

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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Threepence

MANHATTAN CAPERS

WRITERS in this newspaper are not at all elated that our speculations on world politics are usually accurate.

It strikes us as a social tragedy that a handful of anarchists are alone able to grasp the significance of competitive political power when the facts are available to all.

When we stated in FREEDOM last week ("The Political Circus") on the eve of the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, that no agreements of any value in terms of "peaceful co-existence" between the big nations would be made, none of the dreary speeches has caused us to alter our view; and although the world waits expectantly for the appearance on the United Nations stage of the British and Indian Prime Ministers (at the time of writing their acts have not been performed) we cannot hope for ideas from either which will radically effect existing political conditions or "ease the tension" between East and West.

On the question of the arms race both Krushchev and Eisenhower "solemnly" stated to the Assembly that this must come to an end. Oh yes, they have each said this on many occasions at Geneva and elsewhere but not even a giggle was reported as coming from any of the old or new members.

Judging from the proposals from the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., if each would call the other's bluff disarmament would appear to be no problem.

Take a look at Krushchev's three stages restated for U.N. consumption and compare it with Eisenhower's, not quite so sweeping, but full of promise for a non-nuclear world.

Krushchev proposed:

1. The elimination from the armed forces of States of all means of delivering nuclear weapons, the discontinuance of their manufacture, and the destruction of existing ones.
2. The complete prohibition of nuclear, chemical, biological, and other weapons of mass destruction, with the cessation of manufacture and destruction of all stockpiles; and further reduction of armed forces and armaments to levels to be agreed.
3. The completion of the abolition of armed forces, States retaining only

Still Time to Meet the Challenge

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

WEEK 39

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limited contingents of militia equipped with light firearms for maintaining internal order. All types of conventional armaments and ammunition would be destroyed or put to peaceful uses.

Assuming that details for international control (included in the proposals) could be worked out satisfactorily, the snag is that Krushchev knows that Eisenhower knows that these proposals are unacceptable to the U.S. There have been many opportunities to discuss detailed disarmament at Geneva and elsewhere if either side had wanted it, and most of us have forgotten the quibble which has been going on for years at disarmament talks on the question of which should come first—control or disarmament, an "important" obstacle which has still to be removed before details of any disarmament plan can be considered.

(In passing it seems odd (point 3) that a popular leader should have to maintain firearms to deal with internal disorder!)

The elimination of all nuclear weapons is also the aim of the United States, pessimists please note. Eisenhower stated:

If the Soviet Union will agree to a cessation of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, some production facilities could be closed without delay. The United States would be willing to match the Soviet Union in shutting down major plants producing fissionable materials, one by one, under international inspection and verification.

The proposed working group of experts could also consider how to verify the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, which is part of the third stage

of our proposed disarmament programme.

Today, I solemnly declare, on behalf of the United States, that we are prepared to submit to any international inspection; provided only that it is effective and truly reciprocal. . . . The United States wants the Soviet Union and all the nations of the world to know enough about United States defence preparations to be assured that the United States Forces exist only for deterrence and defence—not for surprise attack.

Leaving aside the snags, the ifs and the buts, it seems that Krushchev and Eisenhower only want a peaceful world unmarred by military machines and nuclear weapons. But the fact remains that they continue to avoid agreement and pile up arms.

In addition another cause of fear has entered into the calculations of East and West: outer space conquest. The subject was ignored by

Krushchev at the General Assembly for the obvious reason that the U.S.S.R. is well ahead of the United States in this field. Eisenhower, however, made a four point proposal including the control by an international body of the launchings of space craft. The fear is that the Soviet Union "will put into orbit or station in outer space weapons of mass destruction". Since it is unlikely that Russia and America will cease experimenting for whatever reason, we can now look forward to an "outer space race" with the possibility of a scientific miscalculation exploding over our heads.

This is a depressing view of the future and one which implies that weapons are manufactured for use (as well as profit) and that it is only a question of time before they are used in a situation where the consequences are accepted and a gamble on "getting in first" is taken by one side or the other.

Another view, expressed by G. in FREEDOM (September 24th, "Anar-

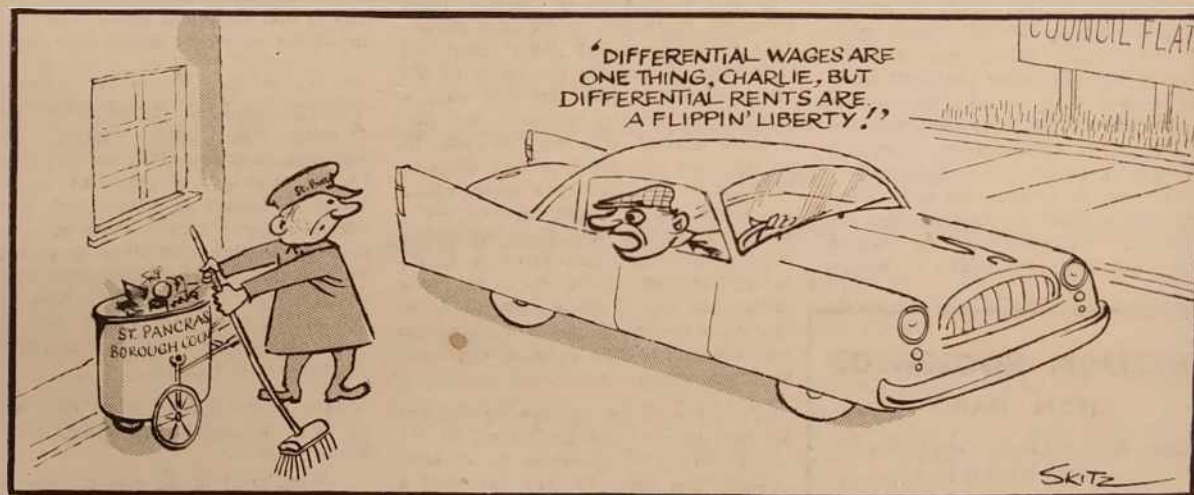
chists and the H-Bomb"), may be nearer to what will actually happen and makes some sense of the "cold war" tactics. He writes that a four minute warning signal will come as no surprise:—

" . . . But I do think there is some genuine hope that the H-war will never be launched. Now this is tantamount to saying that there will be no more big international wars, and if this is so a new era dawns for the world. When the 'great Powers' have rattled their H-bombs for so many years without daring to use them, it may be that the bluff will wear thin and all will be forced to acknowledge that war is outmoded, not through sanity, or humanity or amity, but through sheer crude fear."

To return to the United Nations and what might be described as the positive proposals, inevitably linked to the new member African States, one gets the impression that the happiness and material well-being of the African is the first wish of Russia and the West.

The problem is not new. Afri-

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Reflections on the

BATTLE OF ST. PANCRAS

THE battle of St. Pancras, in which two bailiffs escorted by some 450 police were used to force an entry into the flats of two Council tenants who had refused to obey an eviction order made against them at the end of last month, shows to what lengths the forces of law will go to see to it that the law is observed. Just as the two barricaded men were "representing" all the tenants by their stand, so must one see the determined police operation as something more than just the council fighting to collect a few pounds rent! Indeed the resisters were disobeying a Court order, and the State, not the local council, was responsible for the attack en masse by the police last week, and one must assume that the size of the force, was a measure of the seriousness of the situation, or the consequences throughout the country if this act of defiance were to be allowed to pass unchallenged. Those people who imagine that the function or even the nature of the police in this country is any different from that of the police in all countries could do well to pause and reflect on the "battle of St. Pancras". Here was an incident which, on the surface at least, was far from shaking in any way either the authority of the law or the foundations of the State. But the guardians of law and order are trained to believe that even the smallest sign of unrest must not be allowed to go unchallenged

Weakness at the beginning will only lead to the lawlessness growing and perhaps assuming proportions which cannot be controlled. The traditional ruthlessness of continental police is a measure of the ever-present current of unrest among the people. The traditional mildness of the British police is but a measure of the conformism of the British people. For as we have seen in St. Pancras, when even a pocket of resistance emerges, the police will clamp down on it with a thoroughness and efficiency which leaves nothing to be desired! And within two days, the Home Secretary had agreed to the making of an Order by the Commissioner of Police prohibiting all processions (except those of a religious character) in the Borough for the next three months.

VIEWED quite objectively the St. Pancras tenants case is a weak one, and for the reason that it is not based on principles and values which can even remotely be called revolutionary. Let us first examine the facts. The Conservative-controlled Council has decided that the amount by which the rate-payers "subsidise" Council tenants should be reduced from £321,000 at present to an estimated £194,500. To achieve this they propose to increase rents not by equal amounts for all tenants but by applying some kind of means test, making those who earned more shoulder a larger pro-

portion of the increase than those who earned less. Already more than 3,500 tenants have received rent rebates while 1,000 of them were now paying less than they had before. A means test is resented by many as a "prying insult", which it is, but equally, surely having to make annual returns to the Inspector of Taxes, showing every penny that one has received, no matter the source, is also a prying insult, and the amount one pays in Tax is also based on a means test. Yet there are no public protests against this form of means test, except from the rich!

The St. Pancras council tenants argue that the borough is a rich one and that the commercial and industrial interests can well afford to foot the subsidies bill by an increase in the rates. They point to the fact that just at the time when increased rents were being demanded, 4d. was knocked off the rates. In spite of what the Conservative Council say—"Why should ratepayers subsidise Council tenants who can perfectly well afford a higher rent"—we think there is a justification for saying that the commercial and industrial interests should subsidise working people's flats on the grounds that the worker has very little say in the location of his place of work and therefore should be entitled to have somewhere to live within a reasonable distance from his place of work, and at a rent which has some

relation to his basic wages. But even so his argument is based on the application of a means test . . . to the ratepayer and the taxpayer. To object to a smaller means test being applied to him as a rent payer is not only inconsistent but reveals a lack of understanding, alas only too common, among the better paid workers for their grossly underpaid brethren.

WHETHER one's landlord is a private individual, a property company or a council, one is subjected to the financial laws of capitalism. In the case of a Council since it is not expected that its activities should necessarily show a profit, one does not get the gross abuses resulting from the application of the capitalist law of supply and demand, but even Councils depend on finance for their activities. According to the Guardian (10/8/60) for every £100 the St. Pancras Council collected in rents, £51 was used to pay off interest charges, while loan repayments accounted for only £15, repairs £22 and management £12.

Those of us whose landlord is in the business to make as much as he can from his property, pay not only interest on capital but also for the "value" of the site and the universal demand for housing. Housing is an enterprise like any other and if one believes that everyone has the right to make as much as they can whether from the ownership of a factory or the possession of land, by what special morality do they deny to the landlord the justification to make all he can out of his bed-

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THE TROUBLE WITH GENIUS

THE thing that is horrifying about the story of Vincent van Gogh is the suspicion that the world will never learn to make a place for such men. Beyond doubt, van Gogh was a great painter; but more than this, he was a human being with the gift of perception of all "great men" (to use an almost useless expression), in that he saw and felt his role of being like "a horse drawing a coachload of people who are out to enjoy the Spring."

The great man knows, as van Gogh knew, that he has "a certain work" to do. There is no other issue in his life. It is not that the world must learn to pay him well; nor is it especially important that he be widely honoured during his lifetime. Men cannot honestly honour what they have not yet learned to understand. About all we can say on this question is that a world that has the right to speak of its "freedom" will be a world in which the van Goghs are permitted to work without suffering total indifference, even contempt, and without a lot of unnecessary obstacles placed in their path.

But who, someone may ask, is to tell us when a *real* van Gogh comes along? And the only possible answer is that there is on one to tell us. This is a somewhat frustrating answer for the planner of the good society, since what he wants is some sign from heaven, like the thirty-two marks of the Buddha, so that he can make provision for the true artist. The present idea seems to be that every now and then someone special is born, a kind of "God's fool", for whom conventional society ought to provide asylum.

If you object to this view of the problems created by genius in our midst, you will probably be told that, after all, the general arrangements of society cannot be scaled to the needs of genius. The greatest good for the greatest number must remain the criteria of social planning, and the artist—the great artist, that is—will have to take his chances along with all the other deviants who are left out of consideration, except on a salvage or social welfare basis.

What, precisely, does the artist challenge in our society? He challenges the normative conception of the human being, and normative ideas of human

good. The typical normative conceptions of a conventional society produce a fairly detailed blueprint of the proper individual. This individual fits. His desires can be generalized on a statistical basis; he will marry at the age of 23.2 years and have 2.4 children. His income will fall within a certain range and he will incur corresponding expenses, so much for food, clothes, and housing, so much for medicine, vacation, and entertainment. You balance the equation and justify the *status quo* with it; or, if you don't like the result, you make up a revolutionary programme with a new projection of income and institutions to serve human beings to better effect.

But here is a man whose equation is so starkly simple that he does not fit in anywhere. All he wants is brushes, paints, canvas, and a little nourishment—and he wants this, we may suspect, without being made to feel like a beggar or a pensioner. This was van Gogh's way of pursuing the eternal mystery, through his work. "During the seventy days preceding his death, van Gogh's productivity was incredible. He finished some seventy paintings and more than thirty drawings." He died, aged 37, on July 29th, 1890.

★
THERE are books which tell the story of van Gogh's life, of his courage and his misery, of his deep affection for common human kind and his longing to give and do for others. It is easy enough now that we know, or think we know, what he was, to charge his world and his times with wilful neglect of a great man, but that is not the point. The point is, what are we telling our children about such men? The past is over and dead. What about the future?

It isn't a question of warning them about the symptoms of incipient genius. Are you going to tell them about the eight-hour day, or are you going to tell them about men who feel they have a work to do, and are willing to feel like a horse hitched to a dray in order to do it? Are you going to take them to Disneyland, or down in a mine, where van Gogh felt he ought to work for a while? What are you going to say to them about what it means to be a human being? If they have the right idea about this, they'll know what to do in the presence of authentic genius, and may even be able to recognize one when he comes along.

It's not a matter of showing children all the ugliness and unkindness in the world. They'll encounter that soon enough, and see it if they have had a

share of sensibility and wonder. But what is the myth that will take them out of themselves enough to *care* about whether there is beauty or ugliness in the world? It is not just the great painters who have a compelling work to do.

Questions like this engender medieval longings. Is there a *Holy Grail* to be found? What is the modern version of the Philosopher's Stone, or the Nibelungen Gold? We ought to be able to do a little better than a cattle drive to the railhead in Kansas, ending in the Chicago slaughter pens.

Do you really think that the steel-eyed, gray-haired men at Oak Ridge are going to find out the secrets of the universe for us? Do we really suppose that a majority for the Right Man next November has anything at all to do with our Security?

For all his lonely pain in his last days, van Gogh was not alone. He made this profoundly religious discovery: "I can do without Our Dear Lord, both in my life and my painting, but, weak as I am, I cannot do without something greater than myself, namely, my life, my creative potentiality." There are repeated truths and forged truths. All of van Gogh's truths were forged. When shall we try to teach our children to make this distinction? How old should they be? Do we need two sets of truths: One for the courageous children to forge for themselves, and another set of repeated truths for the timid ones?

Not long ago a writer quoted in these pages said that the coming generation suffers from a lack of good causes. What does this mean? It means that as a culture, as a civilization, we collectively don't know what to do next. It means that the momentum of the great movements of the nineteenth century has run down. It means that the plans and projects in which previous generations found inspiration no longer arouse and inspire.

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THOSE people of the nineteenth century who knew exactly what needed to be done—where are they now? They were so sure, so optimistic, so confident of themselves. They were planning to make or remake the world, with science, progress, industry, or perhaps with revolution—it doesn't matter much which it was—and their efforts have carried over almost until the present. But now nobody knows, and the only thing left to do is to admit it.

Back in those days, when men were so sure, van Gogh was writing to his brother (1882):

What am I in the eyes of most but

a nonentity,—a crank, or an unpleasant fellow,—a man who has no position, or ever will have, in society; at any rate, a lesser man than most. All right, let's assume that that's exactly how things are. But I would like to show, by my work, what goes on in the heart of such a crank, of such a nonentity.

And a year later he wrote:

In my opinion I am often very rich. Not in money, but (not every day, mind you) rich because I have found my vocation, something for which I can live with heart and soul, and which gives life inspiration and meaning.

How could a society with no place for such a man in its dreams do anything but a botch job of creating the future?

But what are we to do? Can we borrow from van Gogh his intensity upon having discovered his "vocation"? After all, it was *his* vocation, and it came to him, apparently, unsought. His drive to paint is reminiscent of the ancient idea of the artist as being almost obsessed by the Muse, he being only the responsive vehicle of a quasi-divine inspiration.

There are other difficulties. Even if we acknowledge the need of human beings to find some insistent vocation and to work at it with all their hearts, there remains the fact that a private, personal salvation through finding one's "work" seems a kind of spiritual selfishness—a fine artistic neglect of the world and its woes and dilemmas. Here is no "cause", but a kind of escape.

But what would you attempt? Solicit van Gogh for a membership in the World Federalists? He might, of course, surprise you and join, but this overlooks the possibility that the most promising of the plans and projects of the nineteenth century failed because this idea

Anarchists & the H-Bomb

DEAR FRIENDS,

G's article on "Anarchists and the H-Bomb" is excellent (FREEDOM, Sept. 24), but there are a few additional points that could well be made.

I am one of those anarchists who remain sceptical about the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the yearly hikes organised by that body. Two of my reasons for not joining in are personal, and I will probably be considered frivolous by supporters of the movement: I dislike marching or walking with vast bodies of people for any motive whatsoever, and I have an instinctive antipathy to many of the pacifist and socialist followers of the organisation. My experiences with pacifists during the war years, particularly Christian pacifists, has made me wish to have as little to do with them as possible for, in truth, I often found I was able to establish a more enjoyable relationship with the "enemy" (soldiers). However, I am prepared to admit that this may be a personal neurosis and in itself would not constitute a valid reason for rejecting co-operation with the nuclear disarmers.

ism of blue-black skies, black waters and silvery moon. Later Jadot made an undignified jump into the drip-dry school of painting bandwagon and it was only his brilliant handling of his materials that managed to lift him above the mass of odd characters that were dripping paint over half the floorboards of Greater London. If Jadot had continued this type of painting he could have been dismissed with half a line, but at the age of 70 this Belgian painter proved what a fine abstract artist he was by tossing aside all this chi-chi muck and producing the best work to have been seen for many a weary month.

Using strips of splintered ply wood he literally built up his abstractions layer by layer and covered the finished work with a sheen of steel grey paint. From the silence of his studio above the Edgware Road, with chisel, saw and brush, he has given us these remarkably fine works and it is the measure of his success that he dictates what the spectator shall read into them. In the bright lights of the gallery they become flying shards of steel caught in that fraction of a second before the scarlet flame leaps out, in the hard light of day each picture becomes a steel singing of a forgotten tongue and in the silence and the darkness of the empty gallery they become the ruins of deserted cities forgotten by man but rediscovered in the mind and the hand of the artist.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

FREEDOM

of individual vocation was left out of the statistical hash the planners made of the idea of the human being.

The level of national decision might have been very different if there had been a vital idea of individual role and work in the lives of the people of Western civilization. The important thing for a man to say to himself is not, "What will I have?" It is not even, "How free will I be?" It is, "What will I do? What will I make?" It is only for this that freedom is important.

Parents can hardly bring up their children to find answers to the right questions. Ordinarily, American parents feel that they are doing their bit in the education of their children if they go to a few PTA meetings and read about why Johnny can't read, or that he will read a lot better after the bond issue has been passed. But parents who work only because they need money are people without a vocation. And people without a vocation are not in a good position to teach the importance of vocation to the young. Why, after all, should a beatnik imitate his father who has a job doing public relations for the gas company? Maybe the beatnik's way of saying "No" is not the best way to say no, but any kind of a no may be better than any kind of a faithless yes. Maybe some kind of a "lost generation" is part of the price that has to be paid—a kind of rent—for the time it takes to rediscover the importance of the idea of vocation.

One thing is certain: People with a genuine sense of vocation look at the world with eyes very different from those who have no vocation. And they look at other people with very different eyes. People who have found a meaning for their lives can see meanings in the lives of others. This is the sole foundation for human dignity and mutual respect.

—Manas, (USA), 10/8/60.

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Around the Galleries

THE exhibition "Situation" at the R.B.A. Galleries in Suffolk Street, S.W.1, crept silently into town and crept silently out again, for this was without a doubt the most dismal exhibition to hit the town since "This is Tomorrow" from the same stable bored the corduroys off the citizens of the Whitechapel High Street.

The apologists for the exhibition had jumped the gun by suggesting that these twenty painters had been influenced by the New York School of abstract painters but most of the stuff was pure third rate imitation for this is the panic squad in action endeavouring to cover their poverty of invention by blinding the spectator with the sheer size and weight of canvas. Lawrence Alloway and Roger Coleman did their usual double act by alternating as chief barker and Acting Logos for the Month while William Turnbull provided the residential guest artist. Alloway who gave a two-column write-up of this exhibition in *Art News* referred to himself as a sympathetic critic, but when one accepts the fact that he was also chairman of the exhibition's Executive Committee, one wonders who is kidding who. What makes me so bitter about this type of exhibition is not that the fly boys are putting on another act but that people with no talent whatsoever are being used to fill the catalogues while minor painters prostitute what small gift they have to pander to a writer's whim. William Green the cyclist of the art world offered three frameless canvases that were covered with nothing more than a flat layer of dull black paint and just how long he can continue to offer this rubbish to the galleries and to the public must give Green many sleepless nights. Turnbull and Hoyland are still dog-

gedly following last year's fashions and are now painting the solitary off-centred circle but of the toxophilic school only Bernard Cohen appears to have a new approach to this shallow style of painting but again Jasper Johns the American painter was turning out this stuff over five years ago and with New World simplicity calling it "Large Target . . ."

Bonar Thompson said that Dean Inge was a man always deep in someone else's thought and this could surely be the epitaph for this exhibition but it would be ungracious to end on a sour note, for if these canvases were literally and figuratively cut down to size there is much to please the casual visitor. Irwin's collages have the pleasant feel of ancient stucco while John Plumb's spectrum collages, or to use the jargon of the moment Hard Edge Paintings, are pleasant but minor things. On a background of rich black, Plumb has pasted a number of brightly coloured strips. They do not run parallel but diverge almost imperceptibly and this gives them an off-beat interest. Mundy is showing the same type of abstractions that he is displaying at the Hanover Gallery at 32a St. George Street, W.1., and these consist of a casually-scrawled oval that forms the basis of his paintings, then a happy half hour with a distemper brush and some pots of weak or well-thinned paint, adds the colour to this English type abstraction while John Epstein's "Resting Place" has the nostalgic charm of the surrealist thirties with its pattern of egg-shell blue, cloud white and purple window'd oblong. Running currently with this exhibition was the work of Maurice Jadot at the Drian Gallery at 7 Porchester Place, W.2. When I first came across Jadot's work in the late 'forties it was a teeth-gritting romantic-

We all, to a greater or less degree, must feel great personal frustrations at the present moment, but while I will gladly work with non-anarchists on such issues as capital punishment and its abolition, I do feel that it is essential that we retain our own identity. At the last resort socialists and most pacifists are so far removed from us as any other supporters of a statist society.

Yours sincerely,
ALBERT J. MCCARTHY.

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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DAVID PRATT INSANE?

THE Supreme Court in committing David Pratt to Pretoria jail without trial, on the grounds that the judge found him to be "mentally disordered and an epileptic", took a very easy line out of what might well have been an embarrassing situation for Mr. Verwoerd and his segregationist friends. The medical report on Mr. Pratt's behaviour during the night he was under observation makes unconvincing reading. According to the B.U.P. account:

It said that Pratt was "completely out of touch with reality", mentally disordered and an epileptic. Pratt was said to have threatened nurses at the institution and on one occasion he did not want to drink his tea because he believed that it was poisoned.

Professor Lamont said that he noticed a tattoo mark on Pratt's right forearm consisting of crossed swords and a date above and below—9/4/60 and 12/9/60 with the letter V on one side. Pratt told him that the V stood for Verwoerd and the dates indicated his own period of isolation. Professor Lamont said Pratt's mood was "one of euphoria combined with ecstasy."

Professor Lamont said that Pratt's tendency to minimise his trouble was an indication that he was completely out of touch with reality. Had it not been for his wealth, Pratt would most probably have been in trouble before.

—British United Press.

Most people outside South Africa are of the opinion that Mr. Verwoerd's policy of apartheid is "completely out of touch with reality" yet no one has suggested that Mr. Verwoerd is "mentally disordered". The tattoo marks do not seem so strange to us; why should not those five months have been as meaningful to David Pratt as the love affair of somebody's sailor boy who then proceeds to have the event tattooed on his arm? Every prison cell wall in the world has recorded on it the dates of occupation by its unhappy inmates.

As to Pratt's "tendency to minimise the trouble" being an indication that he was "out of touch with reality" we cannot help thinking of humble as well as famous people who have faced grave situations, in which even their lives may have been at stake, calmly and serenely, and who were at the same time more sane than most of us. After all, one has only to think of Socrates' last thirty days of life to question the prison psychologist's conclusions about those who find peace of mind in spite of their "crimes"!

David Pratt is now safely put away; the charges against him remain on the files. Is that the end of the story? Will no voice be raised on his behalf; against permitting him to rot in jail, his generous action dismissed as that of a "mentally disordered man"?

For those who have short memories let us repeat David Pratt's statement to the Supreme Court when he appeared before it a fortnight ago:

These five months have been a hundred times happier than the past five years. If you live in guilt you are never free. If you know you must do something and you don't do it you are not free.

The writer of this column salutes David Pratt and despises his detractors!

The New Social Investigators-3

ASSUMPTIONS WE CANNOT MAKE

NO more important book has been published on social policy than Richard Titmuss's *Essays on 'The Welfare State'* (Allen & Unwin 20s.), even though it is simply a gathering together of lectures and articles written at various times. But in reading it, or in reading his pamphlet *The Irresponsible Society* or the introductions he has written for the volumes of detailed social investigation by Young and Willmott, Vaizey and Martin, we stop short and notice that he is making assumptions to which we, as anarchists, are fundamentally opposed.

Like all stimulating thinkers, he forces us to examine our own attitudes more clearly. Anarchism as a social philosophy has not arisen in a vacuum. It can be seen either as the ultimate form of liberalism or of socialism, and our attitude as anarchists to the welfare state will depend on which of these streams of thought is the one where we feel at home. Do you value most liberty, equality or fraternity? Are they in fact compatible goals? Admittedly they are merely "hurrah-words" — abstractions which only become meaningful when we cease to think of absolutes and speak in terms of more or less of them. Do we want more liberty, more equality or more fraternity?

Liberal critics of the social service state want more liberty. Bertrand de Jouvenel in *The Ethics of Redistribution* (quoted by Titmuss)

"drew attention to the 'sordid utilitarianism' of redistributionist social services; to a 'precipitous decline' in voluntary services upon which culture and civilisation depends, and to a 'tremendous growth' in the power of the State as a consequence of the rising cost of the social services."

and Colin Clark in *Welfare and Taxation*,

"foreseeing a totalitarian threat in the continued existence of the social services, would 'denationalise' them and entrust some remnant of their functions to the Churches, local friendly societies and voluntary organisations."

On the face of it these opinions are sympathetic in tone to the anarchist mind reared on Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* and on the idea of the state as the usurper of the functions of the voluntary institutions of social welfare from below. But we get an uncomfortable feeling that they spring from certain economic preoccupations rather than from a concern with the liberty of the people, especially the bottom people, and these feelings are enhanced by reading Titmuss's arguments, the more so since under the present government we are experiencing precisely the kind of whittling away of the social services which de Jouvenel and Clark presumably approve.

There are many who want more fraternity. They include ourselves no doubt, and they include the whole group which I describe as the new social investigators, and all those who want a society which really cares for those in need of care. For as Audrey Harvey

remarks in her *Casualties of the Welfare State* (Fabian Society 2s. 6d.),

"there is a tendency on the part of more comfortable and privileged people to look upon them as 'second-class citizens' who are somehow less sensitive, physically and emotionally, than themselves, and less deserving of respect and consideration. This is reflected not only in the quality of the services provided for their welfare, but also in the attitude of many who administer these services."

And there are those who want more equality. Titmuss remarks that "many of us must also admit that we put too much faith in the nineteen-forties in the concept of universality as applied to social security. Mistakenly it was linked with economic egalitarianism. Those who have benefited most are those who have needed it least." The theme is taken up by Peter Townsend in his article "The Truce of Inequality" (*New Statesman* 26/9/59) in which he emphasises that universality in the social services must not be confused with "egalitarianism":

"The National Insurance scheme is universal—subject to a test of contributions. Yet the benefits it confers are so low that the poorest are driven to seek help from the National Assistance Board and the richest regard them simply as convenient supplements to much more substantial benefits they may obtain from employers or from insurance companies."

He points out that the post-war extensions of the social services, far from being redistributive, have had the effect which Tony Gibson once described in these pages (*FREEDOM* 15/9/56) as making the poor keep the rich. Townsend declares that

"Since 1947, by a process which we may call 'piecemeal amelioration', the lot of the middle and upper-middle groups has gradually improved. I am referring here not only to the more obvious steps taken to relieve taxpayers in one of the latest budgets or to the general switch in emphasis from direct to indirect taxation, but to a series of big and small measures, from the removal of food subsidies to the tax relief granted to the parents of university students. The 1956 Finance Act for example, allowed £50 million a year in taxes to be lost to the Exchequer so that contributors to private superannuation might enjoy more generous tax concessions. That £50m. was equivalent to the total sum then being paid out to old age pensioners by the National Assistance Board. The rich have gained most from the changes because they were affected most by taxation in the first place. The fiscal system is the biggest, if the most silent social service we have."

★

THIS leads us to the question what is a social service? The answer is that the distinction is quite arbitrary and varies from one writer to another. Titmuss selects some items from the Treasury classifications of 'social service expenditure' which show how meaningless the divisions are

"Approved Schools and remand homes are social services. The probation service is not.

The training of doctors is a social service. Marriage guidance services are not.

Pensions and allowances attributable to the Boer War and the First World War are social services. Industrial health services are not.

The family allowance is a social service. The child allowance as remission of tax is not.

The investigation of legal aid applications is a social service. Legal aid grants are not.

Technological training and further education is a social service. Subsidised housing for miners is not.

Compensation to doctors for loss of right to sell medical practices is a social service. Non-contributory pensions and superannuation under occupational pensions schemes are not."

And so on. Now in his calculations about the inequitable divisions of welfare, Titmuss's most striking contrasts rest on the assumption that remission of income tax counts, as Townsend suggests, as a social service. It was remarked when his book appeared that, with its publication, "It will no longer be respectable, intellectually, to discuss the cost of the social services apart from the cost of tax reliefs for the middle classes". For Titmuss shows that the tax allowances on private pensions schemes is a greater cost to the Exchequer than the cost of national insurance pensions, and he illustrates the relative effect on incomes of the family allowance and the income tax remission in respect of the taxpayer's children: If two married men, one earning £2,000 a year and one earning £400 a year, each having two children under 15, the first father receives an annual net bounty of £97, the second of £28. Over the lives of the two families the former will receive a total of £1,455 and the latter a total of £422.

But the assumption behind all these striking comparisons, even though it is made in pursuit of equity and equality, is what we can only call a totalitarian

one: the assumption that the state has an absolute right to levy the maximum of tax on all income, and that any remission in the form of tax concessions is as much a charge on the exchequer as the distribution of cash or services in welfare benefits. If you think in terms of equality, the argument is unanswerable, if you think in terms of liberty, it is as frightening as any other affirmation of the total state.

★

A LARGE part of Titmuss's essay on *The Irresponsible Society* is devoted to considering the immense concentration of capital and power in the hands of the insurance companies.

When he gave his broadcast version of this lecture, a desultory correspondence followed in *The Listener* on the issues involved, and one of his liberal critics remarked:

"Professor Titmuss attacks the insurance companies for their concentration of arbitrary power. . . Yet he suggests that 'public supervision and control' are desirable to correct these alleged but unproved abuses. Whether government officials are more capable of acting in the public interest than private bodies is often assumed but never proved, and some examples of their use of arbitrary power are still fresh in the public mind."

In practice it does not seem likely that government control of insurance investment policy would be at all different from the private companies' policy. We have no reason to suppose it would be any better. Professor Titmuss in this essay continually speaks of the dwindling role of Government and of the "retreat from Government; a retreat into irresponsibility". If anarchism merely implies anti-governmentalism, we ought to welcome the trend he deplors. Our difficulty in coming to grips with his argument is that while we agree with his criticism of the irresponsibility of private capitalism, we are just as critical of the irresponsibility of government. For the only kind of government we are going to get is not the kind which Titmuss, by an unspoken equation, identifies with the interests of the community.

C.W.

(To be continued)

In Franco's Spain Barcelona Lawyers Accuse Police

BARCELONA, SEPTEMBER.

The Barcelona Bar Association, a professional body much respected in Catalonia, has requested an investigation of alleged brutality by Franco's police after arrests carried out in May during the Caudillo's visit to this city.

Whether the matter will be accepted as worthy of investigation in accordance with normal judicial processes remains to be seen. But it is noteworthy that the complaint against the omnipotent police has been made openly, through legal channels, without recourse to anonymity. It seems that in 21 years of Franco rule nothing quite like this has happened before.

The charges of police brutality are contained in a document respectfully addressed to the State's prosecuting attorney for Barcelona. It opens with a formal request, signed by the dean of the Barcelona Bar Association, for an investigation with a view to punishing police officers found guilty of "abuses".

Fourteen complaints are appended alleging maltreatment and beatings of people under interrogation. These are made out in legal form, sworn to, signed, and notarised. Thirteen of the complaints are by persons who were arrested and later released. One is filed by the father of Jorge Pujol Soley (31), who was arrested with the others and is now serving a seven-year sentence imposed by a military court. He was found guilty of putting out leaflets attacking Franco.

Pujol's father, Don Florencio Pujol, alleges that his son was insulted, beaten unconscious, kept incommunicado, and held longer than the lawful 72 hours after which a detainee is supposed to be either released or placed under the authority of the judiciary. Another complainant is himself a member of the Bar Association.

Most of the plaintiffs seeking to bring suit against the police are of fairly well-to-do Catalan families, devout Catholics in good standing in their communities. Jorge Pujol is a member of a Jesuit school for social studies and a respected officer of the lay organisation, Catholic Action. He and all but one of the plaintiffs (his father) were arrested after a concert here at which the audience stood up and sang a revered Catalan

anthem which had been crossed off the programme at the last moment by official order.

The anthem, *El Cant de la Senyera*, was deemed by the authorities to smack of subversion against the régime and to be conducive to undesirable sentiments in favour of Catalan autonomy. It was written more than half a century ago by the Catalan poet Juan Maragall. The concert at which it was sung in defiance of the authorities was a feature of the celebrations which had been organised officially to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the poet's birth.

By forbidding the showing of the Catalan flag, the teaching of the Catalan language and literature in the schools, and the publication of newspapers in Catalan, the Franco régime has sought to discourage regionalist sentiments. These restrictions have merely stiffened sullen, resentful opposition to pressures from Madrid's centralist Government.

The Bar Association's sponsorship of a move deliberately, if politely, questioning local police methods is a measure of the growing solidarity among Catalans which has been particularly noticeable this year.

José Maria Pi Suner, dean of the association, told me: "I signed the document in my capacity as dean, with the full approval and backing of the association's members. There is nothing underhand about it or illegal. I don't know what will come of it—if anything. But it may be that this initiative will have a restraining influence on the police."

Meanwhile, the formal demand for an investigation of the police has had a first result: a denial by general police headquarters that the Barcelona detainees were roughly handled. A statement to the Madrid press said that the fact that charges of maltreatment had been filed should not be taken to mean that the authorities conceded that abuses had in fact occurred.

But the police, the statement said, desired that the fullest light should be thrown on any acts which slurred "the humane and fair methods which the Spanish police uses at all times."

From a Special

("Guardian") Correspondent.

Manhattan Antics

Continued

cans have always been in need of education, economic assistance and the freedom in which to develop, but the emergent states having got what is loosely described as independence are now a factor in world politics in terms of numbers and votes. They are however still economically dependent.

In the past Russia could occasionally rumble about imperialism and exploitation without having to do very much about it. Now if she hopes for the support of the African states in the United Nations the Russians will have to do more than talk.

Apart from Krushchev's one reference to economic aid to the underdeveloped countries which he said could be increased if one-tenth of the money spent by the Great Powers on armaments was wisely directed, it was Eisenhower's expansive aid policies which must have caught the attention of the African leaders at the United Nations. Aid which the United States in collaboration with other Western States, can

supply in greater quantity than the Soviet Union is a more important problem for Africans than the power struggle between East and West, although one can hardly blame them if they use it to get the best possible assistance.

(The Soviet technicians who were sent to the Congo at the request of Lumumba are only of value in an already technically developed or potentially rich country).

At this stage in African development economic realities will be more persuasive than moral arguments on racial equality which is the chief weapon of the Soviet Union in its bid for African allegiance.

We would like to think that Africans could stand aside from the political struggle and concentrate on creating all the things for which they fought, better education, conditions of equality and technical development. But their leaders are already proving what we have always claimed, that politicians differ very little whether they are black or white.

This Column

WHILST recognising FREEDOM as one of the most effective organs of reason and progress published in Britain today, it has long been my contention that its articles and features are, in the main, too "highbrow" to be of real interest to the working-class. I have on several occasions attempted to interest my own workmates in FREEDOM. The articles on practical Anarchism and Syndicalism, and editorials on day-to-day topics have usually been well received. The hair-splitting "theoretical" articles, on the other hand (of which there is very often a surfeit in these pages), are received with derision and contempt. FREEDOM, therefore, is not a very popular journal amongst the very people we must influence if a better order of society is to be achieved.

In an attempt to remedy this situation I have undertaken to write this column of comment from a workers' point-of-view. It is hoped that readers will make some attempt to distribute the paper more widely amongst workers in their respective localities. Suggested items for inclusion in this column should be sent to me via the editorial office of FREEDOM.

Youth & Solidarity

WE are constantly coming up against critics of youth, even amongst Anarchists and the so-called Left-Wing. Young people are apathetic, it is said. Selfish, irresponsible and pleasure-seeking. I could fill a page with the colourful adjectives used by speakers and writers, of all shades of opinion, when they are discussing the younger generation.

Some of the criticism is, of course, well-founded. There are undoubtedly a certain number of 'yobs' who make nuisances of themselves. We should realise that these people are victims of a vicious, evil society, and I would point out that five million 'yobbos' armed with flick-knives and cycle chains, could not do as much damage in twenty years as one mad, adult Yankee or Russian general could do with a Hydrogen Bomb in twenty seconds.

And as for youth being selfish and apathetic, consider the two important strikes taking place at the time of writ-

ing. At the Sunpak Metal Tube Factory in London 13 girls—all but two aged 18 or under—were sacked when they asked for a pay boost and better toilet facilities. As I write, they are still standing firm and it looks very much as though they may win their case (although now that the Union has stepped in the boss will probably get-off more lightly!). And the seamen's strike. Every press picture of the Strikers' demonstrations shows young men, the majority obviously under 25, many of them dressed in Teddy clothes or the new Italian style youth uniform. They are 100% united in their determination to stick it out—despite the united front of "union" and boss arrayed against them.

I honestly do not think we should be too pessimistic about the people in whose hands will be the task of building a cleaner, saner society.

What, No Troops?

WHILST on the subject of the seamen's dispute, it occurred to me the other day that this Tory government, although avowedly in office to safeguard "free enterprise" and therefore the interests of boss and landlord, has not yet used troops to break the strike. On the other hand, the Labour Party, which allegedly took power to represent the proletariat, used members of the armed forces as scabs within six days of being elected to power, when conscripts were sent to the Surrey Docks to break a ten-week strike of dockers.

In October of the same year 43,000 dockers were again on strike—for a 9s. increase on their daily wage of 16s. Minister of Labour George Isaacs announced that "the strikers' action cannot be defended" and promptly despatched more than twenty thousand military blacklegs to do the strikers' jobs.

One is tempted to think that Tory freedom works rather better than the "Labour" variety!

Evil Spirits

IT WAS reassuring to read in *Tit-Bits* last week that "despite the widely differing views of individual clergymen, the Bishops of the Church of England have just reaffirmed their belief in demons . . .". But, and here's the reassuring bit, . . . they have agreed to official

recognition . . . of exorcism, the casting out of evil spirits by prayer".

Direct Action

DIRECT ACTION by 250 miners in the Sardinian lead-mines has led to victory for them in their fight for higher wages and improved working conditions. They staged a stay-down strike following joint government-employer attacks on wages. After 24 days down the pit they secured the dismissal of the colliery manager plus an increase in pay.

Oh, oh, for the day when all workers take over all industry permanently and secure the dismissal of all bosses. That day will come—but only when the workers become aware of their own power. It is up to you and me to hasten the day by "spreading the light and educating our fellows".

Prosperity

OBSERVING the very great number of cars parked outside the Eastern National Omnibus depot which is situated near my home, the casual passer-by could be forgiven for agreeing with our illustrious Premier that the workers of this country have, in fact, never had it so good. Indeed, many "bus drivers and conductors of my acquaintance are earning up to £23 weekly. But how. Let driver Mick tell the story: "Last week I did a normal duty on the Sunday of eight hours. Monday I did my basic shift plus five hours overtime. I was away from home seventeen hours (my italics—P.R.) on the Tuesday. Wednesday I worked nine hours. Not bad. Thursday I just did 7½ hours. Friday I did a double shift which entailed 14 hours 40 minutes work. Saturday I did 8 hours". Conductors do roughly the same amount of overtime, and it should be remembered that these men, and women, have the lives of up to 1,500 passengers in their hands every day.

But, of course, the people whose lives matter don't travel by bus!

Last Word

I SHOULD NOT be surprised to hear of Sir Oswald Mosely having an apoplectic fit this week. Sammy Davis Jr., the negro entertainer who was abused by Sir Oswald's fascist sewer rats in the streets of London earlier this year, is to marry white Swedish film star Miss May Britt in October.

PETER ROSE.

Catholic Anarchists

'Anarchists and the H-Bomb'

DEAR EDITORS,

I note in the current issue of FREEDOM, appearing under the Meetings and Announcements column: a talk given by Bob Steed of the *Catholic Worker* in New York, and bearing the somewhat bewildering title "Catholic Anarchism". This sounds unusual and perhaps 'off-beat' material for anarchists to be grappling with; although religious questions, as we all well know, were widely discussed by anarchist circles in Russia and other countries in Europe. But it nevertheless is encouraging and reassuring to see the London Anarchist movement broadening its horizons by giving some serious attention to such subject-matters as this. Perhaps a step further would be to see the occasional contribution by someone like Bob Steed appearing in FREEDOM. Who knows, before long we may be even given a treat by the minority of the broader minded Fathers of the Church! It might at anyrate help serve to bridge the gap felt by some of your readers whose letters have been recently appearing in FREEDOM. In my opinion, such contributions to FREEDOM as this week's book review "Introduction to Zen", and Geoffrey Ostergaard's Summer School lecture "Beatniks and the Beat Generation" were steps in the right direction.

Yours sincerely,

London, Sept. 19. BERNARD SCOTT.

[We do not believe in "Catholic Anarchism" as we have made clear on many occasions in the past. The lecturer does and presumably the L.A.G. considered it worth hearing the views of one who labels himself as such—EDITORS].

FREEDOM PRESS HOUSE-WARMING

Freedom Press will be pleased to introduce anarchists to their new premises in Fulham, at a sort of a house-warming, Saturday afternoon, October 8th, from 2.30 p.m. Come for tea. All friends of Freedom welcome.

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Battle of St. Pancras

Continued from p. 1

sitters and self-contained flatlets?

A writer in the *New Statesman* last week argued that there is a difference between not being able to afford a TV set and not being able to afford a roof over your head. We agree that everyone who is born into this world should enjoy as a right the basic necessities of life such as food, shelter and clothing. We do not live in such a society; there is no written or unwritten law recognising such rights. Indeed the contrary is the case, for what most people assume is that "he who does not work neither shall he eat". This has of course been modified in industrial society to "he who has no money shall not eat" for it is clear that a gambler on the stock exchange or a successful pools investor have a better chance of eating off the fat of the land than say a land worker who actually produces the real food that sustains life. (By being granted an extra 9 shillings wage increase this week he now earns the princely wage of £11 a week, considerably less than a skilled worker in a car factory or in an H-bomb factory).

★
YOU cannot at the time time have a society which accepts that every individual has a right to food, shelter and clothing, and one which recognises the right of small groups of individuals to monopolise the land, the raw materials and the human skill and to use them for their own narrow ends. In other words you cannot have communism with capitalism, freedom with servitude, self-responsibility with authority. It is the weakness of the argument for nationalisation, this belief that one part of the economy can be run for the benefit of the community while the other part is

merrily going along the way of production-for-profit irrespective of needs. To imagine that housing can be nationalised or municipalised while land, the manufacturing and building industries remain in the hands of capitalist enterprise is to imagine that one can think straight with a split personality! And quite apart from this, within the money system such a take-over would simply create a class of rentiers no less powerful than are the landlords at present. After all, £51 out of every £100 collected in rents by St. Pancras Council goes to pay interest on capital loans, and there is no reason to believe that the situation would be interest-free in a Labour Party paradise.

The St. Pancras rent strikers have shown much courage and tenacity and this is something these days. But we do not think they have seen the wood for trees, when it comes to the real problem that faces the working people of all countries. The question of rent is a small one, insoluble in isolation from the major ones of the rule of finance, the ownership of the land and the means of production. The money system does not exist to give the majority a choice between a roof over their heads and a television aerial (without a roof!). It exists in order to maintain a class—a property-divided society with all its consequences such as injustice, inequality, greed, envy and personal antagonisms. Until we join together to fight against the money system, every battle against the bailiffs and the boss will inevitably end in defeat. They stand for the law and the system which the majority unthinkingly believe in. One can only successfully fight them when one has stopped respecting them or believing in them.

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