

'Production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination.'

LAO TZU

In this Issue:

OUTWITTING CONSCIOUSNESS
JULES SCARCEAUX
OUT OF THIS WORLD
CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

For God and the United Nations

EVEN the manner of Pope John's departure from this wicked world has helped to create the larger than life picture of this "caretaker" Pope, which the Press, from Communist to Tory, has been building up over the past year, and wallowing in with superlatives and, in our opinion, false hopes. Pope John's Easter encyclical was described in the *Sunday Times* as a "call for reconciliation among all mankind, for whom Christ suffered and whom He redeemed to the glorious hope of resurrection". Whatever these flowery words are supposed to mean, for the *Sunday Times*, at any rate, the encyclical was "an act of leadership for which the world was longing".

Herein lies the tragedy: everyone is "longing" for "acts of leadership" for miracles, for heaven-sent solutions to Man's problems. Individual initiative is paralysed by the awe in which the inspired leaders are held. Thus while it would be churlish to deny that the Encyclical contains many social ideas with which no anarchist would quarrel—after all we have been saying this and a lot more, long before Pope John was appointed God's Number One on Earth—the fact remains that the net result of uttering thought-provoking encyclicals on the one hand, to a flock which has been, on the other hand, brain-washed by the department which deals with their spiritual purity, is virtually nil.

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EDD DOERR, co-editor of the *American Rationalist* writing in last week's *Freethinker* on "Pope John's Encyclical" summarises the social aspects of this document in the following terms:

After opening with the assertion that "Peace on earth... can be firmly established only if the order laid down by God is dutifully observed", Pope John (or whoever actually wrote the thing) goes on to set down the rights of the individual: to life, bodily integrity, and the means necessary for life; to respect for his person, to "freedom in searching for truth and in expressing and communicating his opinions", to be "informed truthfully about public events", to share in the benefits of culture, to a basic education and to technical and professional training; to "honour God

according to the dictates of an upright conscience"; to "free initiative in the economic field", to decent wages and working conditions, to private property ("even of productive goods"); to free assembly and association; to move and to migrate; to "take an active part in public affairs"; to just, impartial, efficacious juridical protection of his rights. Racism, racial discrimination, colonialism and imperialism are decried, and democratic government is given rather oblique and indirect approval. Legislation "contrary to the will of God" is held to be not morally binding. The welfare state ideas of Pope John's earlier encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*, are reiterated. Government's legislative, executive and judicial functions or powers should be divided.

If one cuts out "God" from the foregoing—if only on the grounds that a large part of humanity have never met him personally or figuratively—it obviously contains all kinds of social and economic concepts which should warm the hearts of socialists and make the devout, among capitalist millionaires, wince.

But as Mr. Doerr, rightly points out,

it is immediately obvious that the encyclical contains not a single idea which is new or original, not a single idea which is not a pale echo of the theory and/or practise of years—or in some cases decades or even centuries—of enlightened men who have worked, thought, fought and died to evolve, promote and defend freedom, democratic government and progressive ideas.

And it is a reflection on the traditional reactionary attitudes of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church that the Catholic publicist, Norman St. John Stevas, could write of Pope John's reign that he had done more "to revolutionise Roman Catholic attitudes than any Pope since Paul III summoned the Fathers to Trent in 1545". A compliment to caretaker John, but, if true, what an indictment of a Church which professes to have been "founded" by God and to uphold the tenets of Christianity, among which

that of being one's "brother's keeper" looms large!

But even Pope John in spite of divine inspiration vying with the need for a more *terre à terre* image of "God" had to accept the division of mankind into nation states as a *fait accompli*. And though "it is hardly possible to imagine that in the atomic era, war could be used as an instrument of justice", St. John Stevas interprets God's mouth-piece as favouring "an urgent programme of multilateral disarmament" rather than encouraging, or "directing" Catholics to "go over to the Aldermaston camp". Without wishing to upset unduly the *soi-disant* "catholic anarchists", we find the Pope's political realism not only an admission of the impotence, inefficiency and unpopularity of the Christians' "omnipotent God", (if we believed in God—let alone if we were "His" sole agent on earth—we would rely more on the power of God than on manipulating governments and the money markets!) but a denial of the principles of behaviour which, we think, are the positive attributes of the Christian philosophy ("Love thy neighbour as thyself", "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you", etc.). Pope John's encyclical stresses the rights of the individual—including his right to "take on active part in public affairs"—but when it comes to *dealing* with the problems

he looks to governments, and, in the international sphere, the United Nations "reformed and endowed with executive powers"!

★

WE are not surprised. All authoritarian bodies pay lip-service to the people, to their rights and their sense of responsibility, but when it comes to taking the decisions, to action, they side with the ruling class, the power élite. To our minds it is clear that the power of the Catholic hierarchy is greater than that of any government or Trades Union caucus. In theory, at least the R.C. Church, unlike any government, exercises its power over millions of human being without legal powers or access to the traditional standby of governments: the armed forces, police and judiciary, not to mention economic pressures. By and large the Church exerts its power through fear born of ignorance.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Pope so far as the power racket is concerned is the most powerful individual in the world today simply by reason of his office. It is also true that the lesser officials of the Church in Catholic countries, also wield tremendous power by reason of the financial and political ramifications of the Church in the economic life of these countries. In education it is virtually impossible for parents to have their children educated other than at schools permeated or controlled by the dogmatic hand of the Church. The backward morality code of many catholic countries is applied not only to the faithful but is the law applicable to everyone, believers and unbelievers. In this country we tend to overlook the pernicious, all-powerful and reactionary force of the Catholic Church. In those countries Governments come and go, fascism came and went, but the Catholic Church goes on ever on the side of reaction, of any powerful minority, so long as its power is respected, and rocking the boat of State when it isn't.

Pope John's encyclical has been hailed as "revolutionary, profound". It seems to us that in a sense it is a "crash programme". St. John Stevas referred to it as "the latest massive instalment of Pope John's plan to bring the Catholic Church into relationship with the modern world". If that is so, it will be the Church's undoing as a power to be obeyed blindly and unquestioningly. Of course this will have to happen in due course; in that respect all obscurantist organisations cannot hold out for ever in a scientific, questioning, age. But we have no reason to believe that the leaders and intellectuals of the Church are unaware of the dangers, or that what they give with one hand they will not seek to recoup with the other. With Mr. Doerr in his *Freethinker* article we suggest that in Pope John's short, caretaker "government", the "Vatican has only had a change of face, not a change of heart. It is not in the vanguard of the movement for a better, freer, saner world; it is only a wolf in sheep's clothing, a whited supulchre".

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

DIRECT ACTION BY CAR WORKERS

Once again this week, the so-called national interests have been threatened by a series of strikes in the car industry. Some employers have run true to form. The spokesmen for these interests, the car firm managers and industrialists, have brought out the old bogey, "the kiss of death", in naming the Communist Party and their members for organised disruption of production. They have spoken of the International Communist Organisation, the World Federation of Trade Unions and of workers from the Midlands attending official conferences dealing with the car industry and returning to encourage their members to agitate for strike action to support extortionate demands.

This however is not the view of all employers. Some of them consider that it is because of the present boom in the industry that workers are pressing for pay increases while there is a big demand for cars. There is no doubt that this year has started well for the car manufacturers. Production figures show that the high seasonal demand seems set to last further into the year than is usual. If this happens and it appears to be highly probable, then the output record of 1960 will be broken.

Recently everything has been going smoothly for the car manufacturers, with no stoppages, a big demand for cars and to satisfy this demand, a high output. Now, following Llanely, workers at other car plants are backing their pay demands with strike action. At the Pressed Steel Company's factory at Cowley, 206 members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union withdrew their labour after the company had turned down their claim for a pay increase.

These men maintain dies and fixtures used in pressing steel into car bodies which are supplied to a number of other firms—Rootes, Jaguar, Standard-Triumph and Ford. At these companies, this shortage of car bodies has caused workers to be "laid off". A lot has been made of this fact in the press.

Headlines of "Trouble grows in Car Industry", "21,000 now Involved", "Jaguar Halts, Rootes Lay Off Men". They have simply used these figures of "lay offs" to attack strikers. No real attempt has been made to find a reason why men take strike action, not that I expect the press to worry about these reasons.

Something does however emerge from the press reports. The Oxford district secretary of the A.E.U. has said "the men had already rejected advice to return to work and might do so again. They felt frustrated because, under the agreement, there could be no final settlement of an individual union's claim without the agreement of six other unions." With this type of unionism and with the long complicated negotiation procedure, each new claim has to go through, it is no wonder that men get frustrated.

This frustration is not confined to Pressed Steel's. At Standard-Triumph's in Coventry, maintenance men stopped work over a claim for more pay to equal out day-rate earnings with those of pieceworkers. Some of these men getting as much as £5 10s. less than a pieceworker. This has come about since the fluctuating bonus scheme was stopped.

Lucas factories in the Birmingham area have also been affected by strikes. 1,400 toolroom workers at ten different factories, who are planning a work-to-rule following a ban on overtime, held a 24-hour token strike. These men are also claiming an increase in wages and are taking this well-planned co-ordinated action in order to strengthen their demand.

Workers at both the Jaguar and Rover factories have also been involved in disputes with the management. At the former, 750 day shift workers went on strike over the delay in starting an improved bonus scheme. At Rovers 300 men banned overtime in support of

their claim for increased piecework rates.

Most of the men have now returned to work or are resuming over the weekend. At Pressed Steel, after a two hour meeting which was attended by A.E.U. officials, the strikers voted to go back to work. Their claim is being considered at a meeting with the six other unions. The employers have agreed to meet the unions nearly a fortnight earlier than had been previously suggested. At Standard-Triumph, the 200 maintenance men are resuming over the week-end and the 600 production men, who backed their fellow-workers, will start on Monday. The Whitsun holiday is being worked for a longer summer one.

As these men return to work, car delivery drivers at Progressive Deliveries, which deal with Rootes and Standard-Triumph, are striking for a £1 per week increase.

These strikes have shown that men are not prepared just to wait until employers and union officials are ready to get down to negotiations. Although the unions are only too willing to accept delays, their members are not and are prepared to take direct action themselves to force their officials and employers out of inertia. This is what gets things moving, when officials and employers know that the workers are willing to back demands with action.

No doubt there are members of the Communist Party who take an active part in these disputes, but if one believed some reports in the national press on communist activities, it would appear that a party member has only to shout "All out!" and everyone comes out. Men don't just go on strike for the sake of it, but because of a grievance they have which they think should be put right by taking such action. Of course the commies might try to use, and often do, any such grievance or dispute for the party ends, but these tactics and manoeuvrings are usually seen through.

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ANARCHY 28

DISCUSSES:
**ANARCHISM—
PAST, PRESENT
AND FUTURE**

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SIT DOWN OR PAY UP!

Outwitting Consciousness

"ZEN and REALITY, an approach to sanity and happiness on a non-sectarian basis", by Robert Powell, George Allen and Unwin, 21s.

THIS book began as a series of lectures given to the Buddhist Society in London. The basic idea is that human beings cling to life, to their ideas of what life should be, their ideas of what they themselves are, their "free will", their consciousness and all the rest of it. But the "I" which to them seems something apart from the world is an illusion, and one which causes more suffering than happiness.

There is probably a good deal of truth in this, but it is an idea difficult to grasp, particularly when you are told that it is precisely the grasping of ideas that is the trouble.

"Krishnamurti states that we cannot learn wisdom from books or teachers." But *Zen and Reality* is a book, from which the reader is intended to gain at least some insights into freedom. This paradox was presented by some clever young disciple to a Zen Master centuries ago. The old boy was writing some voluminous tome on Zen. I forget how the disciples was answered, probably with a box on the ear.

I believe that the above statement of Krishnamurti's, and the concept on which this book is based that the clinging to the ego causes suffering, both have some truth in them. Yet in practice one must use books, if only to communicate the idea that books are useless. And one cannot really discard the "I". ("Who in any case is it that decides to discard it? Who or what is able to realise the illusory nature of the ego?"). Or at any rate not for long. On the wall of the room where I write, someone has pinned up some Zen-style maxims. One of them reads:

"If death is certain, eternity is now." But although time can be some mental techniques, or by the state of mind one

has accidentally come into, be made to seem to pass with extreme slowness, it always does pass eventually.

Clinging to possessions and social prestige may in most cases be foolish, a barrier to happiness. But woe-betide the eskimo who loses his harpoon, when no replacements are available! Christ advised his disciples to take no thought for the morrow, etc. If he had lived in Greenland, instead of sunny Palestine (where in any case "holy men" were honoured and given food), he and his disciples would soon have died of hunger and cold. Is it altogether a coincidence that most of the world's spiritual teachers have come from warm countries? Even the modern Beats flourish in California.

The author quotes Blake, "He who binds to himself a Jay, Doth the winged life destroy, But he who kisses the Joy as it flies, Lives in eternity's sunrise".

and there is great truth in it. To try to hold on to happiness soon destroys that happiness. We have all had the experience of trying and trying to remember a name, then giving it up as a bad job, and then, some time after, the name pops up unbidden. Striving and holding and grasping and fearing and shrinking are obviously not ways to fulfilment. The thing striven for often comes when striving has been given up.

All the same, unless we had a completely free society, it is difficult to imagine striving, etc. being altogether given up by anybody. A Zen Master screamed when being murdered by a bandit. A disciple was troubled by this, but his teacher pointed out that it was a most magnificent scream, heard for miles!

The answer has grim humour. All the same I must confess that after beginning with the "Tao Teh King", and continuing via Chuangtse and Alan Watts I have ended with a certain feeling of disappointment, wondering what it all really amounts to. I feel I too would yell if murdered by bandits, and do not have to pursue the way of Zen in order to learn how to!

I can understand that we should eschew conventionality, live the simple life, avoid oppressing others, accept things as they come, shun ambition, eat wholemeal bread, sit in Whitehall, wear pullovers and corderoys, contribute what we can to *Peace News*, *FREEDOM* and the

Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, and so on. But to let go of consciousness, free oneself from concepts and ideas and so forth... I do not believe that one can really do this. Certainly not all the time.

A Quiet Life

"HARBLOW'S LUCK", by Fred Hobday, The C.W. Daniel Company, Ltd., 10s. 6d.

HARBLOW'S good fortune really consists in this, that he is only slightly touched by the storms of insanity raging across the great world. He is able to retain his faith in mankind, his gentle socialism and his belief in the curative powers of Nature right through to the end. This radical commercial traveller surmounts his difficulties with courage, is efficient in a job that would drive many less stable men insane, and has the guts to stand out against the mass hysteria of patriotism that swept Europe at the time of the First World War and carried away so many more colourful personalities.

I suspect that the book is disguised autobiography. One is apt to forget that for millions of mankind this is what life is really like. From a distance the human story seems all confusion and the clash of armies, but for many, perhaps the majority, it is comparatively peaceful business. The present writer lived through the whole of the Second World War, the most destructive in history, without seeing a single dead person, either killed by enemy action or by more normal processes, and this no doubt does not in any way constitute a record. A.W.U.

The Nazi Revival

"THE NEW GERMANY AND THE OLD NAZIS", by T. H. Tetens, Secker and Warburg, 21s.

THE facts about the Nazi revival assembled by T. H. Tetens are frightening enough I suppose, though what else can you expect? It was too much to ask that military defeat would smash a movement so romantic-minded as Nazism. Indeed the sort of people who like dreams of marching and "glory" are the same people who relish fantasies of splendid defeat, the 'twilight of the Gods'.

This study is confined to the West mainly. Nazis have been able to obtain positions of influence in the East too. Ex-Nazis one should say. The difference in practice, and even in theory, between Nazism and Communism is not all that great. No wonder such men can change their coat so easily.

Anti-Semitism still flourishes, as Jews who have had the temerity to return to Germany have found to their cost. No real attempt has ever been made to get at the roots of anti-Semitism, neither in Germany nor anywhere else. Since, if Reich is to be believed, and his later fantasies do nothing to undermine the soundness of his earlier work, its basis is sexual. No one is going to make the least effort to change the sexual mores of our society, so we shall continue to have militarism and racism, and continue to have wars of one sort or another.

The author quotes a public opinion poll made in 1958 which showed that "39 per cent of the Germans were definitely anti-Semitic", 28 per cent were "conditionally anti-Semitic" (whatever that may mean), 25 per cent showed no anti-Semitic attitudes, and only 7 per cent were described as "philo-Semitic". Anti-Semitism is highest in the country and the country towns.

I suspect that the proportions would be much the same in England, but few Englishmen would give expression, even in private, to the sentiment that "Jews should be exterminated like vermin", though they might if the word "Negro" was substituted.

It is possible that the future will consist of a series of ferocious race wars, which like the wars of religion will end with a struggle for purely political ends, with Jewish regiment in supposedly "Nordic" armies, Negroes like Tshombe fighting for the white man, white men in black armies (as in the Mau-Mau), just as in the Thirty Years War Protestant regiments fought in Catholic armies and Catholic regiments in Protestant ones.

What on earth can one do with these people?

Who Supported Wilkes?

"WILKES AND LIBERTY", a social study of 1763 to 1774, by George Rudé, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 30s.

George Rudé, by elaborate research into contemporary records, shows that the support for "that devil Wilkes" came from all sections of the population; from sections of the ruling class who were disgruntled at the increase of the power of the royal party, the supporters of George III, to Irish coal heavers who wanted more wages. All could unite to the rallying cry of "Wilkes and Liberty!"

when Wilkes was illegally debarred from taking his seat in the Commons.

Mr. Rudé considers that Raymond Postgate was misleading when he stated in his biography that the greater part of Wilkes' supporters come from the working class. The Wilkesite movement was not revolutionary but in a sense traditionalist, since it demanded the restoration or preservation of the traditional "rights of Englishmen". It is easy to be cynical about these "rights". Goldsmith has a satirical passage where a debtor from his prison window and a sailor in the hands of the press gang are made to expatiate on "English liberty". Yet there was some justification for this attitude. France and Spain, two traditional enemies, were absolute monarchies, totalitarian states by the standards of the time, and Scotland, land of origin of the Stuarts with their absolutist pretensions, was still comparatively a backward country. Although Wilkes himself was tolerant in matters of religion, there was naturally enough an anti-Catholic element in the movement too, Catholicism being associated with royal absolutism, as with Fascism and totalitarianism in our own day.

Against the increase of royal power all factions could unite, though in many cases their grievances were economic, not political, and could not be solved by political changes. There were proto-Luddites who demolished a mill that threatened their livelihoods. There were sailors on strike for more pay. There were merchants whose slave-trading was threatened by the return of British conquests in the Caribbean. There were country workers whose land had been enclosed. As soon as Wilkes won the movement split into its component parts again. Liberty, even the traditional English kind, means different things to different people.

Even though Raymond Postgate may have been mistaken on some points, the reader of Mr. Rudé's book is recommended to consult Postgate's biography ("That Devil Wilkes") also. Sometimes, so detailed is the present study, one is apt to lose one's grasp of what is happening, unless one has a simpler, more general picture of the course of events before one.

The Wilkesite movement was the beginning of the social ferment that led to the American War of Independence and the French Revolution,* and hence to the upheavals of today. Before it began there had been a long period of quiescence, as far as political and social radicalism was concerned. The radical movement in England at the time of the Civil War had faded out, and has little direct connection with modern times.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.
*It is a pity that by the time the French Revolution arrived Wilkes was too old to understand it.

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God—the Best Food for hungry people

ALL religions are basically authoritarian. This will be self evident to most anarchists and I only repeat it here so that catholic anarchists and other believers will know where this reviewer stands. The rule of God is more tyrannical than the rule of man since God cannot be answered back or assassinated and any disaster, presumed by the faithful to be celestially instigated, tends to be treated as just another manifestation of God working out his 'mysterious purpose', whatever that may be.

These views are borne out by Peter Howard's book* on Frank Buchman and his ideas of Moral Re-Armament. It shows what sort of man Buchman was (a remarkable charismatic leader) and the woolly ideas on which MRA is based.

The book is full of dubious testimonials to MRA from world leaders and we are treated to touching evangelist stories of cosmetically "painted" chamber maids, university atheists, naughty communists *et al* who have been converted to MRA. (Many of these changed people seem to be neurotics, boozers, semi-harlots and Rugby internationals, who welcome the chance of submerging all essence of personality in a philosophy which cannot bring any further disillusion (God's mysterious purpose, etc.) We are also told that Buchman was a revolutionary but I became very doubtful when I read that the President of Brazil called out the police and armed forces to help Japanese MRA-ers present a play throughout Brazil. (This play apparently averted revolution in Brazil). Other statesmen from Eisenhower to U Nu of Burma via Mr. Kasayubu have commended Buchman's ideas.

*"FRANK BUCHMAN'S SECRET", Heinemann, 10s. 6d.

Among other notable revolutionaries who were impressed with Buchman are Henry Ford and Charles P. Skouras, the boss of Twentieth Century Fox!

MRA believes that the fences are down in a decadent civilisation and that new moral fences must be built. The aim is the government of the world by men governed by God. (Buchman, according to one observer, was a "democrat out to make men free under the dictatorship of God"). The method is to train people to teach MRA beliefs as a positive alternative to communism (which offends MRA only because it is "God-less"). According to Buchman there are only two types of people in the world—those who change and those who don't.

Howard says MRA is not going left or right but straight and he reports with obvious satisfaction the words of a European Cabinet Minister (a man whose "hands held power in much of the trade and cash of the continent") that MRA has stemmed the tide of communism in the Ruhr and averted, in 1960, communism and dictatorship in Japan. (Why didn't the press report this wholesale averted of revolutions?) (An interesting point is that left wingers who are 'changed' invariably alter their whole life and right wingers none of it). A typical example of MRA propaganda is the alleged confession to the MRA of the last pre-communist Chinese Prime Minister General Ho Ying-chin that all would have been well if the top people in China had not had communist like Buchman his whole spoken 'philo-mistresses'!

As is usually the case with evangelists sophy is liberally peppered with homespun wisdom, 'epigrammatic' religious clichés and attacks on such common degeneracies as incest, buggery, self-

abuse, sterilisation, drug addiction, homosexuality, lesbianism and financial dishonesty. Exhortations to have better relationship with God and fascinating words of wisdom like: "A small sense of sin means a small sense of Christ" (are Christ and sin synonymous?) are littered around the book. It comes as no surprise to find that Buchman's advice for dealing with sin is "G-R-O-W! Go Right On Working!" or that his six favourite words in the English language are "Make and keep me pure within". The book makes its "ideological" case on "feeding spiritual hunger" (Buy GOD—the new handy pack family breakfast feed) and the need for "peace, freedom and justice" and a "sense of God" (All undefined). Faced

with this I do not recant my atheism but I wish that having read the book twice I had more idea of what MRA is. Howard describes Buchman very well but the beliefs are ((deliberately?) very vague. I feel rather like a comrade who said of egoist anarchists: "I know the buggers are wrong but I'm damned if I can prove it". This is because it is impossible to refute a non-existent case (I refer to MRA not egoism).

As it stands MRA claims to be revolutionary and takes sides in the Cold War, claims to change men to God but does not advocate any change in their basic social morality (e.g. Henry Ford, Tshombe *et al*), claims to be progressive while attempting to turn the world into Crusader-governed oligarchies. Howard says our society is morally sick and needs a cure. MRA looks like a symptom of the sickness.

C.R.

YET ANOTHER ODD IMAGE

"ANARCHISTS IN LOVE" by Colin Spencer, published by Eyre and Spottiswoode at 21s.

ANARCHISTS have had some pretty peculiar images of late—despite the noble efforts of the *Guardian* and the *Sunday Times*—but none more peculiar than that purveyed by the author in this book. If we are to believe him, anarchists are either bisexual or have no knowledge of contraception, they either write or they paint and they are invariably supported financially by a Daddy—Sugar or otherwise. The plot of the book—and it is full of plot—revolves around Reg, who is beautiful and neurotic, and Sundry, who is known to her family as "Sunshine". Their affair, which runs, via homosexuality,

attempted murder and successful abortion, to the Registry, is played out against the background of Brighton, peopled, as always, by whores and queers, and Croydon, where Sundry's family are described in some of the better passages of the book. It is unfortunate that that highly fashionable word 'anarchist' is used in connection with Reg and Sundry; it took some effort to overcome my initial prejudice against such a misapplication of the word and detracted from the merits of what is a vivid, if not always altogether convincing, story. For the anarchism of the protagonists is merely a feeling that they do not quite fit into present society; Sundry's protest is to slap paint on canvas and Reg's to sleep with men—but, then, even Conservatives do that. DIANA SHELLEY.

Permissiveness—so long as you conform

THE attitude of "permissiveness" towards the activities of youth, to which everyone pays lip service today is frequently to be interpreted as "do as you like, so long as we approve." John Stanton, an 18-year-old plasterer's apprentice started a youth club in Chelsea five months ago and obtained permission for it to meet at a school in Sedding Street, Sloane Square. This was a genuinely autonomous youth group and probably for this very reason it prospered. Starting with twenty members it very quickly grew to a membership of a hundred.

Then trouble came. One Friday night, five toilet rolls were thrown from the premises into the garden of a house belonging to Sir Henry Price. The housekeeper complained to the school managers and they immediately closed the club.

John immediately asked to see the school managers and was told that the club could re-open on condition that a senior committee of adults should be formed to manage the club and that an adult must be present at all its meetings. He must, he was told, submit the names of the adults for approval and would then be told whether the club he founded could meet again.

"Of course", John says, "I must take responsibility for the incident of the toilet rolls, but it was a single incident. We have been running very smoothly, without any trouble at all. I think it was a bit hard, giving us notice to quit."

"My aim has always been to have the members themselves run the club, and I got a bit rattled when I was told that I would have to try to form a committee of influential people. But I am trying to do it, because there are no other premises we can use."

But what about the toilet rolls? "I know who threw them. It was two of the junior members. I haven't said anything because I think it was just high spirits." Certainly, although doubtless it is very reprehensible to throw toilet rolls into the gardens of the town houses of baronets, it seems almost as

though someone was waiting for some incident of this sort as a means of bringing John's club under adult control.

Another example of the kind of "permissiveness" which is always ready to pounce when somebody steps out of line, is the case of 15-year-old Jonathan Brittain, suspended from Haberdashers' Aske's School after appearing in court and being bound over for £10 following the East Anglian Committee of 100 demonstration at Marham on May 11th.

Jonathan's mother had a letter from the headmaster to say that he had been suspended for refusing to give an undertaking to obey the law of the land. The headmaster denied subsequently that he had suspended Jonathan for breaking the law. "He has been suspended for a breach of school rules, and it is an internal matter," he said.

This of course is not the first time that school boys and girls have been penalized for CND activities. A Liverpool boy was expelled last year for instance. Members of the National Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are seeking to co-ordinate CND activities in schools and to "convert the groups of badge-wearers and the nuclear disarmament chatter in the school corridors into an effective force in the struggle against the bomb." It is often the very schools which act tough on CND which are saturated with military propaganda, and encourage pupils to join cadet forces and so on. For this reason one of the proposals made at last weekend's NYCND meeting was that school groups should try to counteract any plans to show Army recruiting films in schools with requests for an alternative anti-bomb film, and should use the same tactic over speakers, efforts to form cadet forces, or official notices with a pro-service bias.

The reaction to this kind of request will show how deep our contemporary "permissiveness" goes!

The Big Round-up

SEVERAL hundred FREEDOM and ANARCHY subscribers will have already received subscription reminders by the time they read these lines. Most of the subscriptions were due for renewal at the beginning of the year, but due to the increasing pressure of administrative work, we have only now managed to get round to sending out reminders. A small number, those in fact who have not responded to two previous reminders, are reading the last issue of FREEDOM we shall be sending them until we hear from them. We adopt this policy in order to ensure that our publications go to those

who want to read them, and take the view that anyone who cannot get in touch with us once a year to say so, even if they cannot afford to pay for their papers, is obviously not interested.

If you have received a reminder please deal with it now! FREEDOM PRESS badly needs the money to continue its work of propaganda, and whilst we do not allow the Deficit to unduly worry us, it nevertheless does prevent us from expanding our activities, at a time when there is a growing interest in our ideas.

MANY OF OUR COMRADES WERE FINED HEAVILY for the Marham demonstrations. Others chose jail. Some face heavy fines when they come out. MONEY IS REQUIRED URGENTLY!

THE death of comrade Jules Scarceriaux on May 2nd, 1963, removed from our midst an outstanding figure in the international anarchist movement. (Sabina Scarceriaux, his life-long companion, passed away on March 23rd, 1963).

Comrade Scarceriaux was born on July 22nd, 1873, Wasmuel, Heinaut, Belgium. His mother died when he was still a child, and at the age of eleven, his father placed him to work in a pottery. In his seventeenth year he fell in love with a girl, and to which affair his father strongly objected, finally forbidding him to see her. One night, upon returning from a secret meeting with the girl, his father inflicted upon him a severe beating which led him to leave the house at midnight, never to return there.

Thus began the wanderings of Jules Scarceriaux. His new tramp-life, as he termed it, found him first in Lille, Northern France, where he resumed his trade as a potter. It was here where he attended for the first time a debate between an anarchist and a socialist. Afterwards, the anarchist recommended to him to read Sebastian Faure's *La Douleur Universelle*, which, in turn, influenced him to enter the ranks of the anarchist movement.

His further wanderings found comrade Scarceriaux in Bonn, Germany, and in 1899 he returned to France, this time taking up residence in Paris. His activities here finally led to his deportation from France.

The years 1904-1905 finds Jules Scarceriaux in Rotterdam, Holland, where his anarchist activities, likewise, as in France, led to his deportation.

Comrade Scarceriaux left no data in his scrapbooks as to when he came to the United States. What is known to me is the fact of his residing in the 1920's in Richmond, California, where he carried on his anarchist activities.

I came to know comrade Scarceriaux personally in 1936, when the publishing of *MAN!* was moved from San Francisco to Los Angeles. His collaboration in this magazine, as well as in the "Man Group" is well known. What is not

JULES SCARCERIAUX

known is the close collaboration of his in reading with me the proofs of nearly every issue of *MAN!* that was printed until April, 1940, when the harassings and intimidations by the governmental authorities imposed upon many readers and the printers of *MAN!*, led to its suspension.

Comrade Scarceriaux makes no mention anywhere to having received any formal education. Nevertheless, the fact is that, thanks to these very wanderings, he acquired a thorough knowledge of many languages, enabling him to render into English some of the most important essays that appeared in the anarchist press of Europe. There is scarcely any English anarchist publication that appeared in the United States that did not have his collaboration. For twenty years comrade Scarceriaux also rendered into English most of the leading essays that the editor of *L'Adunata* had written, and which the organ of the I.W.W. *The Industrial Worker* regularly published until a new pro-centralist editor, came out with an attack on anarchists, thereby bringing to an end his collaboration in it. It was in this weekly too that many of the social poems of comrade Scarceriaux were printed.

Comrade Scarceriaux's pen activity was a far-reaching one. He collaborated in French, Belgian and many Scandinavian anarchist publications. He also found time to collaborate in the organ of his Union *The Plasterer*, as well as the organ of the Workingman's Beneficial Association, *Solidarity*. And besides, as a member of his Union, and part-time teacher in French, he came into contact with scores of people, and he utilized that opportunity to propagate our anarchist ideas by word of mouth.

Many were the educational Groups that comrade Scarceriaux brought to life, and before whom he prepared and delivered written lectures. He lost no opportunity to lecture to any group that invited him, as he often did, for instance, at the Forum of the local I.W.W.

The material support that comrade Scarceriaux so generously rendered to our movement including a legacy of \$5,000, is well known. Likewise during the last few years before his death he also distributed hundreds of dollars to various individuals and the press of our movement through comrade A.R.

In this respect, the material aid he gave to the *Industrial Worker*, created misgivings with some of us, although the mitigating explanation for this lies in the fact of that organ having printed for years the trenchant anarchist thoughts from the pen of the editor of *L'Adunata*.

In addition to all these far-reaching activities, he devoted a great deal of his time to the creative art of Sculpture (mostly in Bas-Relief) reproducing them in hundreds from which the movement derived heavy material aid.

Comrade Scarceriaux had the good fortune to witness a partial realization of the dreams that our teachers and he have propagated: the social awakening of the oppressed and exploited masses throughout the world, especially among the most ill-treated—the coloured people.

His life was, as can be seen, a very rich, fruitful one. The last few years, he suffered much physical pain, and finally pleaded for pills to end his discomforts. But, living as we do in an abnormal and therefore irrational society, his wish could not be complied with.

Saddened as we are by his passing from our midst, we are at the same time happy in the knowledge of having had the good fortune to have known and worked with him, and our movement in general has been enriched by the unceasing spiritual contributions that he has made to it for over seventy years. May 20, 1963. MARCUS GRAHAM.

Take over the Railways—and melt down the rails!

THIS country is covered by a network of straight, level roads, segregated from pedestrians, built in the nineteenth century. The builders prepared their surfaces in the most efficient way they could, by laying precise metal tracks on which the best available engines, inert contraptions by modern standards, could develop maximum speed.

Since then engines have been invented with much quicker acceleration and shorter braking distances, which can carry varying loads of people and goods quite quickly over short distances; and which moreover can develop high speeds on rough continuous surfaces requiring only a fraction of the maintenance work needed for rail.

A recent study of transport in Northern Scotland showed that a service equal to that provided by the railways, could be provided for less than one-tenth of the man-hours* The other nine-tenths are wasted in maintaining precise tracks and long distance signals for obsolete vehicles. But an Economy designed not to provide services but to make money keeps people working, even when they can see their drudgery is futile.

"If we lived in a world in which each of us was his brother's keeper" the prospect of railway workers becoming redundant because of labour-saving inventions would be pleasant. In the world of the wages system it is calamitous.

The railway workers threaten to strike for the same reason as the Luddites, accustomed to drudge 16 hours a day at hand looms, tried to wreck the power looms. The NUR protests about the "loss of services to the community", in the very terms used by the London Water Bearers Guild when heavy buckets of Thames water were displaced by conduits bringing sweet water from country springs. And who can blame them?

*Information given by a Cambridge Professor of Transport in a broadcast talk. The annual cost of labour was represented in terms of money; railways: fifty million pounds plus whatever is collected in fares and freight charges; modern transport: five million pounds total.

The horror of capitalism is not that it replaces cumbersome working methods by more productive ones' but that in the changeover it brings misery to displaced workers and their families. In a saner society the ridiculous local tracks would

have been melted down, the splendid roads equipped for more flexible vehicles, and the wasted time, wasted power, wasted human life put to a better use years ago.

DONALD ROOM.

Direct Action by Car Workers

Continued from page 1

In unofficial action, there is a far better chance of the thing being run and controlled by the men themselves. If help or assistance is needed from any organisation or group not directly involved in the action, this should be decided by all the men taking part in the dispute.

These recent strikes in the car industry have been over pay increases. With increased production and big profits in the car industry, workers are demanding a bigger share for themselves, but at the same time, any threat to working conditions are also fought against. Workers are relying much more on their own efforts rather than on union leaders to achieve demands.

NO JOBS FOR THE 17

Only about 2,000 out of 10,000 members of the Transport and General Workers' Union turned up to vote on strike action at Fords Dagenham. With the vote about equal, the union decided to call off the strike, which was called in an effort to get their seven members, of the 17 victimised men re-instated. The other unions involved had decided by ballot of members against strike action. Later this week, the national Union of Vehicle Builders also came out against any stoppage.

This is the end for these 17 men as far as Fords are concerned and it will be very difficult, well nigh impossible, to find employment for them.

This dispute, which began over the sacking of a shop steward, Bro. Francis, started last October, and illustrated the complete and utter failure of union leadership and official trade unionism to defend their members. It is no small wonder that members have torn up their union cards in disgust.

Throughout the whole of this dispute, the unions have been unwilling to organise any real action to get these men re-instated. These militants have not only been victimised by Fords but also by their union leaders, Carron, Cousins and the rest of the union leaders saw these 17 men in the same light as Fords, that is as troublemakers. Their militancy not only threatened Fords interests as employers but also the interests of the union leaders who only want docile members. This is why no action was taken.

Ever since last October the unions have delayed, put off and compromised until the real issues have been forgotten and everyone is fed up with negotiation after negotiation. The unions have taken over, controlled and finally demoralised the men at Fords, who realise that it is too late for any action now to get these men re-instated.

According to Fords, industrial relations have never been better, than over the last seven months. There have been no stoppages and increased production is being maintained. This has been achieved with the "speed up" of assembly lines, constant chasing up by foremen, and the threat of sackings. This is the price of Fords industrial peace.

The failure of the unions has not gone unnoticed by the workers at Fords and they are drawing their own conclusions from it. This is, I'm sure, that rank and file control must be maintained in any dispute with the employers. This control must be held by the workers themselves and not be taken away by a bunch of union bureaucrats. Only with rank and file control can there be any real likelihood of winning the struggle against Fords.

P.T.

Official Secrets Charge in Scotland

On Sunday, 26th May, 5 members of the Scottish Committee of 100 were arrested and charged under the *Official Secrets Act* for being in the vicinity of the *War Department's Proof and Experimental Establishment* at Inchtarf. They were also charged with conducting themselves in a manner liable to cause a breach of the peace. How walking across a field amongst cows and sheep is liable to cause a breach of the peace only the police, the cows and the sheep will know. The members charged are Norman McLeod, Walter Morrison,

Archie Smith, Walter Weir and George Williamson. It would appear from the action which was taken that Inchtarf is a secret military establishment. Is it a shelter to protect the elite while we and our families lie in the mass graves which the government has prepared? This is a blatant misuse of the Act to prevent the people finding out what is going on behind their back in military establishments. The Act was used previously at Wethersfield and Marham in an attempt to smash the Committee of 100. This is the work of a Government

which fears the rise of a movement which will resist its nuclear policies. The persuasiveness of C.N.D., the non-violent resistance of the Committee of 100 and the activities of the Spies for Peace and Scots against War cannot be ignored by the Government.

Demonstration

In solidarity with those five arrested we are calling on all supporters to demonstrate at Inchtarf on Sunday, 16th

June, and commit the same offence as they did. That is, go right up to the wire fence which surrounds the establishment. We are not asking anyone to enter the place.

If many people are arrested on the same charge then the authorities will not be able to victimise the five. We appeal to you to show solidarity with them in our fight against the State's genocide policies.

Non-Violence

This will be a NON-VIOLENT demonstration. We ask those who are unable to remain non-violent even in the face of extreme provocation, by the police not to come to the demonstration.

NEGROES IN the United States went ahead with their campaigns for votes, cinema-seats toilet facilities, schools, equal job rights as policemen and traffic wardens, lunch-counter attendance, matters overlooked by President Lincoln and ignored by all, up till now, including President Kennedy. Fighting on a small scale took place in Boston. A 'dialogue', as described by James Baldwin took place in one of the Kennedy family apartments in New York between Mr. Kennedy's brother (the Attorney General), the Head of the Civil Rights division of the Department of Justice, Rip Torn (an actor), Lorraine Hansberry, Lena Horne, Harry Belafonte, James Baldwin and his brother, the director of Chicago Urban League, the Professor of Psychology at New York City College, and the chief lawyer of the Gandhi Society, a Freedom rider. No concrete proposals were made except that President Kennedy should personally lead the two students who will seek admission into Alabama University on June 10th, the Attorney-General, who, by a coincidence is Mr. Kennedy's brother, just laughed. . . .

A FEDERAL JUDGE in Birmingham Alabama dismissed on a technicality, suits by Negro parents against segregation in schools. The International Commission of Jurists said that the affront to human



dignity in certain areas of the United States may seriously injure the cause of human rights in other countries.

WALSALL CORPORATION is to stop recruiting coloured bus crews because, a member of the transport committee said they "wanted to create a more friendly atmosphere on the buses. He said we are now seeking bus crews who will regard the bus industry as a career and not just as an ordinary job. He said that the transport committee had found that the coloured workers' perception was not as quick as that of the white employees. "The white workers are better educated and more suitable for our type of work." The transport committee had nothing against coloured people, etc., etc. The Public Order Bill was published in the House of Lords, it increases the penalties for offences under the Public Meeting Act 1908 and under Section 5 of the Public Order Act 1936. Section 5 makes it an offence to use in any public place or at any public meeting threatening, abusive, or insulting words or behaviour with intent to provoke a breach of the peace, or whereby a

breach of the peace is likely to be occasioned. The maximum penalties are now £500 or twelve months imprisonment, or both. The Public Meeting Act 1908 makes it an offence to act in a disorderly manner at a public meeting for the purpose of preventing the transaction of the business for which the meeting had been called. The maximum penalties for this have also been increased to £500 or twelve months imprisonment, or both. Colin Jordan, leader of the National Socialist movement was released from prison after completing a nine-month sentence for offences under the Public Order Act. . . .

AT DOWNHAM MARKET in Norfolk, 68 supporters of the Committee of 100 were taken to court from the prison at Norwich in handcuffs which they thought was unnecessary so they refused to cooperate. They were dragged fifty yards into the coach and when they arrived at the courts they were pulled, kicked and trodden upon as each pair, handcuffed together, was wrenched from the coach. As they were removed from the coach, four of them were kicked hard and deliberately in the testicles. A cameraman photographing these incidents had his camera smashed in his face and a window slammed on his hand. A local woman witnessing the prison officers violence shouted, "That's too good for them! Kick them harder! Machine guns is what they want!" The Press maintained their usual discreet silence on this matter. *Sanity*, the CND newspaper reports its own source within the *Guardian*, saying that the paper had been asked by a Government press officer to "lay off sympathetic stories on CND". (*The Observer*, it is said, received a similar request a few weeks ago). However, when a girl was carried into court at Downham Market like a sack of potatoes and with a bleeding ankle, the reporters took immediate note

of her for her father is a film-actor. The Prison Officers' Association chairman said he wished that some MPs would at least take the trouble to try and verify statements made to them by ex-prisoners before giving them publicity. There should always be a 'proper discipline' in prisons, even though conditions should not be harsh. A Committee of 100 supporter in Norwich jail had a file sent to him inside a cake as a joke. There was a note attached to the cake which read: "Hullo kid, like I promised! Don't break your teeth on it." The cake got through to him. . . .

IN DOWNHAM MARKET court a total of £1,200 in fines was imposed. Eleven people who refused to pay fines or be bound over were imprisoned ranging from seven days to three months. Pauline Beckett was found guilty before she had been asked for her defence, the clerk pointed out the error. In another court a girl who had refused to give her name and address was remanded in custody before she had even been charged, a spectator in court pointed out the error. He also overheard a magistrate say in conversation with a chief inspector on the dropping of the Official Secrets charges, "Obstruction? Is that all? Well, it's a complete waste of time our coming here." . . .

A FIGURE beloved and looked up to by many, has died, after seventy years of active life in chastening sin and punishing wrong-doers. He was known all over the world and his words were absorbed eagerly by young and old. An authority said, "He was the sort of fellow people like to identify themselves with." He had recently tried a "new look" and a different approach to problems but the world had changed and had now no place for him. We shall miss Sexton Blake, the fictional detective.

etc. might as well cease publication.

We should not fool ourselves that we achieved anything when we played at revolution on Easter Monday. Violence, used at the moment when the Anarchists in Britain are about as strong as Macmillan's teeth, is ridiculous. It could mean the end of the British Anarchist Federation before its beginning. (Individual acts of violence, such as were experienced on Easter Monday are completely useless tactically anyway against the might of the State. Only collective violence will ever achieve anything).

If we can build a movement of masses of people who want to be free we can overthrow the State. Violence will in the end, I believe, be inevitable. In fact it should be one of our most useful tactics.

Do not let us be idealistic as to believe that we can non-violently overthrow a State prepared to use violence all the way. However, neither let us be as stupidly romantic as to believe that violence is now in any way useful to us. We must concentrate on winning over the masses of the people. Until we do this violence is useless. Unless we do this, freedom is a dream.

Sincerely,

Essex, May 31.

CHRIS ROSE.

LETTERS

Easy propaganda

DEAR FRIENDS,
With reference to your editorial [FREEDOM, May 18] and the 'need for propagandists', may I offer a simple suggestion. One can, at the cost of a sixpenny stamp per week, send on FREEDOM to others after one has read it (unless of course, one is involved in a dialogue on Productivity, etc!), together with other fissionable material such as *Solidarity*, *Direct Action*, *Catholic Worker* and *Peace News* (when it's not suffering from one of its periodic bouts of respectability fever). My own active interest in 'anarchism' stems from a casual encounter with FREEDOM. If we all did this the circulation of FREEDOM would automatically double, with, one hopes, a consequent rise in subscriptions.

Yours fraternally,

Kent, May 25.

P.R.

Violence-eventually

DEAR EDITORS,
While believing, as I stated in FREEDOM, May 1th, that anarchist revolution must be violent if it is to achieve anything I cannot accept, as was implied by the placing of my letter in "Controversy on 'the People in the Streets'", a position for which it was not intended, that anarchist violence is at the moment a good thing; in fact I think the opposite. The blame for such placing of course rests with my writing the letter at such an awkward time. The point of my letter was not to advocate anarchist violence NOW but rather to state that I cannot understand the idealism of the pacifists and non-violent resisters.

I do not believe that violence, at the moment, can do any good to anarchism in Britain. Neither should we spend our time simply talking about future society and having ridiculous controversies on individualism versus collectivism (or for that matter violence versus

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London, May 30. ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

New Meetings in Central London

Prickly Subjects will be discussed at Central London Meetings at "The Porcupine", 48 Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2 (Leicester Square tube), commencing 7.45.

JUNE 9 S. Fanaroff:
The Silent Revolution
JUNE 16 Ted Cavanagh:
e. e. cummings: the Individual IS All welcome.

Hyde Park Meetings

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

Merseyside

Will those interested in forming an Anarchist Discussion Group on Merseyside please get in touch with:

VINCENT JOHNSON,
43, MILLBANK,
LIVERPOOL 13.

BRISTOL FEDERATION

Will any interested readers contact:
Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells, Bristol 8.

OXFORD MEETING

For details please contact:—
Gabrielle Charing,
Somerville College, Oxford.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

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 Ladbroke Road, (near Notting Hill Station), W.11.

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