

'Truth is the daughter of time not of authority.'

BERTOLT BRECHT ('Galileo')

### In this Issue:

THE DAY WE INVADED CUBA  
WE ARE EXAMINED  
OUT OF THIS WORLD  
CORRESPONDENCE

## THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

LESS than two months ago important sections of the Press were busily writing off Mr. Macmillan as a has-been, an embarrassment to the Tory Party and a liability in a general election. They did everything they could to destroy him, short of actually publishing an obituary. At the time, FREEDOM pointed out in an editorial on "Politics of the Affair" (June 22):

Macmillan may well be down, but he is not yet out. In the game of politics he is more adept, tougher and more cunning than the cartoonists portray him and the Press leads us to believe... Macmillan will not be ousted by the Parliamentary machine.

Well there it is. Last Saturday, Macmillan addressing a cheering Conservative Party rally at Chilham, Kent, got headline treatment from his most bitter critic, the *Sunday Telegraph*: "Mr. Macmillan Reasserts his Authority—Critics ignored", and their political correspondent reported that:

A confident Mr. Macmillan reasserted his authority as Prime Minister in a major speech... yesterday. He ignored almost contemptuously mention of the controversy over his future, thus confirming the growing impression that he

# Mac Rides Again!

now feels confident that the party crises over his leadership has passed its peak....

By brilliant tactics, and lack of any decisive revolt against him in the Cabinet, Mr. Macmillan now seems to have won through to the respite of the summer recess in face of a bitter campaign against him.

Not only has there been no "decisive revolt" in the Cabinet but the fact is that the full force of mass communications has not succeeded in producing a ripple of visible public protest, even symbolic, such as mass demonstrations calling for his resignation, token strikes... or sit downs. Does one have to ask to who leads it? Or that the as to who leads them? Or that the politically conscious section feels impotent to express its opinion because of its own legalistic approach and because the so called democratic channels available to it are useless?

vested interests can surely only be explained by the fact that both these giants are divided among themselves. The monopolistic appetite of capitalism which results in a ruthless war of attrition or take-over; the sectional rivalries of the Trades Unions, and the economic differentials which undermine any possible hope of unity—these are the loopholes, the weaknesses, which the able politicians exploit for somebody's advantage.

In theory it is possible to argue that a government's policy could be directed to serve the interests of the people in general. In practice this is not possible so long as economic power is not in the hands of the people. Can any legally elected government effect the transfer of economic power from the monopolists to the people by legislation? Again, in theory they can; in prac-

tice the "democratic" machinery is so designed not so much to permit of radical change in the name of the people, as to hamper change *per se*. Thus it took the Conservatives probably as long to de-nationalise road transport as it did for the Labour government to nationalise it. Now while it can be argued that this complicated machinery of legislation has its advantages in avoiding hasty retrogressive legislation, the fact is that in practice it has served to retain the *status quo* while at the same time encouraging well-meaning people to engage in reformist agitation in the belief that a revolution of values, human and economic, could in time, be achieved by the ballot box.

Even if it could be shown that a particular government was inspired by the most revolutionary intentions, the fact remains that in the first

place, when it assumes office it takes over a well-oiled, an established, a permanent organisation of government which has a vested interest in everything but change, whatever the direction. No government Minister however forceful his personality can bend this machine to his will. Secondly, because the legislative process is so cumbersome—and it is often forgotten that the old boys' club the House of Lords, without having the power to veto legislation nevertheless possesses the necessary powers to considerably delay its passage—any radical measures a government attempted to take, say against financial or other monopolist interests, could be neutralised by counter-measures within the law to such effect that the government would be dissuaded from proceeding further. To attempt to legislate for the abolition of capitalism is rather like trying to destroy a rabbit warren by blocking up one hole a year.

### PUBLIC OPINION AND THE BOMB TEST BAN

THE rank and file of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) are an example of the "well-meaning" reformists we refer to. Last Sunday demonstrators carrying banners (*Daily Worker*) celebrated in Trafalgar Square the initialling of the test-ban "treaty". Their chairman, Canon Collins in his sermon at St. Paul's "honoured" the three political leaders; the two K's for their "initiative" and Mac for "his effective response". He honoured their negotiators who contributed to making "agreement possible". But declared the Canon:

the CND also deserves a pat on the back. We have been pooh-poohed, we have been written off and spoken of as

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## WORKSHOP FOR SKOPJE?

It is ironically true that natural disasters call forth a huge fund of spontaneous social solidarity and constructive effort which it is hard to find in ordinary circumstances.

While the August issue of ANARCHY, discusses from several angles the idea of Do-It-Yourself Community Workshops was being printed, we were discussing the application of these suggestions in different countries—England, Latin-America, Africa—the news came of the earthquakes at Skopje, and it occurred to us that here was a case where some of the flood of sympathy and aid which the disaster has brought forth, might be devoted to a project to obtain concrete-block-making machinery in Italy, ship it to Skopje, and form the basis of a workshop where people can make for themselves the material for rebuilding their homes.

We are making enquiries about the feasibility of this project in Belgrade, Milan and London, but would like anyone with further suggestions and especially with IVS experience in Yugoslavia to write to Community Workshop c/o Freedom Press, so that they can be kept informed of any developments. London. BOSCO NEDELCOVIC.

## ANARCHY 30: IS ON Community Workshop

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 1/6 on the last Saturday of every month.

### GOVERNMENT: THEORY AND PRACTICE

In our editorial we suggested that those who would determine the fate of this country "who have no seats in the House of Commons but who are in control of the financial destinies of the nation." These same people will decide the fate of any future Labour Prime Minister. So long as governments control the armed forces but not the economy of their countries they are permanently obliged to submit their policies for approval to those who hold the reins of economic power: the FBI on the one hand and the TUC on the other. That governments can function at all, poised between these two huge



# 1s 6d per hour increase and 40-hr week!

WORKERS in the building industry are now planning strike action to back the claim for a 1/6d. per hour pay rise and a 40-hour week. Negotiations between union leaders and the representatives of the employers have been going on for months now but all offers so far have fallen very short of our demands. The latest offer or rather insult from the employers has been an 8d. an hour increase for craftsmen spread over the next three years and for labourers, a worse insult of 4d. an hour spread over the same period.

A further meeting between the unions and employers is arranged for Tuesday, July 30th, and if no reasonable offers are forthcoming industrial action is planned. This will take the form of a general ban on overtime and withdrawal from bonus and incentive schemes. With this, men working on certain building sites where union organisation is strong, will come out on strike.

So much for the union's plans, but what does the National Joint Council for the building industry consider a reasonable offer? Some of the building trades union leaders, Mr. Smith for one, of my own union, the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, has spoken of accepting a 40-hour week with the bosses present pay offer. The union leaders are always searching for a way out in

order to avoid a head-on clash with the employers. Tuesday is the deadline. Then we shall see how far the union leaders are willing to go in the fight against the employers.

All through these long negotiations, the rank and file union members have put strong pressure on the officials in support of our claims. Meetings, marches and token stoppages have taken place when the unions have met the employers for talks. These demonstrations have been organised by the rank and file membership, who are determined to win the 1/6d. increase plus a 40-hour week.

During recent months, resolutions from A.S.W. branches have been sent to head office showing the large support there is for these claims. The rank and file members of the building trades have had enough of the type of pay increase which has been our lot over the years. These have usually amounted to 1d. an hour each year for the cost of living increase. For years now, no real big pay increase has been achieved on the basic hourly rate. Mind you, big pay packets are taken home, but these include money earned by working a bonus scheme and by overtime payments. Competition for labour is strong at the moment between firms who, in order to attract workers, will pay above the union basic rates.

A decent basic rate of pay is needed, for bonus schemes and overtime can be withdrawn any time. These schemes are in operation now because of the boom in the industry, but they only serve to weaken the position of the worker. Bonus schemes and overtime were brought in during the war. Now a higher basic wage is needed with the abolition of these war-time practices.

The recent pay offers of the employers have attempted to widen the wage gap between craftsmen and labourer. The aim of rank and file members should be to close these differences. With the new methods of construction in the industry, labourers are now doing a larger range of jobs including fixing of ceilings and partitions, and for this they should be getting higher rates. The old craft barriers must be done away with as they only divide workers in the industry to the employers' advantage.

United action of all workers in the building industry is needed if we are to win our demands. Our union leaders have always shown reluctance to take the necessary action and by their very nature as leaders are always willing to accept compromise. In their positions of power, they will not consult the rank and file member, but will go ahead with what they think is best and what suits their interests. Union leaders did not

consult the members about the tea-break dual which led to some men having to pay for their own mid-morning and afternoon breaks. Then it was left to men on the sites to fight for the best terms they could get with the bosses for the union leaders just didn't want to know.

A token strike is planned on some sites for Tuesday. This is unofficial, and has been decided on by the men on the job. Talks have been going on for eight months now. Union leaders have delayed too long, and industrial action is needed now.

We must be prepared to take this action for ourselves for we shall get nowhere with more delays. The union leaders have arranged talks after talks and all of no avail. Rank and file action is needed now to win our demands with ordinary union members running the show. Site strike committees must be elected, each linked up with those on other jobs for this must be our strike and we must run and control it. The decisions and terms must be made at job level by us and not dictated by the union bureaucrats. Our demands for 1/6d. per hour rise and a 40-hour week are just and through our own organisation and strength we can gain them. P.T.



UNLIKE the abortive military attempt to invade Cuba in the Bay of Pigs, the peaceful invasion by the London Federation of Anarchists was a complete success.

The area that we occupied is, it is true, of only a few square yards, but it is of considerable strategic importance, being the headquarters of the Cuban Government's representatives in Great Britain—the Cuban Embassy in Mount Street, in the heart of London's Embassy belt.

The action was decided upon for a variety of reasons. First, we are sick of revolutions going the same old counter-revolutionary way. We are sick of anarchists and libertarians being jailed and shot by the governments who have ridden to power on their backs. Certainly, we don't expect any government to act any differently, but it doesn't make us complacent about their butchery—it makes us even more indignant.

Secondly, and an even greater cause of indignation, we are sick of the justification of such butchery 'because it serves the working-class revolution and is part of the anti-capitalist, colonial struggle'. The apologies of Communists for a new tyranny in the place of the old, have encouraged apathy and double-think in every post-revolutionary period, especially where a Communist or part-Communist government has emerged.

Thirdly, we are sick of the fact that the non-Communist Left—libertarian socialists, pacifists, Committee of 100 militants, as well as anarchists—are continually being embarrassed by Communists lending their unwanted support to activities (with which they are not really identified) simply because they happen to coincide temporarily with the Party line. We felt it was necessary for the Anarchists to take some action which could not possibly be labelled 'Communist' by the gutter press. The Committee of 100 demonstrations against Queen Fred suffered from Communist support, as have many other good causes. Action against the Cuban Government could not possibly suffer from this kiss of death.

Fourthly, we wanted to take some action that would get enough publicity to reach across the Atlantic to the Caribbean, so that our comrades in Castro's jails would know that they were

# The Day we invaded Cuba

not forgotten by the movement over here. If Queen Fred demonstrators can congratulate themselves that their efforts helped to bring about the release of political prisoners in Greece (and we think they can), then any spotlight on the Cuban repression may have some good results there. The comrades who have been shot cannot be brought back, but those with thirty years of jail ahead of them could perhaps benefit.

Fifthly, many anarchists are sick of the practice of pacifist moralist demonstrators of informing the police of their intentions beforehand, with the result that the enemy can prepare to crush the demonstration. It seems to us that the dice are loaded against us quite enough without freely giving unnecessary advantage to the authorities—and if the action is to be non-violent, that is even more reason why the element of surprise should be on our side. Perhaps the difference in attitude arises from the anarchist view that we owe no loyalty or morality to the State. Those who serve the State may or may not be persuaded to our way of thinking by the rectitude of our behaviour, but the really important thing in undertaking any action which brings you into conflict with those forces is to do what you want to do successfully. If you are going to practice non-violent resistance—and this is what we decided upon in planning our action against the Cuban Embassy—and thus voluntarily abandon the use of force to achieve your object—then you have got to use your brains. If you are not going to try to out-force them, outwit them!

Thus we gave no prior notice either to the police, the Foreign Office or the Cuban Embassy of our intention to pay them a visit.

Sixthly, we saw this whole exercise as a good opportunity to test our own internal security. As our movement grows, it becomes more difficult to be absolutely sure that there are no narks or informers, if not in our closer ranks, at least among the circles of acquaintances around every anarchist group. All information about the Embassy demonstration of mouth to trusted comrades only.

After all, we had not only the police

to think about—it was possible that if the Communists had heard about it in advance a counter-demonstration might have been mounted that would have defeated our object.

Our object was to get into the Cuban Embassy, hand a letter of protest to the Ambassador, and pepper the place with handbills and leaflets giving names and records of people who fought with Castro against Batista who are now in jail, and of those who were in the Batista Government but who are now still in the Castro Government. Our intention was to do this perfectly peacefully and non-violently, and to stay there until we were carried out by the police.

Plans were laid and went accurately and punctually to the minute. We met at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park at 1 p.m. on Saturday, July 20th. The leaflets were handed round, and we strolled in threes and fours the few hundred yards down Park Lane to Mount Street. At 1.25 p.m. three comrades began phoning the Embassy's numbers to jam the telephones. This was done in order that the police would not be called too quickly, since we wanted the Press to arrive before we had been carted out

Below is the text of the leaflet, prepared by the FLA and the SWF, which we distributed at the Cuban Embassy demonstration:

## Cuba—Revolution or Counter-Revolution?

Which of these would you say are  
(a) in positions of power under Castro or  
(b) in Castro's prisons?

1. David Salvador, general secretary of Cuban Federation of Labour, underground worker during Batista Régime.
2. Blas Roeca. Political ally of Batista. Deputy to congress under Batista; devised original coalition syndicalist fight against Batista in the Sierra Cristal under the command of Raúl Castro.
3. Carlos Rafael Rodríguez. Cabinet Minister under Batista, 1942.
4. Plácido Mendes. Served in rebel army and fought in Sierra del Escambray, imprisoned and tortured by the Batista government.
5. Juan Marienelo. Served in Batista's government. Ran for mayor of Havana on joint Communist-Batista platform.
6. Antonio Dagas. Worker in the cinema industry. Veteran of the Spanish Revolution.
7. Lazara Pena. Appointed by Batista in 1939 to head the Cuban Federation of Labour.
8. Alberto García. Fought against Batista. Was general secretary of the Industrial Workers' Federation.
9. Joaquín Ordoqui. Collaborator with Batista.
10. José Acena. Veteran anarchist, Treasurer of Havana provincial organization of the 26th of July.
11. Eduardo Santos Rias. Sub-director of the Agricultural and Industrial Bank under Batista.
12. Aquiles Iglesias. Qualified agronomist. Was in exile in Mexico where he helped to organize revolutionary expeditions to Cuba.
13. Oscar Pinto Santos. Director of public relations of Batista's Central Economic Board until the fall of Batista.
14. Sandalis Torres. Construction worker. Fought in the underground against Batista.

### ANSWERS:

(a) 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14.  
(b) 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15.  
Those in (b) are the 'lucky' ones. Among the libertarians shot were Augusto Sanchez Espinosa and Ventural Suraca Diaz.  
Sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment: Isidro Moscu.

Many more details of imprisonments have been received but for the moment their names are being withheld for fear of reprisals against their relatives who are still in Cuba.

Some have 'disappeared' whilst in prison. It is true that revolutions have no more implacable enemies than the men they raise to power.

CUBA SI!  
YANQUI NO!  
CASTRO NO!

and dispersed. At 1.25 also, another comrade had begun phoning the Press, to try and get reporters there while the demonstration was still proceeding.

At 1.30 the strollers from the Park arrived at No. 22 Mount Street, and the eight who had decided they wanted to go in pressed the bell to the Embassy, which is situated on the second floor (small countries have small embassies, you know). The front door opened automatically, and we entered the building, climbed several flights of stairs and came to the inner door, which had been opened by an elderly little man in rather shabby pyjamas, whom we took to be a caretaker.

As we entered over the threshold he must have sensed that we were not all that friendly, for he began to say that the Embassy was closed ('For a holiday') and attempted to close the door in our faces. But by this time we were in and it was too late. Thanks to the fact that two of our comrades had called there a few weeks before to collect some literature on the agrarian and collectives and to spy out the lie of the land, we knew which room to go into. While the little man protested and began shrilly to call to a woman in the nether regions, we went with all the time in the world, calmly unfurled banners we had carried under our coats and hung them out of the windows.

By this time a demonstration had been mounted outside in the street. Just after 1.30, when we had gone in, a van arrived carrying the London Federation of Anarchists' battle-scarred banner and a number of smaller banners protesting against Castro's tyranny. These were used by about twenty comrades to attract attention to what was going on.

Inside, it was panic stations for the little man and his woman colleague. Unable to use his phone, he went down to the front door to attract the attention of an assistant from a shop opposite, who immediately ran to her telephone. We circulated among the different rooms, leaving our leaflets everywhere. That done, we went back to the main room and the woman looked agitated. Every minute the woman looked agitated, round the door and we asked to see the ambassador, at which she vanished. We thought that she was just checking to see that we weren't smashing up the joint.

Well, eventually the police arrived. We gathered afterwards that an Embassy car had been the first to arrive, out of which an angry young man had run into the Embassy—but we did not see him upstairs. It was thought that he was the Ambassador, but he did nothing

## We are 'Examined'

DEAR EDITORS,

In your Editorial of July 13, you complain that "many of the advocates of non-violence have been so dogmatic that they have refused even to examine the arguments in favour of 'violence'." Very well; as an advocate of non-violence let me examine your own arguments in favour of "violence" expressed in that Editorial.

Your first argument consists in putting the word "violence" in inverted commas. By this manoeuvre you presumably hope to convey the impression that there is some difference between ordinary violence, as practised by the police, army, etc. and the violence of which you would in certain circumstances approve, which is not really violence at all but only "violence" (or "force" as some people would have it). I want to nail this lie once and for all. If you punch a man on the nose, whether you are an anarchist promoting a revolution or a policeman defending the State, you are using plain, common or garden violence, and it is quite disingenuous to pretend otherwise.

Next, you argue that while the anarchist revolution may be far off, "revolutionary situations" are always cropping up all over the world, and anarchists ought to do something (the implication is, by "violence") to promote the "solutions" of these situations. This argument, if it means anything definite at all, can only mean the anarchists should join forces with any violent revolutionaries anywhere who try to overthrow established governments. In other words, anarchists should have helped to promote Lenin's "solution" in Russia,

but drive away again, looking furious. Meanwhile, we had been joined by three more comrades, who had been let in after ringing the bell!

The police, of course, did their duty. First an inspector and a plainclothes man asked (yes asked!) us to leave, saying that we were trespassing, and this was not the way to get to see the Ambassador, but on our refusing to go, eventually a wagonload of constables arrived, and after one or two more opportunities to go under our own steam, we were all carried, most gently, down the several flights of stairs and laid on the pavement in the street.

While we were still in there the little man, who had hastily pulled a coat and trousers over his pyjamas, had begun to protest that his spectacles had been broken, and that we had gone through the place looking at papers in drawers.

We have no evidence about his spectacles being broken—we didn't ask to see them, and neither did any of the policemen, in our presence. We only know that we did not lay a finger on his person. The nearest to violence that we got in the whole business was when he tried to shut the door on us as we were coming through it, after he had opened it for us. Maybe he tried to close the door with his spectacles, but we heard no crunch or crack, and it is our opinion that he dropped them himself in his panic.

By the time we were all carried out a reporter from a Press agency had arrived, and to our great delight, every Sunday paper carried the story next day. Imagine our surprise, however, to learn that we had 'mis-handled' the Cuban Ambassador himself! Yes, the grey frightened little man in shabby pyjamas was the Cuban Ambassador, and we didn't know it! All the time we were asking to see him, he did not tell us who he was. Perhaps he thought we wanted to cut his throat!

Fortunately, all the papers made it clear who had made the protest and why. Further, one of the members of the FLA was interviewed on TV news that same Saturday evening and was able to put the record straight on one or two points.

From our point of view, it was a great success. On every point it went according to plan, and the publicity was better than we hoped for. We hope the comrades in Cuba, and particularly those in prison, get to know that protests were made in their name, and that the myth of a libertarian revolution and of a workers' state had once again been challenged.

We gather from *The Times* that an official complaint has been lodged at the Foreign Office by the Ambassador. A spokesman from the Foreign Office has apologised to the Ambassador on behalf of the British Government, who have assured him that the affair is being fully investigated and that everything possible is going to be done to prevent a repetition!

Hitler's in Germany and Castro's in Cuba. Anything to get rid of the present régime, and never mind if the result is not an anarchist society! This is what you call "influencing the world as it is now in an anarchist direction."

Finally, you say: "If we anarchists fold our arms and say that we are only interested in the anarchist revolution . . . and that every other revolution has nothing to do with us, then indeed we accept the role of saints and permanent protesters." In other words, anarchists can never succeed by promoting the cause of anarchism. They can only succeed by joining other people in promoting totally different causes. Could anything be more absurd? You might as well admit that you have no faith in anarchism, that you are just out to wreck the established order regardless of the consequences, and that you are not anarchists, in any constructive sense, at all.

I would advise you, and all other exponents of "violence", to read the works of Leo Tolstoy, who exploded all your arguments seventy years ago "No feats of heroism," he wrote, "are needed to bring about the greatest and most important changes in the life of humanity; neither the arming of millions of men, nor the construction of new railways and machines, nor the organisation of exhibitions or Trade Unions, nor revolutions, nor barricades, nor dynamite outrages, nor the perfection of aerial navigation, and so forth. All that is necessary is a change in public opinion." Bristol, July 16. FRANCIS ELLINGHAM.

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## Peace News and the Demonstration

One of the most interesting reactions to the demonstration came from John Ball in his column in *Peace News*. He started off with the statement " . . . The worst thing is having someone on your own side who antagonises possible supporters." This attitude seems to stem from two false premises:

- (1). The misconception that the London Federation of Anarchists is a subsidiary group of the Peace movement in this country, and
- (2). That Cuban political prisoners, our comrades among them, are the special province of Peace movement and the Peace movement alone.

John Ball also accepts, without reservation, the Embassy statement that we broke the Ambassador's glasses and describes us as having marched in 'arrogantly'. He then continues with a sort of 'don't-rock-the-boat' plea, saying about the political prisoners in Cuba that " . . . it is not an easy question", that Cuba has 'a sensitive position in the cold war', and that if we " . . . want to demonstrate on these issues (we) have to do so in an understanding and tolerant way, and (we) have to connect (our) protest with advocacy of policies outside the cold war which these countries could pursue". To start with, the anarchist movement has NEVER advocated the pursuing of cold war policies ANYWHERE. He refers to understanding and tolerance. We do understand. We understand that Castro is a power-drunk sadist who has shot and imprisoned anybody who opposes him. But we, as anarchists, are not tolerant of this situation and we demand that it should stop now and all the political prisoners should be released immediately.

Finally, he refers to our 'misplaced revolutionary instinct'. I am sure that many pacifists would agree with me when I suggest that, today, a revolutionary instinct is far from misplaced, B.L.H.



# FREEDOM

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## WHY THE TEST BAN?

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mistaken, as sentimentalists, as crackpots, as Communist dupes, sensationalists, ignoramuses and even liars.

But it has been largely through our persistence and the consequent pressure of public opinion that agreement has now been reached in Moscow.

This is pure moonshine, and must be exposed as such not because we underestimate the CND's work of informing the public about the consequences of nuclear war—we think it has been considerable—but to destroy the illusion that existing public channels of expression influence or change government policy. The immediate success of the Committee of 100's civil disobedience demonstrations two years ago was proof that some CNDers had no illusions on this score, and one can only hope that the reported invitation to Lord Hailsham (the British representative at the Moscow talks) to accept honorary membership of the Committee of 100 was meant as a joke—albeit, in our opinion, in bad taste.

★

Why the Test ban? Because there is no way of knowing the truth, emphasises the political freemasonry that holds sway in every country. We have never had a satisfactory explanation why if the Law were clear and without loopholes, and politics were above board there should exist a ~~number~~ of lawyers to interpret the letter and regiments of political expert to "unravel the significance" of the politicians' utterances.

The *Sunday Times* emphasises

## Please Don't Deform the Debate!

FRANCIS ELLINGHAM'S three points, far from examining our arguments, simply serve, in our opinion, to illustrate our contention that much of the debate on violence/non-violence has been sterile because of the dogmatism of the advocates of non-violence. In examining Ellingham's three points we will try to state our position beyond any misunderstanding.

Our correspondent reads into our use of the word violence in inverted commas, assumptions, and "implications" which he then scathingly demolishes, "nailing the lie one and for all". In reality we use violence in inverted commas to describe an attitude to the use of violence which cannot be summed up in a sentence such as, "I believe in violence", and to distinguish between our attitude and that of those who declare themselves to be advocates of non-violence. How many anarchists who declare themselves such are in fact non-violent absolutists? A perusal of the correspondence during these past months reveals that most are not. Francis Ellingham may well be an absolutist but for most of us such a position is based on faith not on reason and is impervious, to, unaffected by, human situations and social forces at any particular time in history. To distinguish between the non-violence of Francis Ellingham and that of an Ernie Crosswell ("It is silly to expect oneself to refrain from violence under any situation", June 16) an Arthur Uloth ("there is no inconsistency with anarchism in driving off, or even killing, some bully who is making life a misery" May 4), a Tony Weaver ("non-violent methods can be used coercively", May 18) or an Adam Roberts ("I admit that though I would, in some situations of violent methods, I can imagine circumstances where I would use violence or coercion", June 15)—would perhaps require placing their non-violence in inverted commas too! And we say this not ironically but with the kind of sympathy and understanding which this writer

that the "splendid achievement" owes much to "persistent British diplomacy and in particular to Mr. Macmillan who has pressed steadily over the years . . ." while the *Daily Herald* echoes the *Times*' reference to Britain as the "third man" in Moscow and attacks Macmillan for being in a hurry to grab "electioneering capital" and gives credit to K (Moscow) for "his invitation" and K (Washington) for seizing the big chance". The *Sunday Citizen* talks of the Ks' "genuine desire to lift some of the burden of terror", and refers to a "moral breakthrough", while the *Observer* with cartoonist Abu knighting the sit-downers: "Arise Sir Agitator", suggests that America and Russia "have at last faced the facts of the nuclear age and decided that security is more important than ideology", and that the former "depends on some degree of organised co-operation between them". We do not profess to know the real reasons; what we do know is that all these interpretations are sheer poppycock because they all presuppose that the future of mankind hinges on a handful of "personalities" and their ability to see the light . . . and reason. To our minds there is no evidence to support this view. If the Moscow Treaty is something more than a mere face-saving "success" by the political freemasonry, worth no more than the paper it's written on, then we must seek the causes elsewhere than among the "personalities", and their domestic problems (as the *Sunday Telegraph* would have us believe). Least of these causes is the militancy of public opinion!

would expect such advocates of "non-violence" to show in dealing with his kind of "violence".

For the fact is that we are no more advocates of violence than are most non-violent anarchists the kinds of saints who would think twice before doing a violence to a fly that has alighted on their nose. Only a few weeks ago we challenged any reader of this paper to point to anything written editorially or contributed to these columns which even suggested that an anarchist society could be brought about through violence. No-one so far has taken up the challenge because such a thought has never entered our heads, nor been expressed. Even Crosswell who is still wanting to know the composition and progress being made by the violent anarchists' High Command in readiness for THE day (as if we would tell him and the authorities our plans in advance à la Committee of 100—assuming that it were our intention in present circumstances to seek to arm ourselves!) recognised not so long ago (*FREEDOM*, April 6) that "Anarchists would seem to be agreed that a free society cannot be brought about by force". But he went on to contend that where there was considerable divergence of opinion was between a few pacifists, who so they say, would not defend themselves or anyone else with force under any provocation; at the other extreme stand the few who still see some relevance in the "barricads". In truth, the bulk of anarchists are probably very confused—and in this writer's opinion the *FREEDOM* editorials which have touched on this subject have only served to add to the confusion.

This writer's editorials have not added to the confusion, since as we will demonstrate, our position, right or wrong, is unequivocal. The confusion arises among those comrades and friends who fail to distinguish between heart and head, who confuse generous impulses with all the realities, as they exist, which can be observed, noted and analysed in the cold light of day.

THANKS, LARGELY, to Mao-Tse-Tung a test-ban treaty to ban all nuclear tests was initialled between Russia, Britain and the United States. Mr. Macmillan said that Britain's right to take a lead in the test-ban negotiations was gained "Not alas, by the mere profession of high moral principles, not by demonstration; not by wearing badges or carrying banners; not even by sitting down on the Queen's highway. It is by the right and authority, let us face it, of our own nuclear power. In spite of economic pressures, in face of all the temptations to contract out and abandon our position as a nuclear power. Britain stood fast." This very sensible standpoint that only those who had H-bombs had the right not to test them, was made further sense by not applying the agreement to underground tests and having the saving clause "each party has the right to withdraw if it decides that extraordinary events related to the subject matter of this treaty, have jeopardised the supreme interests of its country". We shall be given three months' notice. . . .

SEVEN ROAMING families were given an ultimatum to leave Kingsmoor Common, Begelly, Pembrokeshire, however, nine gipsy families on the common are unaffected by the order. Tenants' Associations in St. Stephens Gardens and other places owned by Rachman and his associates told how by co-operation and mutual aid they defeated Rachman's plans to evict statutory tenants. Complaints were made in the U.S. that £1,800 had been spent by the USAF in refurbishing a hospital suite at Otis Base, Massachusetts for the use of Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy at the birth of her third baby. This was denied, as it is said that Mrs. Kennedy plans to have the child at Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington. Eleven rooms have been done up at this for the benefit of "transient officers". Along with the furniture installed is a basinette, baby scales, an incubator, supply of oxygen and glucose, together with a hospital bed. Six bedrooms, a nursery, a specially fitted kitchen and a surgery adjoin a tastefully decorated drawing room with a colour television set. The reason for the extra accommodation is that it is for Mrs. Kennedy's secret service bodyguards and two Air Force nurses in addition to her doctors. A 62-year-old Nottingham widow has been roaming the streets in a wheelchair, homeless and

It is this observation of practical situations as they are as opposed to one's flights of fancy or even one's personal nature which might envisage security, happiness and the Tramp's Utopia for everybody, which obliges this writer to concern himself with the practical problems of revolution, which as we understand it consists not only in the establishment of a non-authoritarian society which will deal with the material and spiritual needs of mankind, but in the breaking down of authoritarian society which we maintain, rightly or wrongly, exists to serve a privileged minority at the expense of the majority.

Our observations lead us to confirm what other anarchists, in the not so distant past, such as Malatesta, whose perspicacity, objectivity and militancy we deeply respect and profit from, themselves observed and took into account, that (to quote from our July 13 Editorial):

However distant may be the anarchist revolution, the fact is that throughout the world revolutionary situations exist now and will arise next year and the year after for which people will have to seek solutions and we contended that unless we anarchists were prepared to "fold our arms and say that we are only interested in the anarchist revolution . . . then indeed we accept the role of saints and permanent protesters".

In spite of the fact that we go on to suggest that we should "seek to influence the world as it is now in an anarchist direction", [our italics], Francis Ellingham declares that our observation "implied" that anarchists "should join forces with any violent revolutionaries anywhere who try to overthrow established governments" which of course leads him to the logical conclusion that anarchists advocate support for the Lenins, Hitlers and Castros, for "anything to get rid of the present regime, etc. . . ." The fact that the anarchists were active in the revolutionary movements in these three countries and were also among the first victims of the dictators means nothing to Ellingham who it seems to us would be a redoubtable opponent in one of those Medieval Disputations but who is just not of this world when it comes to discussing the social, economic—and



hungry, for a month after she lost her lodgings. She has now been offered a job and the possibility of accommodation. Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy has received 1,000 bibs, bonnets, bottles and sweaters from well-wishers. . . .

A MISSISSIPPI NEWSPAPER announced the arrest of Byron De La Beckwith for the murder of NAACP leader Medgar Evers as "Californian is charged with murder of Evers". 67 people were arrested in New York for lying down in protest against the discriminatory practices of city building firms and labour unions in city construction jobs. There have been sit-downs in City Hall and the State Governor's office. *Common Sense* (USA) reprints from Centreville, Alabama press, "The Negro today is the best treated human being in the United States. He is the only person that can live without working. He can have 40 illegitimate children and get by with it. He can have 10 common law wives and nobody seems to care. He can get on the welfare programme when good, honest, hard-working white people are unable to qualify. The government makes the rules for the welfare department, and just about every negro can qualify. The federal government will set him up in a housing project, where he can live in a brick building with steam heat, pay very little rent and go to the mail box once a month and get

## SELLERS WANTED FOR FREEDOM & ANARCHY, HYDE PARK, SUNDAYS?

political—facts of life.

After all does he not conclude by advising us to read the works of Tolstoy who "exploded all your arguments"—that is of pretty well all our anarchist thinkers from Bakunin to Malatesta whose arguments this writer does no more than repeat in contemporary terms—"seventy years ago"? And the long extract from Tolstoy he quotes, and to which we refer reders, convinces us that Tolstoy, like Ellingham, was not "with us", at least with those who have to work for a wage to keep alive, and who cannot see any escape from such a situation other than death. The climax of this Tolstoyan abstraction is contained in the last sentence: "All that is necessary is a change in public opinion". Comrade readers and fellow anarchists, it's as simple as that!

★

WHAT have the anarchists in every corner of the globe—what has *FREEDOM* these past 77 years—been doing if not trying to change public opinion in an anarchist direction? But the question of violence arises at the very stage where "public opinion" knows what it wants and Authority resists its demands. Indeed, it occurs more often than not long before such a situation is reached with government seeking to halt public opinion, by intimidation, by making an example of ring-leaders (think of the Wethersfield "six", or the police action last month in connection with the Greek Royal tour as examples nearer home), by lock-outs in the industrial field. If and when these tactics prove useless either the army is called out, or, as in Spain, the army decides to take over from the legal government. When those situations arise either the people capitulate or they resist. And they will resist using those methods which they consider most effective. If by so-called non-violent tactics they can achieve their ends so much the better. If the government uses the army, and the people can defeat it only by having recourse to force, then this writer, for one, advocates the use of violence against those who seek by violence to maintain the status quo against the wishes of the people. If they cannot, then we

his welfare cheque. Who's being mistreated?" The jobless rate among coloured workers, states *Newsweek* is double that for whites but also their pay is lower when working. Players cigarettes have withdrawn a sign in New Guinea on public relations grounds that says: "Discriminating smokers smoke Players". . . .

COMMITTEE OF 100 members have been refused permission to enter Greece to commemorate Hiroshima Day (August 6th). Fifty members of the Irish Political Prisoners Release Committee picketed the Home Office and the Northern Ireland Government office for six hours, calling for the release of the ten remaining political prisoners in Belfast gaol. 41 were arrested when students demonstrated outside the Iraqi Embassy in Kensington against "atrocities by the government of Iraq". The Christian group of the Committee of 100 fasted outside Lambeth Palace to protest against the refusal of the Archbishop of Canterbury to meet them for discussions about a Christian lead against all weapons of mass-destruction. Protestors sat down outside a chicken-farm to protest against battery chicken production. French farmers stopped motorists and presented them with wine, fruit, eggs and leaflets to explain their price war with the government. 11,000 miners have gone on strike in North-Western Spain. Ten students are planning to picket the major bull-fighting areas in Spain in a campaign against bull-fighting. The behaviour of a CND man at Bromley Conservative fete was said not to be insulting. He had a banner which the stewards seized which said: "We do not care who you sleep with, but stop preparing for mass murder." Dr. Stephen Ward plans, if at liberty, a lecture tour of America on the subject "Britain Today, her morals and her Politics". . . .

A CHEETAH reported seen in Shooters Hill, London, vanished. Army bomb-disposal squads failed to solve the riddle of saucer-shaped depressions. Giant rabbits with Roman noses and ginger and black streaks through their fur have been discovered in Australia which are "savagely destructive" and immune to myxomatosis. They can stand up on their hind legs and reach up more than two feet to snap small limbs off trees. JON QUIXOTE.

must recognise the fact and rescue any potential victims from political reprisals and at the same time seek to secure what material and political concessions we can from the authorities by reason of our power as producers.

As this writer sees it, anarchist violence has never been a means to an end—that is if one assumes the ends to be anarchism. The anarchists who sought by assassination to rid their countries of the tyrant disonido T H countries of the tyrant did so not because they imagined this would lead to anarchy, but because they hated tyrants. Francis Ellingham and others are entitled to place the violence of the tyrant and his would-be assassin, on a par. This writer is equally entitled to dismiss such a judgment as philosophical nonsense. When the Spanish workers sought to defeat the attempted military coup d'etat in 1936, they were all united in wanting to defeat the military but for different reasons. The anarchists hoped to destroy the State machine and bring about where possible the libertarian communist revolution; the socialists hoped to bring in a socialist government that would introduce socialist measures; the POUmists thought of revolution in the Marxist sense, the Catalan autonomists dreamed of an independent Catalonia, the Basque nationalists of their autonomy and so on. It was clear from the start that even if Franco were defeated, the people of Spain would be faced with a whole series of new problems. All but the anarchists would be prepared to impose their solutions by force—with or without the venter of legality. All the anarchists felt morally entitled to do was to defend their way of life against the would-be new rulers who might attempt to impose a uniform pattern throughout the country. Francis Ellingham and others are entitled to say that both the violence of the anarchists and of the others is on a par. We are equally entitled to distinguish between violence which is defensive and libertarian and that which is aggressive and authoritarian.

This writer does not expect his critics to agree with his position, but have we expressed it sufficiently clearly to expect them not to deform it in debate in the future?—EDITORS.



# Scandinavian Dockers Black S African Goods

STOCKHOLM, 16/7/63.

(From our Correspondent)

THE Swedish boat *Lommaran* arrived with its 150 tons of fruit from South Africa into Göteborg harbour, after the Danish dockers had refused to unload the cargo. The Swedish dockers have also refused to unload the cargo. Members of the South Africa Committee were at the dock to meet the boat with placards reading "You support race persecution if you unload South African goods".

The question now discussed is to the wage agreement the union has with the employers, which may mean they can take court action here resulting in prosecution for those dockers who refuse to unload the goods. At the time of writing the radio has announced that the "dockers who refuse to unload the *Lommaran* risk that their union will give them no protection", which seems to suggest that the men would be better off within the syndicalist movement when the workers means of "defence" no longer defends them.

Within these shores where social democracy has held sway for decades the trade union organisation plays a larger part in government policy-making, producing economic surveys of which the government has to take notice and in return for this power, the possibilities of strike action are restricted by the internal structure which the unions have evolved for themselves: for example the rigid control of the strike funds by the equivalent of the General Council of the TUC.

The official organ of the government *Stockholms-Tidningen* says this about the dockers: "The Swedish South Africa Committee seem very sure of themselves, but they haven't prepared any economic support for the dockers in case of an emergency like this—it is time that im-

mediate action is taken by going out and taking a collection to give the necessary support to the dockers in they should need it".

European prosperity in South Africa comes from selling their produce in the rich white markets of the world, the products of poor, African, labour. The Danish and Swedish Dockers have shown their disgust with South Africa's race policy by refusing to unload the *Lommaran*. However, what seems to be worrying the TU bureaucratic leadership here is the fact that their members are going to suffer "economically". One gets the impression that they will do nothing that will lose any of their members a day's pay in the cause of combatting th Apartheid which they "detest".

The threats of retaliation by the South African government may mean the loss of a valuable market for Swedish exporters which will probably add to the

TU concern here. An industrial boycott means not only that dockers should refuse to unload the goods, but that seamen would refuse to man the ships carrying South African goods. It is of little use trade unionists helping to get South African goods to the shops here in Sweden, and then boycott them. What kind of internationalism is this?

In the case of the Göteborg dockers and the *Lommaran* (if they continue with their refusal to unload the boat)—this is a good example of the rank and file trade unionists teaching their leaders a lesson in the principles they are all supposed to uphold.

Göteborg 19/7/63.

Further concerning the unloading of the Swedish boat *Lommaran* and its South African cargo. The dockers in Göteborg have agreed to allow the casual workers to unload the boat, presumably the regular dock workers will not take part in the unloading even though their Union have an agreement with the employers to unload all boats—and in spite of the fact the leadership threaten loss of membership for the "rebel" dockers.

A brief summary of an editorial from the big Liberal evening paper *Expressen* here, is that the dockers shouldn't be in a position to stop the public buying

the goods of their choice. Everything according to *Expressen* should be done in the "democratic" fashion, with representatives voted for and sent to voice opinion in U.N.O. for an official trade boycott of South African goods. They go on to say that "the Göteborg dockers shouldn't be praised, yet on the other hand they shouldn't be condemned".

Perhaps in the totalitarian countries freedom of thought is rewarded with a cell in a prison or a labour camp. In the so-called democracies a seat is offered in the Swedish riksdag. But never really having a chance to act. All action must be canalised through the machine of the State according to its rules and regulations. Any action taken by a minority (even though they may be right) is "undemocratic". The Liberals have a double-think when faced with principle and *real politik*, they have no quarrel with the present day organization of the world or its social and economic or moral aspects. Their attitude seems to be that they should do the thing "officially" in a stand with the "United Nations" to boycott South African goods. The truth of the matter seems to be that no governments (not even the U.N.O.) can afford to have principles—assuming that they ever believed in them.

## LETTERS

### Discouraged?

DEAR EDITORS,

I know that it may not always be possible to publish all letters sent to FREEDOM, but I believe that there ought to be some effort on your part to produce a paper which reflects a diversity of opinion among anarchists.

Week after week we have been seeing the same names in print, and it seems to me as if the old clique of 'intellectuals' are the only people who are considered to have any ideas worth expressing.

As a comparative newcomer to anarchism I expected that some spirit of fraternity and comradeship might be found within the movement. My own experience seems to show that this is not the case, and it is unfortunate that some alleged anarchists wish to discourage newcomers.

Why not cut out some of your esoteric articles, and give us articles on mutual aid, community living, the plight of the aged and handicapped and the problem of loneliness?

By all means plug away at the bastards who govern us, but remember that our lives are ticking away in the here and now. Frankly, I'm not interested in the Utopia which may arise around 3,000 A.D. What we need is a morality superior to the morality of Capitalism in order to solve immediate problems.

Yours fraternally,  
Hornsey, July 16. ALBERT PORTER.

[If it is true, that the same names keep on appearing in the columns of FREEDOM it is certainly not however for the reasons our correspondent suggests. We are uninterested in "names" or "cliques" but in ideas and the clarification of ideas. In recent months we have had more correspondence than could be published in our limited space (assuming that we believed an anarchist paper should publish all the material that is submitted for publication—a view we vigorously resist). But apart from the fact that many contributions put forward a similar approach, and therefore can be expressed by selecting what is in our opinion the best contribution, others are left out not because they are critical but because they are the kind of uninformed criticism of anarchism by non-anarchists on which we cannot waste our space.

The "diversity of opinion among anarchists" which our correspondent finds lacking in FREEDOM is in fact expressed week after week in our columns, if only he would take the trouble to read the paper. That anarchist writers should also be agreed on a variety of subjects is surely a salutary fact; for most of us the ultimate aim in discussing ideas is to reach agreement wherever possible.

As to the charge that "some alleged anarchists wish to discourage newcomers" we can only suggest to our correspondent that he avoids these "alleged anarchists" and attends one of the off-centre discussion groups which are open to all who are interested in anarchism. —EDITORS].

### Success?

DEAR EDITORS,

Perhaps, Jeremy Westall will discuss a further little difficulty pertaining to violence and tell us of a weapon or tactic which in the Britain of the foreseeable future could possibly have some chance of success.

Yours faithfully,  
Kensington, July 22. "REALIST".

### Misunderstanding?

COMRADES,

What total misunderstanding of the nature of anarchism can have led anyone to believe that its aims could ever be achieved by force?

Anarchism aims at the destruction of power, in particular the power of the state; and the ultimate sanction of all power is force, or the threat of force. If a violent anarchist revolution were to succeed, it would first of all have to be organised—a world I should have thought anathema to us—and the organisation would have to perpetuate itself. There would have to be a standing army to guard against counter-revolution, to act as warders—warders—for irreconcil-

## Nearly there!

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT JULY 27th 1963

Weeks 29 & 30

EXPENSES: 30 weeks at £70 £2,100

Sales & Sub. renewals £ £  
Weeks 1—28 1,053  
Weeks 29—30 135

1,188

New Subscriptions  
Weeks 1—28 (228) 246  
Weeks 29—30 (20) 22

268

1,456

DEFICIT £644

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London: H.M. (per M.C.) £1; Leeds: G.L. 2/6; Cambell River: G.B. 16/-; Dudley: M.E.H. 2/-; Hounslow: L.\* 2/6; London: D.O. 8/-; Menlo Park: I.U. 14/-; Rye: A.E.B. £1/14/-; Prescott: F.F. \$10, F.P. \$5, N. \$5, R.d.a.T. \$10, A.d.e.T. \$10—£14; London: J.W. £1; Bushey: W.E.P. 8/-; London: R.S.B. 3/-; Ferndown: J.R. 1/3; Belfast: W.G. 5/-; London: P.F. 10/-; London: H.M. £2; Crompton: H.R. £1/15/-; ? ? ? ? F.C. £5/7/9; Wolverhampton: J.L.\* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; Denver: W.S. 7/-; E. Rutherford: A.S.\* 7/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Denver: A.E.J. 14/8; Anon. 1/6; Spalding: N.L. 5/-; Oxford: Anon.\* 5/-; Hounslow: L.\* 2/6; U.S.: J.F.C. 14/-; London: H.A.A. 1/6; Forrest: H.E.M. 10/-; Sydney: M.J.C. £1/13/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Birmingham: F.D. 7/3; Wolverhampton: J.L.\* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; Forest Hills: S.S. £1/10/-; London: A. & I.C. £1; London: S.M. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.\* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; Shepton Mallet: E.H.S. 8/-; Oxford: Anon.\* £5; Redhill: R.F. 3/-; London: R.O. £3; Wellington: J.M. (per G.B.) 10/-; Falmouth: R.W. 2/9; Cleveland: T. & D.H. 7/-.

TOTAL 50 3 2  
Previously acknowledged 575 16 10

1963 TOTAL TO DATE £626 0 0

\*Denotes regular contributors.  
GIFTS OF BOOKS: London: D.R.; Ilford: M.D.

able elements, who would presumably have to be restrained in some way. In other words, it would be necessary to set up another state machine, which could be anarchist only in name.

Ends and means are inseparable. The attraction of anarchism is that it offers true revolution, not a mere violent redistribution, not a mere violent 33bm distribution of power. The most cursory study of history shows that revolutions have always blasted the hopes of those who had most to gain from them, because they were directed towards taking over the power of the state, not destroying it. Ours must be different. The Spies for Peace story has shown us one way to go. The centralised bureaucratic state is so unwieldy and top-heavy that it can be upset with a very gentle push.

Fraternally,

Sheffield, July 22. IAN SAINSBURY.

### Tanks in your friendly Neighbourhood Park

BATH CND leafletted throughout last week at the Bath Military Tattoo and were joined on Saturday evening, when the new War Minister was coming, by supporters of the Bristol Federation of Anarchists. With ten anti-war placards (The Nice Man With The Gun Is Paid To Kill) and several hundred Official Secrets leaflets, we joined the hundreds of families who were queuing or strolling about in the sun amongst the tanks and planes and services booths. It was funny to hear the gasp from the crowd when the anarchist banner was unfurled and they saw what it said. One slogan, 'Sex is lovely but war is immoral' got a great deal of laughter and sympathy from people of all ages and thumbs up signs from the soldiers (Labour men, I suppose). Other comments were: 'Filthy beast'; and 'He doesn't look as if he knows anything about either'.

We wandered about individually, making no attempt to challenge the crowd or block paths. From this point of view it was an ideal demonstration. We were a minority but we were there. People were bound to see us but were free to take it or leave it.

Nearly every demonstrator was approached by police, soldiers or stewards and told he would have to leave. To a man the officials were talked down, ignored and disobeyed. But there isn't much doubt that they had orders to avoid trouble. Somebody was pushed down a grassy bank but that was by a drunken civilian. One soldier told me it was wrong to talk about the 'army'. It's only a police force. Another said he'd buy me a drink if I could prove I was doing the world any good. I said I couldn't.

The original idea of the anarchists had been to confront Godber's car with a row of placards and stop it. As it turned out most people stayed with the spectators and when he came, on foot, it seemed foolish to rush one man, as if he was that important. But in an hour and a half's activity we made fairly friendly contact with large numbers of people without martyring ourselves or being over-dramatic and without (as far as I know) any of those terrible arguments in which 'we' are usually aggressive, accusing and very moral.

ALAN JACKSON.

### CENTRAL LONDON

CHANGE OF MEETING PLACE  
"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m. AUG 4 No Meeting: Summer School. AUG 11 Arthur Uloth: Subject to be announced. ALL WELCOME

### HYDE PARK MEETINGS

Sundays at 3.30 p.m., Speakers' Corner. Weather and other circumstances permitting.

### EDINBURGH

Would Anarchists in or near Edinburgh please contact Alasdair Macdonald, Torphin, Torphin Road, Coliston, Edinburgh.

### ROMFORD & HORNCHURCH ANARCHIST GROUP

For details please contact:— John Chamberlain, 47 Upper Rainham Road, Hornechurch, Essex. OR Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster.

### SUSSEX ANARCHIST GROUP

including Brighton and other South Coast Towns  
People interested in Regular Meeting please contact Alan Albon, 55 Station Road, Hailsham, Sussex, Hailsham 358.

### BRISTOL FEDERATION

Bristol Outdoor Meetings: The Downs (nr. Blackboy Hill) every Sunday, 3.30, circumstances and weather permitting.

### MANCHESTER

Would anyone interested in forming some sort of anarchist group in Manchester, please contact John McEwan, c/o Farrish, 4 Sanby Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Manchester.

### BATH ANARCHIST GROUP

Anyone interested please contact:— R. J. Lewis, 3 King Edward Road, Bath.

### GLASGOW FEDERATION

Meets every Thursday, 7.30, at 4 Ross Street, Glasgow, E.2 (off Gallowgate).

### OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Col. Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham.

3rd Tuesday at Brian and Doris Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

Third Wednesday of the month, at 8 p.m. at Albert Portch's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.

First Thursday of each month, Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

Last Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at George Hayes', 174 Mcleod Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2.

Second Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Sid Parker's, 202, Broomwood Road, Clapham Common, S.W.11. (Tube: Clapham South, Buses: 37, 49 and 189).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Notting Hill Anarchist Group (Discussion Group)

Last Friday of the month, at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbrooke Road, (near Notting Hill Station), W.11.

## Freedom

### The Anarchist Weekly

FREEDOM is published 40 times a year, on every Saturday except the last in each month.

ANARCHY (1/9 or 25 cents post free), a 32-page journal of anarchist ideas, is published 12 times a year on the 1st of each month.

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