

'In the long run the freedom of a nation is measured by the freedom of its lowest class; every upward step of that class to the possibility of possessing higher things raises the standard of the nation in the scale of civilization; every time that class is beaten back into the mire, the whole moral tone of the nation suffers.'

JAMES CONNOLLY

In this Issue:

OUT OF THIS WORLD
BEYOND 1984
BHAVE ON DEMOCRACY
CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

THE interest shown by the Press in the anti-nuclear movement as a whole is of quite a different nature now than it was, say six years ago. Then the Press was prepared to publicise the marches and demonstrations from the "human angle"—sore feet, wet bottoms, long-haired, bearded youths, barefooted, unwashed girls, and so on—and tended to write-off any political content the movement might have had. At most they were a nuisance that a "democracy" had to tolerate in its midst. All that has now changed.

The Press now takes a more hostile line, and cannot overlook the possible consequences of the "politicisation" of the movement. And of course they are quite right in sensing a growing maturity in spite of a possible falling off in the number of "activists", and feeling just a little alarmed at what might be the political prospects if the present trend continues. One can expect that the tactic of the Press will therefore be to seek to work up fears of insecurity in the "respectable" middle classes, and to divide the movement loosely joined around the nuclear disarmament movement by scare stories and suggestions that certain "undesirable" elements are infiltrating the movement and driving out the moderate elements. And in this campaign the anarchist bogey will loom large. Already two examples of this new line have appeared in the columns of the *Sunday Telegraph* and the *Sunday Times*. The former which specialised in uncovering Trotskyite conspiracies and the like, published a news item which we reprint in full:

The Special Branch fears that anarchist extremists acting independently of any organisation will become violent during the official visit of King Paul and Queen Frederika of the Hellenes on July 9-12.

They know that these extremists will stop at nothing to embarrass the Royal visitors. Demonstrations are being arranged by Earl Russell's "Save Greece Now" committee.

Support is being given also by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Committee of 100, the League for Democracy in Greece and minority groups from Greek and Cypriot students' organisations. They are all non-violent.

But Mr. Michael Harwood, secretary of the London Committee of 100, which

The Press revives the

Anarchist Bogey

is marching from Trafalgar Square to Buckingham Palace led by Lord Russell on the day the King and Queen arrive, believes that there is a danger of violence from unruly elements.

Special Branch men have prepared a report on hooligans who gatecrashed the Aldermaston C.N.D. march at Easter.

The Anarchist movement in Britain is non-violent but it is known that there is a minority of dissenters. At present a controversy on the use of force is being carried out in the correspondence columns of the anarchist journal FREEDOM.

Note the "anarchist extremists acting independently of any organisation" "who will stop at nothing" "will become violent". They quote Michael Harwood of the Committee of 100 as saying that he believed there was a "danger of violence from unruly elements" and disclose that Special Branch men have prepared a report on "hooligans who gate-crashed the Aldermaston march". This was immediately followed by a reference to the non-violent nature of the anarchist movement in Britain which however has a "minority of dissenters". Readers of the *Sunday Telegraph* will put two and two together and conclude that the "unruly elements" and the "hooligans" are in fact this "minority of dissenters".

The *Sunday Telegraph* piece naturally aroused interest in the Press world and specifically in the relationship of the anarchists to the Committee of 100. Our policy on

interviews with the Press is to invite them to put their questions in writing and to supply them with written answers. This attempt to avoid misunderstandings and misstatements invariably drives the news-hounds away never to return with their written questions. The *Sunday Times* (complete with photographer) was among them. But this did not prevent them from including the anarchists in their "Focus" feature on the "Mixed-Up World of CND" last Sunday. And who better to quote (or mis-quote?) than the king-pins of official CND-ism. Thus Canon Collins is quoted as saying that

As an anarchist fringe has recently been very prominent in the movement the task [of keeping the right kind of balance in CND] is all the more difficult. "Inevitably this means that we sacrifice a good deal of support for what you might call the more normal public. And Professor Richie Calder, vice-chairman of CND who said that he did not approve of widening the movement's term of reference beyond the nuclear issue, added:

"Anarchist elements have always been latent—now they are coming out. You've got to remember this generation has strontium in its bones and sputniks in its eyes; older people can't understand."

Calder is also convinced that most of the trouble in Scotland has been caused by a lunatic fringe of anarchists, and not the Communists who have sometimes got the blame. "People do anything under the C.N.D. label but here the

anarchists are the biggest danger for those of us who want C.N.D. to be a protest of decency."

On the other hand, in the section of the "Focus" feature dealing with the Committee of 100—a mixture of interview and "atmosphere"—the following paragraph is inserted:

Although the Communist Party has made sporadic attempts to take over both the Committee and C.N.D., the Communist element is thought to be tiny. But there is a wide measure of agreement with the views of the Federation of London Anarchists who crowned the last Aldermaston demonstration by deliberately breaking up the march itself. Notice again how the "views" (undefined) of the Federation of London Anarchists are linked to their alleged "deliberate breaking up" of the Aldermaston march.

Of course this is the necessary background material from which to draw blood-curdling conclusions and to drive a wedge into this movement of the people which still resists the political parties' kiss of death. (Even the Communists, surely the most experienced infiltrators in the political racket, have got nowhere. Why, the poor dears have been blamed for all the trouble in Scotland "caused by a lunatic fringe of anarchists". We have Professor Calder's word for this and for the fact that the biggest danger to the CND as a "protest of decency" comes not from the CP but from the . . . terrible anarchists!).

And the *Sunday Times* conclu-

sions are that "if the tendency to wilder and wilder extremism continues, which seems highly likely" the "influential figures" in the CND may decide that "the time has come to quit". To our minds Canon Collins, like Mr. Macmillan, is immune to hints, unpopularity and shoving. He loves his job and the headlines that go with it (and he gets more of them from the CND platform than from the pulpit). And like Mr. Macmillan he will not quit so long as he feels he has a mission to fulfil, and a possible clue to what that is may be found in the final paragraphs of this "Focus" investigation on the Mixed-up World of Canon Collins and the other "influential figures" in CND:

Nuclear disarmers of all shades of opinion agree on one thing—frustration, and hence hasty and extreme action often results from increasing attempts by authority to restrict their protests. Canon Collins, speaking with great passion, should have the last word.

"I think the authorities are mad, quite mad to bottle up this kind of frustration and you can quote me on that. It will only get worse. There's always a risk that in the face of provocation people will despair of democracy."

To the extent that Canon Collins and his friends are in fact the voices of moderation and "protests of decency" one would expect that the tactic of the Press and of reaction would aim at strengthening their hand. The *Sunday Times* piece though not as slighting as the Press has tended to be hitherto does not, in this writer's opinion, do this more than half heartedly. But perhaps the Press is just slow in changing its line, and that it's only a question of time before they canonise Collins in Fleet Street and witch-hunt the "wild extremists".

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

STRIKES & PROTESTS BY FRENCH WORKERS

WORKERS in France are once again demonstrating and taking industrial action against the policies of de Gaulle's government. The Paris Metro was disrupted last week by a surprise strike of guards. This led to the reduction of services, with some lines being brought completely to a standstill. The action was totally unexpected and early morning passengers were hostile towards railwaymen whom they thought were leaving their trains. Windows in carriages were broken due to the very packed compartments.

Travel in Paris was further aggravated by the state visit of the King of Morocco, which caused widespread traffic jams making the motorists even more irate.

The surprise strike was followed the next day by a 4-hour stoppage which had widespread support among railway employees. These actions produced results for directly after this second strike the Paris Transport Board agreed to the new scales of wages which they had held out against for some time.

There have also been disputes in other industries. At the State-owned Sud-Aviation, makers of the Caravelle, factories near Toulouse, 7,000 workers have been locked out by the bosses. For eleven weeks now workers have been taking strike action for short periods to back their demands for the same rates of pay as those in the Paris region. The employers have offered a 4% boost but say they will not pay the Paris rate.

During the lock-out the factories were occupied by the gendarmerie. Support for the strikers has been given by the Archbishop of Toulouse. He has spoken

of the low wages and of the under-development in the area. He gives his support but at the same time seems to favour "frank and permanent talks" so as to avoid any strike action in the future. At the same time he expresses the hope that after a settlement of the dispute, there should be no victimisation "at the expense of the trade union militants".

The incident that brought about the lock-out occurred during a demonstration in support of the Paris rates of pay. A trainee worker broke a window and the company, acting as if he was their own property as is usual with trainees and apprentices, ordered him back to his factory and then gave him the sack. When his fellow workers heard about this, they organised another demonstration to demand his re-instatement. In reply the company decided on a lock-out.

More recent news of the dispute is that Sud-Aviation have now re-opened their factories and have stated that there are to be no sackings. They have also said that there will be no loss of pay during the time of the lock-out. Even though equal rates of pay have still to be won, the workers' solidarity has forced the employers to back down and has gained further strength in the struggle for these just demands.

There has also been a one-day protest strike at the Peugeot factory at Sochaux. This was organised when a court decision backed the sacking of several workers who were dismissed for their part in a demonstration last November. The reservations staff of Air France in Paris also stopped work for 24 hours in pro-

test against the schedules of hours worked during the peak periods of travel.

While these disputes have been going on, farmers in the South of France have taken direct action against the farm policy of the government. They have followed the method of the Breton farmers last year, and have marched and driven their tractors to the local market towns. There they have shown their disgust by protesting over the lack of markets for their surplus produce. They have blocked the roads with tons of surplus potatoes, tomatoes and other crops for which there is no market.

France has been importing tomatoes, apricots and other fruits and vegetables, while home farmers have themselves been producing bumper crops. Last year 53,000 tons of apricots were grown and this year the crop is estimated to be 130,000 tons. Tomatoes have increased from 262,000 tons to 410,000 tons, peach crops are up from 310,000 tons to 400,000 tons. With these increases in the crops, the prices have fallen.

The farming community have shown their utter contempt for the authorities for causing this chaos and waste. In their protests they have clashed with the police. Four men were seriously hurt with many others sustaining minor injuries when Security Guards tried to break up a demonstration of 5,000 farmers at Avignon. The Security Guards charged the demonstrators with the butt ends of rifles, while the farmers threw their unsaleable produce.

At Meyrargues in the Bouches du Rhône department, a local mayor was

injured in the head and was carried off bleeding while Security Guards forced the tractors and marchers off the road into the ditches. After this eighteen farmers were arrested. Elsewhere mayors have declared a 48 hours administrative strike.

The French government has partially agreed to the demands of the farmers and have banned further imports of apricots and tomatoes. Bans on other produce are promised if the government thinks these are necessary. Farmers have been searching markets for imported produce, and tomatoes and plums from Algeria have been thrown onto the roads.

These imports of fruit and vegetables from Algeria are part of the Evian agreement. (This also includes wine, and with a 60% increase harvest in France this year, vine growers are also making protests to the government). In this agreement, France undertook to buy the surplus agricultural produce and with their oil interests in Algeria, the French government is reluctant to break this agreement as they fear Algerian intervention in the Sahara oilfields.

While farmers produce abundant crops people in other countries starve. Agreements in power politics are put before the satisfaction of human needs.

This week, while these disputes have been going on, the government of de Gaulle has been speedily preparing legislation to restrict the right of the worker to strike. When this legislation is passed, it will affect the nationalised industries and public services. In these,

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ANARCHY 29,

an enlarged issue containing an 18,000-word account of the "Spies for Peace" story written by all sections of the libertarian left, and discussing the REAL official secret, the reception given to the RSG revelations and the implications for the future of the activities of the "spies".

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

IN their struggle to retain power, ruling classes in the past often discouraged economic change and expansion lest it led to political change. Some rulers, as in Medieval Europe and imperial China, even tried to control economic activity for religious and moral ends. It was the collapse of feudalism before an emergent capitalism that began the present period in which the controlling class sees everything in an economic light.

The new wealth that capitalism created was small at first and was used almost entirely by the capitalists themselves. Later the lower middle class and sections of the workers were brought into the capitalist orbit but it was not until comparatively recently (particularly since the last war) that the capitalists realised that only by bringing more and more people into the production-consumption race which is capitalism can the pace be maintained and increased. For if capitalism is to thrive it must continually create and use wealth at an accelerating rate. The resulting mad scramble which characterises an advanced capitalist society has had a side effect pleasing to the controlling class. For whereas the

Beyond 1984

relatively slow economic expansion of the past produced political change, the sheer turmoil and complexity of economic life today produces political apathy among most people, unless the occasional switch between Tweedledum and Tweedledee at elections' can be regarded as change. In the bread and circuses atmosphere of modern society serious political and social ideas are largely ignored and physical, intellectual, spiritual and social values deteriorate.

Anyone who looks forward to a time when capitalist society becomes saturated with wealth and thinks that one sunny day we'll all relax and enjoy the products of the automated plant is naive. This is one thing which is certainly not in the capitalist programme for it would mean that individual members of the

controlling class would lose their personal power and ensuing economic privilege. Sure, the working day will be cut right down as more and more automated plant comes into operation but mass pressures will ensure that the resulting leisure is just as time-fritting, energy consuming and wealth-wasting as the work which the so-called leisure replaces. There will doubtless be individuals with the strength to resist the ad-mass tide but capitalism doesn't mind a handful of exceptions. Those who control mass societies think in terms of masses.

I consider that advanced capitalist and state capitalist countries can keep their economies thriving for at least 20 years in the following ways. (1) Bring the Afro-Asians and the so-called Socialist

countries more fully into the capitalist orbit (nylons for the pygmies, bridges for the eskimos, Cadillacs for the Commissars). (2) Exploration of space. (3) Controlled increases in home consumption with the full ad-mass techniques, built-in obsolescence, catering for whimsy and fad, etc. (4) The manufacture of arms at fantastic cost which are scrapped and replaced every five years. Arms production will be partly to keep share prices up (America), partly to impress patriotic voters (Britain), and partly to improve National standing (China, France and later others). I do not mean the Cold War and other international power struggles are phoney. The squabbles and intrigues between the controlling classes of the various nations are real and bitter but will not lead to DELIBERATE all-out nuclear war. Neither on the other hand will they sit round some U.N.O. table and cooperate in a spirit of jolly unity. As an illustration of the situation look at

the present take-over of British capitalism where Chicago methods are not used although there are plenty of Chicago mentalities behind the pin-stripes. Such methods are avoided, not out of respect for law, but because it is generally agreed that they would be bad for business as a whole.

In the short run then, society will become like a modified version of "1984" only without thought-police and the other crudities of Orwell's "1984". Many sincere people will convince themselves it's 'democracy' or 'socialism', while individuals and small radical groups will stand aloof and the controlling class ignore them. But "1984", like all societies, has within it the seeds of its own dissolution—the factor of change motivated in this case by healthy revulsion. And it surely follows that if "1984" is the ultimate in authoritarianism the change must, logically, be in a libertarian direction.

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Bhave on Democracy

AUTHORITARIANS believe that societies are exquisitely fragile and must be guarded, at all costs, against disruption and confusion. Libertarians hold that human societies are constantly changing, and that the material and spiritual factors determining change, must be rediscovered in each generation, if societies are not to fossilise and die. People wonder if central administration and authority can ever be dispensed with. The question is not immediately relevant. Neither good government nor the rule of majority, but more and more freedom from administration, with emphasis on decentralisation of power, is the underlying theme of Vinoba's speeches (1951-1960), now collected in volume form*. The reader is bound to savour the author's incomparable style

and methods of analysis.

The chief aim of this book is to replace the Government of Professional Politicians, by a Government of the people. One is reminded of Bertrand Russell's opinion that "no government by a democracy, either in its political acts or in the opinions which it fosters, ever did or could rise above mediocrity." "The initiation," he continues, "of all wise or noble things, comes from individuals. The honour and glory of the average man is that, he is capable of following that initiative; that he can respond internally to wise and noble sayings and be led to them with his eyes open."

Though the aim of Sarvodaya is freedom from Governments, explains Vinoba, he does not mean absence of government but an administration which governs least. Consider for a moment the relation of an ordinary taxpayer to a Government Officer. The taxpayers are collectively the officer's employers; and yet the average official assumes great authority, to an extent where the individual taxpayer is made to feel a humble subject whose duty is to tremble and obey. The same is more or less true in public services. Even if you have to make enquiries at a Railway Station or a Post Office, the clerk behind the window is in a position of momentary power; he can decide, when to notice that you desire attention. He can, if he happens to be in a bad mood, cause you considerable annoyance by giving short replies in rough tones, leaving you as ignorant as before. Likewise, a petty police-constable can, on the slightest pretext, bully you and cause you a good deal of inconvenience. Ironically enough these men are called "public servants". The ordinary Voter, far from finding himself the source of all power, is content to be bossed over by every official, he may be required to deal with. So long as democratic control is remote and rare, so long as public administration is centralised, this sense of individual impotence, before the powers that be, is difficult to avoid. Vinoba's remedy is to do away with authority delegated from the centre to the circumference. Removal of the sting of power (prerogative) from administrative positions seems to be one of the methods of removing corruption.

True freedom connotes self-discipline which is the only true discipline. It is this self-rule which constitutes the life-principle of real democratic conduct. Government after all, is a matter of priorities—of compromise, not dogma. It is quite obvious that democratic power can only operate within a framework of consent. But although this is the first essential, it is by no means the last. Something more than consent is required if democracy is to be more than negatively successful—there must be a common belief in the value and importance of what is being done and the commonsense that all have, in some measure, the opportunity of contributing to it.

Not majority but unanimity or near unanimity is the key-note of Vinoba's political philosophy. It is of course questionable if unanimity is possible on every decision. The stress however is on the assurance of freedom to the weak

and the powerless. Mob uprisings are not expressions of public opinion. Conscience of the people is not a matter of numbers. Right and wrong cannot be decided by a majority of votes. The true essence of democracy is that every citizen shall feel free and every minority secure. The final guarantee of the freedom of minorities is the goodwill and tolerance on the part of the majority—their standards of justice and good faith constitute the Plinth of democratic values. It is the conviction of all reformists that force or threat of punishment are detrimental to the development of right conduct, for they render the citizen colour-blind to the higher values of Life.

In his brilliant and thought-provoking preface, Dada Dharmadhikari, defines the conduct of citizens towards one another as it could be under the administration which Vinoba proposes. He says "It is basic to our conception of the nature of family loyalty and the ties of kinship, that the values of the marketplace and considerations of legal status have no place there." What Vinoba says is just this—that the behaviour of citizens towards one another needs be rooted in a spirit of belonging, reciprocity and fellowship. The elements of legalism to be found in dealings today, could be steadily reduced till they disappear. This is precisely what is meant by more and more freedom from government, and this freedom from external restraint or compulsive administration is in essence, the natural state of human affairs.

The present notion that service could be effectively rendered only through power is quickly dispelled, for as Dada says: "A man whose honest intention is to win and keep power for the Promotion of Public Welfare and social good is always on the look-out for circumstances that will be conducive to the success of his own bid for power. He constantly has to strike not only to capture but to retain power as the most potent instrument of Social Service." The root idea of a democratic organization is that representation of the people should be as simple, practical and direct as possible. But the politician, is in the very nature of things obliged to give priority to his own success and that of his party; representation of his people becomes secondary. **This is a serious flaw in the present democratic system of struggle for power.** Every candidate strives with all his might to get his party into the saddle. The question may well be asked whether the passion for power is, any less a bar to human fellowship, than the craving for possessions? If economic competition is against man's best interest, submits Vinoba, the competition for power, even within a democratic framework is also injurious to Public Welfare. If the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few is inimical to social prosperity, the concentration of political power in the hands of a few is even more detrimental to the freedom of the common man. That is why decentralisation of Power and a wide sharing of responsible authority are put forward as one outcome of the acceptance of democratic values.

By and large it is believed that war is made by governments and not by the people of a country. If this be true, it is imperative that citizens tackle their national problems one after another, independently, by their own strength. "If we fail to do this, warns Vinoba, and allow all authority to remain in Government hands, it will be difficult to maintain Peace in the World."

NOSHIR BILPODIWALA.

ACCORDING TO LORD BEAVERBROOK or: My God is a Capitalist God

THE Divine Propagandist by Lord Beaverbrook (Heinemann 10s. 6d.) deals with Christianity in much the same way as the *Daily Express* deals with the "Empire"—it conveniently ignores or perverts facts to fit theory.

Beaverbrook sets out to explore the gospels as a "man in the market place" and rejects "all pretensions to higher criticism". He sensibly ignores teachings of scholars, priests and theologians and uses the four gospels as his sole reference books. He represents himself as a man "taking the contemporary stand-point in ALL (my emphasis—C.R.) public issues". (Many readers may remember him as the small man on so many Committee of 100 demonstrations).

Which is all very well and, if one did not know of Beaverbrook, might lead one to expect a sympathetic exposition of some of Christ's teachings, unbedevilled by the theological beating of anti-spiritual sheep.

The fifth gospel is very interesting—its lines of thought can be seen by studying Beaverbrook's attitude to the Sermon on the Mount. The sermon is the crystallisation of Christian absolutist morality, a morality which one would be forgiven for thinking was in opposition to the ideas of Beaverbrook. But Beaverbrook shows us how ludicrous that idea would be. Faced with "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon Earth" he replies with devastating simplicity: "The attitude of Jesus towards property or money has been much debated. Some would represent Him as a kind of primitive Communist condemning all personal wealth. The Churches have never adopted this view. The most reasonable view would appear to be that Jesus was simply indifferent to money except in so far as it affected for good or evil the welfare and happiness of the individual soul" and again "He only objected to wealth in so far as it is a corrupting influence too". "It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God" is set against the parable of the talents and Beaverbrook claims that "to explain this . . . by saying it refers to the exercise of individual talents is beside the point, for such talents must in the world as God made it, be largely devoted to growing food or making things and buying or selling them" (My God is a Capitalist God and his Kingdom a Commercial Kingdom).

Beaverbrook goes on to inform us that Jesus does not condemn private property (though he appears to this writer to have eschewed it personally, except when it comes to mean more to the possessor than his soul. (Would Beaverbrook throw up the *Express* empire and become a Christian hermit, if he became convinced that his money was coming between God and his soul, in all probability to be mocked at as a scruffy beatnik by his own newspapers? Probably not, for such as he retain a talent for self-deception).

Beaverbrook also informs us that Class War is out of the question because it would cause suffering but there is no parallel condemnation of national war. Presumably this is because in the first instance Beaverbrook would have his throat cut, if only metaphorically, and in the second instance he would stand to gain a lot of money. Besides I rather think Christ condemned both or neither, since he certainly has not been quoted as being in favour of one sort of war and against another.

When the tycoon is faced with the moral imperative: 'Love thine enemy' (Victor Gollancz has rightly pointed out that this is a morally superior ethic to that of any other religion. The exception in my view might be taoism) we discover it is not quite so important as we had been led to expect, in fact that it is safer if we ignore it, since it is rather confusing. "Parts of the sermon on the mount . . . deal with non-resistance, the suffering of persecution gladly and the doctrine of turning the other cheek. But as has already been pointed out extraordinary vigilance has to be exercised against an absolutely literal interpretation of such sayings." In other words: "I never feel like acting this way, neither in all probability do you other Christians, so, like gentlemen, we can agree to tacitly ignore the true implications." He goes on: "It is one thing to be kindly and gentle and pitiful. It is quite another thing to compromise and betray vital interests (the *Express* for instance?—C.R.) of the soul or the state for the sake of being gentle".

This may be, but did Jesus think so? It seems to me that Beaverbrook is quite as bad as the theologians and Church he presumes to despise when he justifies ignoring a central part of the ethic, to which he allegedly owes allegiance, by such woolly evasion. And as in his reply to the warning against "earthly treasures" he is quite capable of using the church theology as a justification for wealth. To heap scorn on the church at one point and call on its aid to win a debating point is bloody fatuous, as Beaverbrook must know.

As an anarchist I am prepared to go so far with Christians, providing they owe their allegiance solely to Christ and God. But when they start confusing the central issue to justify their own idiosyncrasies and their own unthinking pursuit of financial gain at the expense of others I have no time for them at all. Beaverbrook is one of the body of men who have defined noble causes probably semi-consciously, to justify their own sordid excesses.

Today we can see the Church (of whatever type) justifying its own blatantly anti-Christian attitudes to war, communism, birth control, slavery, racialism, etc. by the most devious logic. The church is simply an adjunct of the State, not a forerunner of the Kingdom of God on Earth. However much Beaverbrook professes to follow the word of Christ and not the words of the Church or the State, he fails because he deceives himself. It is impossible for a man in his position to do anything else. After all the extravagant self-justification is over I can only conclude that Christ was right. Because Beaverbrook is a rich man he has interests in Government and the State which, even if it could be supposed that they did not prevent his being a Christian, effectively prevent him from looking objectively and humbly at the words of Christ in a spirit of genuine enquiry.

As is the case with most books of this sort they are interesting largely because they afford a glimpse into the mind of a man. I cannot say that I feel greatly edified by my glimpse into the mind of his lordship but I have been greatly instructed. Even now, however, I feel that the best thing about the book is when it is laid flat on its back and it looks like a glossy and expensive box of 100 cigarettes—it seems an ironically fitting comment.

CHARLES RADCLIFFE.

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*Democratic Values (selected speeches of Acharya Vinoba Bhave). Published by: Sarva Seva Sangh, Varanasi, pp.237.

AN ANARCHIST DECLARATION OF AIMS & PRINCIPLES?

Continued

PART 2

Since the function of this journal is to communicate anarchist ideas and to publicise, support and encourage all activity which furthers the revolutionary objectives of anarchism, or is an incentive to people to study the anarchist arguments, even adverse publicity is no cause for alarm or necessarily lost on thinking people who are "frustrated" by the political game and are groping for a practical alternative. But anarchist propaganda and activity will be efficacious in spite of the lies, half-truths and Press campaigns against our ideas, so long as we present arguments which are informed, irrefutable and practical as well as human and principled, and are determined to give them the widest publicity. To elaborate and communicate our ideas; these are the tasks which should engage all our activity, our intelligence, our understanding of the social environment and the political climate of the day.

In this writer's opinion the demonstrations organised by the Committee of 100 are examples of propaganda which differ from the Aldermaston marches and the day to day activities of the CND only in so far as they imply—assuming the participants are unconscious of the realities—that the existing legal processes are the barrier and not the means, to the achievement of radical changes in society. The former is revolutionary, the latter reformist, whatever Bertrand Russell may have said! And that this has been understood by the activists of the Committee of 100 came out in the *Sunday Times* features which quoted Michael Harwood as saying: "You start with nuclear disarmament, but then you find you're involved in all social injustice, everything that's wrong". Excellent!

What the anarchists link up with the Committee of 100 is, engaged the *Sunday Times* feature writer much more than wanting to understand what they and what we stand for, and from that drawing conclusion.

By this approach he would at least have understood the anarchist role in the social struggle. We conceive of an anarchist organisation not as a political party but as the most effective means to co-ordinate the multifarious activities of anarchist propagandists. This writer is not alone among anarchists in believing that organisation is possible, as well as necessary, without the consequent growth of a bureaucracy or a loss of individuality, so long as it is not imposed but springs from a basic need. For the first time since the end of World War II anarchist propaganda could possibly benefit considerably by a co-ordination, of our activities and an attempt at elaborating a statement of Aims and Principles. Daily, at Freedom Press we receive enquiries from people interested in a general statement of what we anarchists stand for and how we propose to achieve our ends. As a silent observer (and target on occasion) of the violence/non-violence, productivity/mass production debates in the correspondence columns of FREEDOM these past months, this writer still believes that the anarchists have the wit to produce a "programme" which would make our intentions clear be-

yond doubt and Press calumny; which would strengthen our public impact as propagandists without diluting our independence and personality as individuals; and last, but not least the formulation of such a "programme" would oblige all those of us who profess to be something more than armchair-anarchists to state clearly where we stand now, and to what extent we can sink any tactical differences and concert our efforts as propagandists.

To judge by the correspondence columns of FREEDOM, discussion between anarchists seems to revolve around three principle topics: individualism and communism; non-violence and violence; small-scale or mass production. On government, sex, authority and a whole host of other topics we seem to have no differences or shades of interpretation. Without underestimating the importance of tactics we would suggest that the differences between anarchists are *only* tactical ones, that what unites us, what we have in common are basic principles of "decency", which not only inspire our objectives but perforce must control, limit, our means, our tactics.

Only by accepting this for oneself as well as for those anarchists with whom we have differences on tactical questions can discussion be positive and result in agreement or at least a clear understanding of the real differences that exist. Much of the debate on violence/non-violence has been sterile simply because many of the advocates of non-violence have been so dogmatic that they have refused even to examine the arguments in favour of "violence", and have indulged in the fanciful such as our comrade Ernie Crosswell does this week in our correspondence columns.* It is a pity, and while one is tempted to follow Charles Radcliffe's and Chris Rose's suggestion that the subject be dropped and we all get together to do propaganda, we resist this solution not only because it is unrealistic, but also because the question is not an academic one. 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. If we anarchists fold our arms and say that we are only interested in the anarchist revolution, non-violence, the abolition of government and of money, and that every other revolution has nothing to do with us, then indeed we accept the role of saints and permanent protesters.

We must seek to influence the world as it is now in an anarchist direction, and this we can only do by living among the people and not in some sterilised social laboratory where ideas are pure, individuals perfect, and conditions ideal.

*We recommend to our comrade the series of articles by Gene Sharp in Peace News with which we are not in agreement, but which are in this writer's opinion a serious attempt to examine a human, social situation and the possible solutions. We also commend Michael Randle's first article on Algeria for its objectivity. It seems that at last even the non-violent movement is taking a look at the world situation as it is. What a pity if this were to coincide with the anarchists putting on the blinkers!

INCLUDED in the top-ten spy stories in this period of Bond-age must be the story of Constable Raymond Hermitage of Wimbledon, Surrey who was off duty (as if a P.C. is ever off duty!) in that haunt of vice, a jazz-club; his brother told him something (an official secret no doubt) which made him speak to two girls and a youth. He masqueraded as one interested in the nuclear disarmament movement who would like to help them in a project which (to quote his own words) sounded "something very serious". The youth (17) said, "For what we are going to do we will get five years if we are caught". The P.C. was undaunted and was resolved to assist in this heinous project, be it arson, sabotage or indeed, assassination. He told the magistrate, "I tried to gain their confidence by making them believe I was interested in their cause. I was trying to find out what they were going to do, as I believed it could have been something more serious". In the line of duty the police-constable pressed on, regardless of the moral and physical peril involved. He did not shrink from the loathsome implication that he was a supporter of the Committee of 100. To ensure that the plan (whatever it was) could be carried out, he and his brother drove them all to that hotbed of sedition, Raynes Park. There they started to carry out their desperate project and the constable arrested them just in the nick of time. At Wimbledon Magistrates' Court the two girls were given conditional discharge and the charge against the youth was dismissed—for pasting an 'R.S.G.' poster on a wall without consent. Constable Hermitage, your country salutes you! . . .

ALONGSIDE RAYMOND HERMITAGE the narratives of Harold Philby, Alger Hiss, Captain Ivanov, Burgess and Maclean, Dr. Giuseppe Martelli which have filled our papers in the last weeks seem small beer. A routine case was the defection of a Corporal in the Intelligence Corps who was engaged in monitoring East German and Russian radio communications he said he had left his post "to work for a better and more peaceful life". . . .

ACCORDING to the *New York Times*, State Senator D. Clinton Dominick withdrew a bill to make school air raid drills compulsory because "It would not be proper for the Legislature to require three shelter drills a year in all of our schools when most of them have no shelters. It would serve no purpose, and might even be harmful to have children go to shelters that were not there". On June 1st, the American Federal Radiation Council Report said "Measurements of strontium-90 in food supplies and the total diet in the U.S. shows that the levels rose from a value of 4.8 strontium units (SU) in 1961 to



8-13 SU in 1962, and may rise to a peak value of 50 SU in 1963". A toothpaste which removes radioactive strontium from the system by way of the saliva was put on sale in Finland. . . .

MEETINGS in the US of the House Appropriations Committee to discuss the 1964 Defence Dept. budget, revealed that according to General Shoup a 100-megaton bomb, could not be stopped for "It will burn the place up" without coming down. Mr. Mahon: "A coupe of 100-megaton bombs detonated in a high burst where they could not be very well intercepted, might immobilize the New England area, New York and New England". Secretary Vance of the Army gave evidence that chemical and biological materials did concern his Department. "To that end, sir, we are procuring additional munitions during the coming years which would increase rather substantially our capability to deliver chemical and bacteriological materials on target. In addition, we are increasing the funds for chemical and biological research and development so as to press forward in new types of weapons which might be able to be used in such a situation." Mr. Sikes: "Does intelligence tell us what the Russians are really doing in this field?" Secretary Vance: "Our intelligence indicates that they are devoting considerable attention to it". . . . Mr. Sikes: "How far are we going in the way of warning system and in providing a gas mask and similar defensive measures?" Gen. Wheeler, intervening "They are in the hands of the troops, but we need better types". Mr. Sikes: "I would assume the civilian population was almost completely unprotected in these fields". Secretary Vance: "That is right". . . .

A MR. POSTON from Devizes sprang in the *Guardian* to the defence of Porton in a fine confused letter protesting that Porton was working in defence against germ warfare and it was only horrid official secrecy which obscured the fact that they were working on antidotes to

subonic plague, etc. They could not say "There is no known antidote to this, so we shall do nothing". The exposure of "R.S.G.'s" he thought "exposed us to the terrible sufferings of total breakdown of normal communications and means of Government should a nuclear attack occur which was in no way the responsibility of the Government of this country". General Shoup said to the House Appropriations Committee, "Now, about the casualty business. I have said for the last two years that when the nuclear exchange of the magnitude that is possible occurs—and there will be even greater capacity later—that we will have not millions but 700 to 800 million dead. Although I did not give him the figures, that is exactly the figures Khrushchev used in the past month. I have no communication with him nor he with me, but that is exactly the same figure". . . . The United States Atomic Energy Commission said there had been evidence of events in Russia "which may be nuclear tests of very low yield". Chinese and Soviet representatives met to discuss ideological differences. . . .

THE COUNCIL for the Care of Churches reports that since the last war (i.e. 1945) one church in twelve has had a fire and incendiarism is one of the chief causes. 200 members of the South-east region Christian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament were refused admission to Guildford Cathedral for silent prayer. Mrs. Madalyn Murray, who was active in securing the Supreme Court ruling on school prayers said she would be "more than happy to tour atheistic Russia". A Rotary Club offered her a one-way ticket but she said she would prefer a return ticket. . . .

COLOURED PEOPLE are not now to be barred from working on Walsall buses. The Procurator-Fiscal for Edinburgh denied that a man's arms were broken when his fingerprints were taken. He complained of pain after his arrest. He was x-rayed and a breakage was found. He was returned to custody and a police officer "in accordance with routine procedure sought to obtain the man's finger impressions". Subsequent examination determined that there was no recent fracture. "It may be that the pain complained of in the left elbow is due to mild soft tissue injury. Such injury may relate to the circumstances surrounding the man's arrest in connection with the present charges, and in that situation it is not proper to say more about it at this time". . . .

MRS. ELIZA AKERS, of Peter End, Norfolk directed in her will that her pet parrot should be killed and buried with her. She left £2,127, most of it to Our Dumb Friends' League.

JON QUIXOTE.

AROUND THE GALLERIES

IT is to be regretted that the exhibition of 29 paintings by the late Nicolas de Stael does not include any work painted before 1944 or that at least one of his portraits of his companion Jeannine Guilloux should not have been honoured by being shown in this exhibition organized by Gimpel Fils of 50 South Molton Street, W.1., for it was Jeannine who shared the poverty and the heartache of this troubled man until her death in 1946. Nicolas de Stael died by his own hand in 1955 and this handful of exquisite paintings are his gifts to the gods for his few brief years of life.

Why he should have killed himself still remains a mystery and provides small talk for the dealer's salons and in one single day I was given three different versions by three different dealers that ranged from police persecution, sexual scandal to that good old standby of the art establishment that de Stael had exhausted his potentialities as an artist. Gimpel Fils in their catalogue of the artist's work give three lines to de Stael's birth in St. Petersburg on January 5th, 1914, and add the additional information that he was the son of a Baltic aristocratic family, distinguished for their military tradition and that one of de Stael's ancestors was Baron Eric de Stael, the husband of Madame de Stael, but they dismiss the painter's death on the 16th of March, 1955, with just three words "Death in Antibes". It was in 1942 that de Stael abandoned conventional painting for abstract painting and in ten short years he produced some of the loveliest works of that genus.

His faultless command of colour composition is so evident in these paintings on show, for he is one of the few

painters who can lose a garish red within a mosaic of broken pastel colours so that the eye is never distracted by one particular passage within the painting. Yet de Stael never renounced the clichés of the visual world and each painting is but an abstract variation of the world of the common man and his wife. Beneath his brush sky, field, the empty sun-washed villages, the blue Mediterranean or the tumbling mass of arclight-lit footballers became transmuted into crystals of colours to reflect the earthly scene. But de Stael included in his alchemy the ability to create a feeling for space within the narrow confines of his canvases and in a simple still-life such as "Lagnes, nature morte" he achieves this merely by a few brush strokes of a darker tone so that the whole falls back into a third dimension; while in a collage "Composition fond bleu" composed of a few strips of coloured paper he hangs the whole in space by the addition of two inches or less of darker paper.

IT is unfortunate that William Scott should be exhibiting his recent paintings at the Hanover Gallery at 32a St. George Street, W.1. at the same time as the de Stael exhibition was showing, for though executed on a larger scale there is a pathetic lost look about them.

They contain all that is bad in English abstract painting, the lack of confidence in the communication, the faulty use of thin washes of colour over large areas so that the hardboard peers back at us like a dirty-minded old woman behind tatty curtains, the spidery schoolmistress lines connecting one amorphous blob to another sad little smudge. Whereas the continental painters have invariably had

the confidence to work within the scale that suits their temperament the English have always believed that there was some inherent virtue in sheer size with the result that most of our minor painters, and we have so many of them, have obeyed the dealers and the local critics and attempted to rupture their little talents over such huge areas of sterile hardboard. We love the English abstract painters for their sweet personalities, their shy little middle class smiles and the diffident way they stand and answer our boorish questions but we wish so much that they would not reflect all this in their paintings.

★

NOBODY loves Kasmin but he has been too long involved in the art racket to worry overmuch about that and now he sits in his newly sponsored art gallery at 118 New Bond Street, W.1., gleaning the rotting harvest of Lawrence Alloway's unlamented 1960 "Situations" exhibition. Kasmin was fortunate enough to have the court painter David Hockney late of the Tottenham Court Road School in his stable and in the current exhibition at Kasmin's gallery he is showing the work of Bernard Cohen who was almost the only painter to outlive the "Situations" exhibition by virtue of his own talent. Cohen's current work is as pleasing and as decorative as a roll of patterned cloth from Liberty's department store and an odd critic or two has demanded to know what Cohen is trying to communicate to them. But it is the same type of idiot question that one might address to the pattern on the wallpaper and the chances are that these critics in the wee small hours probably even perform this Barrie rite; but Cohen's world is charming and inconsequential and one simply accepts or rejects it according to one's taste or mood. Meanwhile Kasmin broods.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Check your Facts!

COMRADES,

A brief reply to Chris Rose:—
I don't wish to further the violence vs. non-violence controversy but I would like to ask Comrade Rose to check his facts before he attempts to 'smear' those who have the audacity to disagree with him.

Comrade Rose (first paragraph) assumes wrong about Diana Shelley. Not only this, but the assumptions he makes could, equally justly or unjustly, be applied to himself.

If it is of any interest to him the apparently inactive, thoughtful, letter-writing Comrade Shelley is a member of the London Committee of 100 and has, in the last few months, demonstrated during the Cuba Crisis, outside the Spanish Embassy and at RSG 6. She also took part in the Easter Monday "anarchist demonstration" and has twice been to Marham (she was one of the first group to walk on, on May 11). A fortnight ago she was one of a small group which walked right across Porton Down. All this besides the less "romantic" business of day-to-day propaganda.

I don't like the idea of washing dirty or clean linen in public but I wish most anarchists were as 'inactive' as this.

In order that Chris Rose can spare the valuable letter-writing time to active propaganda can't we all unite, at least temporarily, on his last paragraph, and drop the interminable and unconvincing dialogue on violence, force, non-violence, *duragraha* and *satyagraha* and allied assorted time-wasters.

Fraternally,
CHARLES RADCLIFFE.

London.

Don't be Prepared!

DEAR EDITORS,

J. W., in your July 6th issue, says "we must not want to use violence, but we must be prepared to use it." But this is the position of Kennedy, Khrushchev, Macmillan and their contemporaries. A sane world can only be brought about by people who try another approach—refuse to be prepared (prepare) for

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

violence. At the risk of being called "facetious" again I repeat that if anarchists consider it right to be prepared for a violent struggle they should at least have some plans for obtaining and concealing the necessary weapons. They should also have plans for choosing a military Commander—would J.W. accept the post? Well you can count me out. Any policy of or for violence, under any circumstances, will be disastrous. If I am attacked violently by anyone, any time, I shall not doubt fight like a cornered rat or run like blazes—but I shall not be prepared for the occasion.

Yours, etc.,
ERNE CROSSWELL.

Slough.

[This and Charles Radcliffe are referred to in our Editorial columns.—EDITORS.]

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'A State of Mind'

DEAR EDITORS,

So far as I am concerned, heaven is a state of mind: a feeling of unity with God. If comrade C.R. wants to stir up a revolt in his own mind and develop a split personality, he is welcome.

In commenting upon C.R.'s further remarks about religion I can only speak for myself. Other persons' interpretations of God are their own affair.

I believe that the religious idea is based upon knowledge and experience of something fundamental and permanent existing, both objectively and subjectively, in our lives. This can variously be described as reality, complete reality, total reality or whatever term you prefer to use. I further believe that religion has seriously attempted to explain or describe the foregoing, using many terms including God, Allah, Brahma and Om. I also believe that religious behaviour concerns the emotionality of the individual to this reality. Such a belief is by no means confined to myself, as a general reading literature will confirm. It is not surprising that in authoritarian societies God should be officially interpreted as a punishing Father figure!

Comrade C.R. asks "why use the word God? Reality is often thought of as an abstraction, whereas in fact it is something concrete—the universe if you like—embracing all existence and containing strong personal emotional elements. Even in the non-personal sector, the primitive basis of subjectivity exists. Therefore I prefer the term God with its emotional associations, and this does not necessarily imply one undivided personality.

C.R. states that "God is a superior being to whom one owes obedience". I hope to have made clear my belief that

French Unrest

Continued from page 1

workers will be required to give prior notice of five days of any strike action, and where a surprise strike occurs, there will be a fine of the equivalent of one day's pay for every hour of stoppage. Although this does not outlaw strikes, it nevertheless restricts action and weakens the workers' methods of struggle. Obviously this is directed against the type of action taken by the Métro workers.

Already the protests are pouring in from Union branches and at Dunkirk, 500 dockers stopped work and marched to the town hall. This shows that workers are not prepared to sit back and watch this encroachment on the right to withdraw their labour.

P.T.

we are part of this reality. Therefore obedience to an external authority is irrelevant in one sense. On the other hand, if we deliberately ignore external reality, we soon land in trouble. But this is a question of learning about the nature of reality rather than submitting to a will or set of rules.

Quantitatively, I suppose, God is superior to the individual. But I thought anarchists were concerned with quality! And if acknowledgement of superiority implied obedience, why do we reject the idea of a meritocracy?

I am not at all convinced that an anarchist believes that "he alone must be responsible for his actions" (C.R.); for in reverse this means that he is not responsible for the effects of his actions upon other peoples' behaviour. E.g. If I keep shovelling my dirt into your garden, I am responsible for your work in removing it.

Finally, may I join comrade C.R. in deploring the present predominately authoritarian religious set-up?

Fraternally,

London, July 7. S. G. FEAK.

BEYOND 1984

Continued from page 2

What if anything can individuals do now? Among a great many things, they can adopt a sensible standard of living. This will enable them to retain some self-respect, cock a snook at capitalism and help promote a healthy standard for the free society when it becomes attainable.

The freedom advocated by anarchists is not the 'freedom' to satisfy every selfish whim produced by capitalist-authoritarian society. What then are the material standards of an anarchist society? The simple-life standards of the idealistic few or the best of the glossy, New York advertising magazines can offer? The former would never gain mass support while the latter requires a degree of planning and organisation difficult to visualise in an anarchist society even in one where automated plant has been inherited from the preceding capitalism.

I suggest that the standard to aim at, both now under capitalism and in the future is one which is easily attainable on a large scale and which promotes good health. Clearly modern society fails to promote good health. While

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Subscription Renewals

THE flow of subscription renewals during the past month has been very satisfactory. But there are still hundreds of subscribers who have not responded to our reminder. If you are among them please attend to this important matter now. FREEDOM and ANARCHY depend on their paid-up subscribers to keep going.

Costs are rising. Next month our rent at the printing works goes up, our typesetting charges have gone up and postages abroad went up by 33 per cent at the beginning of this month. To keep going, above all we need more readers. Every interested reader should be an agent for FREEDOM/ANARCHY, introducing our publications at every opportunity. More street and meeting sellers are needed. At week-ends a team of sellers is badly needed to cover Marble Arch where at this time of the year people from all over the country and the world come to sample the fare at Speakers' Corner, and where in the past valuable contacts have been made.

Three Heads?

DEAR EDITORS,

Come on Arthur, you're evading the issue. I never did refute the fact that anarchism is a multitude of philosophies, did I now? What I did, and still do, refute, is the fact that you could be the living incarnation of them all, when every other anarchist in existence has to be content with a measly one.

Anarchism is a multitude of philosophies because each individual anarchist has committed himself to one of them. No, Arthur, it just won't wash. An anarchist pluralist is either God or a superman with three heads.

Your multitude of philosophies boil down, broadly speaking, to three main tendencies: communism, syndicalism or individualism. So, as long as you are human and the owner of one head only, you'll eventually have to come down to earth and CHOOSE.

Which are you willing to die for?

And to hell with the ancient Egyptians!

London, July 7. PAT PARKER.

The level of physical health improved greatly over the last century there has recently been a decline and cases of heart disease, cancer, food poisoning and leukaemia are becoming more numerous. At the same time the incidence of mental illness, nervous breakdowns, tranquilliser consumption and general neuroses is increasing. Most of these ailments are caused by the mad scramble to acquire material objects, excessive consumption of which also takes its toll.

At the same time there are plenty of people in Britain such as unemployed and pensioners and countless millions in Asia and Africa who exist well below the poverty line. A typical sight in modern society is to see two advertisements side by side—the first for indigestion tablets and showing a plump, sleek family sprawled in easy-chairs after a big-feed—the second for Oxfam showing a starving African child.

Objection will be made that a voluntary restriction in wealth consumption would mean for better-off workers a slackening of the industrial struggle. I do not mean that at all. What I do maintain is that among better-off workers this struggle should begin to take new directions. What for instance is the point of urging those American workers who are very highly paid to ask for more FOR THEMSELVES. It's hardly likely to bankrupt capitalism else the controlling class would smash organised labour, nor does it appear to me to lead to increased militancy. The practical effect of the rich nations getting richer while the Afro-Asians get relatively poorer and groups such as pensioners within the rich nations remain permanently hard-up, is to perpetuate the divide and rule tactics of the controlling classes. Surely there is a marginal line at which a halt is called and industrial action channelled into new fields: on behalf of nurses and pensioners unable to strike, to raise unemployment pay, to urge increased foreign aid to under-developed nations, for the promotion of cultural activities like Centre 42, for the establishment of car pools and other forms of mutual aid, pooling of wage packets, improvement of working conditions and many other things.

Whether workers would respond to such proposals I don't know but if immediately practicable industrial agitation is to ever be more than getting as much as possible out of capitalism, something like it will have to be advocated. The public goodwill would be tremendous and the campaign would help promote the standards which will help society progress beyond "1984".

"Don't kill the goose that lays the golden egg", has long been the slogan of reformist Trade Unions when they co-operate with capitalism instead of trying to overthrow it. If revolutionaries cannot kill the goose they can avoid getting buried under heaps of eggs, many of which are iron pyrites (fool's gold) anyway. If enough people adopted this attitude the goose would die of constipation or old age.

To reiterate—the ideas and attitudes which determine the material standards of a society (whether it be capitalist or anarchist) do not come out of thin air. Up to health level they are determined by the physical demands of the body, over that level by ad-mass or by commonsense. Anything below a readily attainable and healthy level (particularly anything that smacked of asceticism or voluntary poverty) would be unattractive to the majority. Anything far above the level merely postpones the free society if not making it altogether impossible.

JEFF ROBINSON.

CENTRAL LONDON

CHANGE OF MEETING PLACE
405, Strand, W.C.2. (Over Railway Lost Property Office and "En Passant" Coffee Bar appropriately enough!)
JULY 14 Jack Robinson:
The Sacco-Vanzetti Case.
JULY 21 Brian Leslie:
Anarchism and Automation
JULY 28 Max Patrick:
Some Minor Revolutionary Characters
AUG 5 No Meeting—Summer School.
Next Meeting, Monday 15th July, 8 p.m. Arnofini Gallery, Triangle West, Clifton, Bristol 8.

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, Hornchurch, Essex. OR Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster.

SOUTHERN FEDERATION

Will those interested in activities please get in touch with Ken Parkin, Ye Olde Tea House, Lyndhurst Road, Brockenhurst, Hants.

BRISTOL FEDERATION

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

OXFORD MEETINGS

For details please contact:—
Laurens Otter, 5 New Yatt Road, North Leigh, Nr. Witney, Oxford.

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 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 Porth'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.

N.B.—No June meeting at Notting Hill.

Freedom

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