBER 3rd 1964 Weeks 39 & 40

EXPENSES: 40 weeks at £70

INCOME: Sales & Sub. Renewals: Weeks 1-38 1,722 Weeks 39 & 40 1,767 New Suscriptions: Weeks 1-38 (170) Weeks 39 & 40 (13) 211 1,978

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S.W.18: A.H. 10/-; S.W.15: C.C. 6/6.

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stated, whether he was innocent or guilty is not a rhctorical question for we susof the charges on which he was sentenced to 20 years in prison. The fact that Nicolas Walter "reveals" that Christie "professed political violence" does not necessarily "alter the picture" that Christie was the victim of a frameup or a plant. After all this writer has defended political violence on many occasions in the columns of FREEDOM without thereby feeling impelled to engage in political violence at the behest of any Tom, Dick or Comrade he happens to meet!

Suppose for one moment that we had had palpable proof that Christie actually did what he is alleged to have done. We would have defended his gesture while questioning its tactical value (for reasons we stated in our editorial). What would our correspondent's line have been in the circumstances? This

pect that our correspondent and others who have been so vocal in calling the editors of Freedom liars would have been equally vocal in pouring out their moral judgments on Christie. And this, so far as our correspondent is concerned is revealed in the phrase "I certainly expected to receive all the facts, not merely the ones you thought put Christie in the best light" for in our opinion we did everything but that. We should have much preferred to say that he went into the whole business with his eyes wide open and fully aware of the risks he ran thereby, rather than suggest that he was duped, framed or the victim of a plant. And we would have defended him even though we may have disagreed with his tactics. Would our correspondent, and Nicolas Walter et alia have joined us?—EDITOR].

HARDY SPICER-NOT THE END!

Continued from page I

and after six months' delay, they finally put in a claim for a third week's holiday and a 40-hour week. They got the extra week holiday, but no reduction in hours and although the members supported the claim, what they considered of prime importance was more on their basic wage rates.

Finally strike action was taken by a number of plants up and down the country, which soon brought a large section of the motor industry to a standstill. The union went mad, rushing here and there demanding that the members return to work, only to be ignored. However, because the strikers thought they had made their point and did not want to bring hardship to other workers, they returned to work and has caused consternation among a num- soon after were granted a 31d. per hour

of the Labour Party, said, "The last thing in the world I would do is to omitted from our correspondent's quota- suggest that this was a Tory plot." It has also been said that the chairman with a reference to "other comrades of the strike committee. Mr. Green, was [who] have expressed their fears that a Tory. Mr. Kealey of the T.G.W.U.

Anti-Election

Anti-Conscription-Glasgow. March from Bridgeton Cross to George Square, Saturday, 10th Oct.

Orpington Group could do with some help and ideas for antielection work; if you can contribute either please contact-Roger Hewitt, Flat 4, 10, Southend Road, Beckenham, Kent.

Anti-Election

Anti-election campaign advancing for the last heave. If you find it all sick-making, meet for leafletting 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6, Monday, October 12th, 8 p.m. Anti-Parliamentary Campaign

Saturday, October 10th. March through North Kensington advocating Direct Action. Assemble 10.30 a.m. Near Notting Hill Tube. Outside W. H. Smith & Son. Nursery

Urgent. Freethinking nursery required as soon as possible for twenty-month-old daughter of student couple. Camden Town or Tottenham area. Graham Clarket, 29 South Villas, N.W.1.

Walden, anyone? Thoreau may have lived in the wild woods on his lonesome but Tony (20) cheesed off. Eight roomed house of character partly in need of repair. Sited half-mile from road in 100-acre wood. Some land cleared. Possible eviction proceedings only drawback. Interested males/females please write Tony Reeder, "Wood Lodge", Hintlesham, near Ipswich, Suffolk.

Breakthru Publishing 'Poetry from the People'. Poems with SAE to Ken Geering, Taormina, Penn Crescent, Haywards Heath, Sussex.

The Sexual Emancipation Movement stands for individual freedom and liberal sexual attitudes. Send blank P.O. 2/6d. for details. Box P.1. Community

It is proposed to set up a community house in London for anarchists under the age of 40. If interested, write Box P.2.

Girl of 15 wants to correspond with another girl. Gillian Ettor, Via Cesar Battista 8, Massalombarda, Ravenna, Italy.

The Edinburgh Anarchist Group is holding a full-scale inquiry into the Stuart Christie affair. Research to result in booklet. Letters, documents, newspaper reports, information, eac. Please send to Bill Jamieson, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3.

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

Mr. Morgan Phillips, then secretary

denied it.

Obviously both the Tories and the Labourites are trying to make political capital out of strikes, but from the number of strikes that take place, there is always the chance of some strike coming off around election time. From the present dispute and the one in 1959, the action taken by the strikers to gain their demands is of more importance to them than the political considerations of either party.

With most car firms relying on Hardy Spicers for their propellor shafts and keeping very small supplies at their own plants, this strike has meant that many other workers yere laid off. The firm supplies about 70% of the market and as in the case of the Lucas strike in the Spring (Lucas controls about 95% of the market in electrical components) has meant that the strikers were in a very strong position.

With the present continuing boom in the car industry and the political considerations of both parties, an early settlement was to be expected and judging by the length of the talks last Saturday at the Ministry, it seems that everybody was after a compromise which would save face all round. It was finally agreed by the union leaders to accept the 3d. already offered plus an extra 2d. per hour on the existing bonus rates. There is to be a revision of this bonus scheme, but if no progress is made in the next four weeks, the agreement provides for the Engineering Employers' Federation and the unions to intervene. This is obviously a safeguard against any further action the inspectors might take.

These terms seem quite inadequate to me and it remains to be seen if the strikers will accept them. This gives them and extra 17/6d. a week, making the basic wage £15 5s. 6d. for a 42-hour week. This figure is by no means uniform. Inspectors say that the majority of them receive rates of about £1 below this and the women get lower rates than the men. I don't think this settlement will be the end and further pressure will be brought to bear to gain a more equitable wage scheme. I think more will be heard from the Hardy Spicer workers.

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rost Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (near Garrick and King. Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m. OCT 11 Brains Trust OCT 18 Alan Albon. The Problem of Women

Notting Hill Anarchist Group Secretary N.H.A.G., 5 Colville Houses, London, W.11.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

Birmingham Group

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

Bristol Federation

Irregular meetings enquiries to c/o Martin Howells, 7 Richmond Dale, Clifton, Bristol 8.

Meets Sundays (weather and circumstances permitting), 3.30 p.m. on the Downs (Blackboy Hill).

Dundee Group Contact Rod Cameron,

6 Westfield Place, Dundee.

Edinburgh Group

Enquiries to: Douglas Trueman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3. Meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m. All welcome.

Glasgow Federation Enquiries to Ronnie Alexander, c/o

Kennedy, 112 Glenkirk Drive, Glasgow, **Hayes and District**

Contact Mike Wakeman, 12 Hoppner Road, Hayes, Middlesex.

Manchester Group Meetings alternate Tuesdays. Details from Graham Leigh, 5, Mere Close,

Sale, Cheshire. Merseyside Federation Enquiries: Vincent Johnston's, 43 Mill-

bank, Liverpool 13. Tunbridge Wells Group Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at J. D. Gilbert-Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex, 8 p.m.

Tyneside Federation

Enquiries: Dave Wallace, 64 Belford Avenue, Horsley Hill, South Shields, Co. Durham.

PROPOSED GROUPS BRADFORD

Anyone interested in Anarchist discussion group and folk-singing contact Sid Frisbee, 100 Bierley House Avenue, Bierley, Bradford.

Watford- Herts

Anyone interested get in touch with Ian Roxborough, 44 Tanners Hill, Abbots Langley, Watford.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

First Tuesday in each month at 8 p.m. at Jean and Tony Smythe's Ground Floor Flat, 88, Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

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.

Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, 2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Sundays. No meeting in August. Donald & Irene Rooum's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage. N.W.3.

Wimbledon S.W.19, Last Saturday of each month. 8 p.m. Phone WIM 2849. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting, Sunday 25th October, 2.30 p.m. at "Greenways", Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson's.

Freedom weekly

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