

The anarchists have given up their bombs. When will governments?
JOHN ROBINSON

Futile to Vote Labour!

REVIEW of CIVILIAN DEFENCE

DON'T RISK IT?

CND Doublethink

WHEN the CND 'Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament' was launched in 1958 its first (and only) chairman, Canon Collins, declared at a Press conference that what they were proposing was "a short, virile and successful campaign to rid Britain of nuclear weapons". CND has done much valuable work in enlightening probably millions of people in this country and throughout the world of the consequences of nuclear war; and has, unwittingly given birth to all kinds of movements of dissent, the importance of which will probably only be fully appreciated and realised, long after CND has ceased to exist. But when all this is said, CND as such has failed as the pressure group it was intended to be. The "short, virile and successful campaign" has become a long-drawn-out, impressive but impotent, annual march between Aldermaston and London, a pleasant enough way of spending the

Easter holidays in informal and "classless" company, with more than the normal kind of friendliness that one meets, for instance, at meetings of the committed Left. (At least it was, for during the past two marches the participation of, in particular, the Communist Party, has deprived it of much of its apolitical spontaneity).

CND was bound to fail because of the means by which it hoped to achieve its objectives. And after six years it is clear that the leaders have not learned very much, or are unwilling to learn, from their experience. Canon Collins is quoted in last Sunday's *Citizen* as saying "My own special disappointment is

that we are at present exerting little or no political influence.

CND has to find a way of making politicians take us seriously as a political movement.

After the second Aldermaston march both sides woke up to the idea that we were a political force and could influence elections. Now they are beginning to doubt that.

To this lament David Boulton, editor of the CND's monthly *Sanity* added these interesting remarks:

"This is true. The real division in CND is between long-term and short-term aims. Some of us want to forge a new kind of political influence for the mid-60's. Canon Collins is more for political expediency.

Not only has Collins not learned very much but suffers from wishful

thinking when he suggests that the political parties at one stage "woke up to the idea that they were a political force and could influence elections". In this writer's opinion the politicians have paid more attention to the Beatles than they have to the CND. (Only last week a with-it Mr. Harold Wilson was photographed surrounded by the long haired Beatles; we have yet to see him in company with the cask-socked Canon and a group of his long haired supporters!).

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PRESSURE groups are such by reason of the power they wield over the affairs of the community. The Federation of British Industries (FBI) is a pressure group (some of us think it much more than that) because its policies can have far-reaching effects on the lives of millions of workers as well as on the financial situation of the nation. The Trades Unions are, or some might say, could be, a pressure group, because they command the allegiance of key workers who by withdrawing their labour can jeopardise the nation's economy as well as threatening the *status quo*—that is, the existing set-up which protects the privileged minority and condemns the working, producing majority to subservience, to "second-class citizenship". CND was not a pressure group in this sense because it declared from the outset that it

Subtopia Unlimited

THE government's proposals for the development of South-east England, outlined in the Study and White Paper published last week, give us a glimpse of what the future (barring nuclear accidents) will be like. In a nutshell it will be like the present only more so. The whole emphasis of the proposals is on more. More people, more businesses, more vacuous housing estates, more regimentation, more motor-ways, speed, noise and ugliness and of course more profits—particularly for landowners and property developers. It is envisaged that by 1981 the South-east corner of England will contain 20% more people, three new cities and that many existing towns will be greatly expanded. The inner areas of London's green belt are to be nibbled at but the government claims that the loss will be more than offset by extending the belt's outer circumference. Obviously an attempt to hide the fact that the total area of countryside in the South-east will decrease.

It is also believed that the anticipated population increase of 20% will prove, by 1981, to be an under-estimate, population growth being one of the things that the state does not closely control—yet. It is also anticipated that after 1981 expansion of population, and industrial and civic development will occur at an even faster rate than before that date.

If present trends continue (and why shouldn't they?) there is no reason why areas like the South-east of England should not become vast deserts of ugly houses, motor-ways, drive-ins, rocket sites bingo halls and mental hospitals, where

regimented beetle-men scuttle around in hectic, futile, unending pursuit of material possessions and status. All to the sound of the ringing of cash registers.

The government's stated aim in this orgy of expansion is to break the vicious circle of growth leading to further growth over the whole South-east. Yet in the next breath they admit that office development and employment will continue to expand within the City of London. They also maintain that their plans for the South-east are quite separate from their declared policy of channelling economic growth from the South-east to under-developed areas such as the North-east and Scotland. And next they state that population will be drawn from these areas to swell the expansion in the South-east.

The real reasons for the proposed development and expansion in the South-east are of course economic. An enormous consumer market, good ports and nearness to the continent (especially when the Channel tunnel is built). The real reason why economic expansion is occurring at all (irrespective of the locale) and will continue into the foreseeable future is quite simple. It is that industry (whether private capitalist or state capitalist it is all the same) MUST produce and expand at an ever accelerating rate if it is to thrive financially. It cannot mark time, there will never be a day when we all sit back and take it easy and simply enjoy the products that modern technology has made available. Production and consumption must continually expand else slump will occur. Vance Packard considers that the day will come when factories will be built on the edges of cliffs and that the goods produced will be tipped straight into the sea due to the inability of the people to consume the vast amounts produced*.

It is a tragedy that most radical views (including those of many anarchists) on current economic issues are not that expansion goes on too fast but that it doesn't occur fast enough. When will it be realised that there was enough productive capacity in existence in 1900 to enable the world of 1900 to live well. What prevented this happening was bad distribution. If people in 1964 were to adopt a sensible and healthy standard of living (and I don't mean asceticism) then with the productive capacity existing at present we could be well on the way to solving, not just our own, but the world's economic problems. Massive aid could be sent to poverty-stricken countries of Asia, Africa and South America. It could be given away without strings of any kind. But this will never happen however while everybody

in the more prosperous countries is continually demanding more for themselves.

Modern capitalism is the practical expression of the greed and power hunger of the majority of the people—of all classes. Eternally demanding more from it will only make it thrive; never cause it to turn into its opposite. Money-grubbing, scrambling for more material possessions, taking part in the rat-race will all help to keep capitalism prosperous. It is playing right into the hands of a detestable system.

JEFF ROBINSON.

*SEE "The Waste Makers" by Vance Packard. Pelican Books, 4s. 6d.

Exhibition Workers Take Action

Building and other allied trades workers in the exhibition industry have rates of pay and conditions which are in advance of those of their fellow workers on the sites. Last year they achieved the 40-hour week and the craftsmen's present rate of 7/7½d an hour compared with the 42-hour week and 6/3d. per hour for workers on sites.

These conditions have been won because the Exhibition industry is 100% trade union and the deadline for exhibition openings has given workers the strength to win these better conditions, which in turn have acted as the spearhead for the actual building industry.

The nature of the industry, with the rapid succession of new exhibitions, leads to a lot of overtime being worked and in fact the union agreement with the employers accepts this and states that a "reasonable amount" of overtime must be worked by the operatives.

Unlike the building industry, these workers are not tied to a three year agreement and so this year has seen the usual negotiations for higher wages and better conditions, but there have been changes in the timing of the negotiations. These are usually done before the big Ideal Home Exhibition which gives workers a strong bargaining position, but this year the talks have been delayed and agreement has still not been reached on the claims for a rise of 4½d. an hour, three weeks holiday and a 30/- lodging-out allowance instead of the present £1.

Because the employers have refused to reply to these claims and the unions are reluctant to take any action, workers took action for themselves and started a work-to-rule and an overtime ban on March 9th. During this period there has also been considerable strife between workers and the unions. At Earls Court, where stands for the Electrical Engineers Exhibition were being prepared, the 100

elected stewards, representing 2,000 men, elected Bro. Savage, a carpenter, as their chief convenor.

The forwarding of the credentials to the chief convenor is usually just a routine matter, but not this time. Mr. G. Smith, the general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, refused to issue the credentials. The position of chief convenor is, by union and employers agreement, a paid one. Half of the wages being paid by the unions and half by the employers. Mr. G. Smith's refusal meant that Bro. Savage was without a job, but workers at Earls Court collected among themselves and paid him two weeks wages. A.S.W. union branches, where this case has been made known, have sent in letters of protest and demanding to know why the credentials were refused.

With a work-to-rule and an overtime ban in operation, it was soon very obvious that some delay in the opening of the exhibition might be necessary. However the employers wanted to avoid this if possible as it would have been very costly for them. An outright strike would have been a different matter, as they are insured against this action, a fact that the workers had not overlooked. The employers even went as far as attempting to force outright strike action by shutting off the whole of the heating system for the vascel hall at Earls Court.

Mr. G. Smith is a member of the joint council for negotiation in the exhibition industry. The direct action by the workers must have been a considerable embarrassment to him, for it wasn't long before Bro. Rusca, an A.S.W. organiser, was down there with instructions to take the names of the stewards, but he drew a blank for the stewards and the men refused to co-operate.

The only concern of the union leaders was to get the men back to work. They

would only play the game according to the rules laid down by the politicians. Thus, at the same time, it urged people to think for themselves and rely on the wisdom of the politicians to use their power in the interests of the community. The result of this double think was that the active, thinking, members of CND were soon aware of a feeling of frustration so far as means and ends were concerned. The first manifestation—over means—was expressed with the emergence of the "Committee of 100" in 1961, with the sit-down—that surpassed all expectations (the ground for which, was prepared by Swaffham[1959] Harrington[1960] and Foulness [1960]), in which a group of 100 individuals, including "eminent" citizens, supported by nameless thousands considered that the legalistic means to which CND was committed would not receive a hearing in the organs of mass communications. As Bertrand Russell put it in a letter to the Press (Feb. 1961):

"We have been driven to a policy of civil disobedience by the lack of representation or the misrepresentation of the policy of unilateralists in the organs of public information. Broadcasting and television are practically closed to us. It is difficult almost impossible, to get articles or even letters into the daily papers. Most of the press has gone over to Authority—possibly in fear of being otherwise, gobbled up.

But Bertrand Russell, as a life-long believer in government, had no more intention of overthrowing the power structure of society than has Wilson or Khrushchev. Russell's eminence as a mathematician is undisputed; his "eminence" (notoriety)

Continued on page 3

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

had in fact complied with the employers in the delays in the negotiations thereby extending the periods between the pay increases. The workers in the exhibition halls are fed-up with these delays and their union leaders' reluctance to fight for their demands.

During the work-to-rule, Mr. Austin, the general secretary of the painters union paid a visit to Earls Court, and using the Tannoy system, called upon the men to resume normal working. He said that they must work overtime (a statement that infuriated them), and that the whole dispute was "anarchist inspired". No doubt many of the workers do not even know of our ideas, but I think this shows that we are making headway. During the building strike last year, Mr. G. Smith, after getting hold of our leaflet on the dispute made reference to what he called "anarchist pressure groups".

This week, the Duke of Edinburgh opened this exhibition and although the men had resumed normal working, a lot of the stands were only half finished and because of L.C.C. regulations, were roped off. This was somewhat embarrassing to both the employers and the union leaders.

I have been told by one of the carpenters' stewards who has been working at Earls Court, that if there is not any settlement at future meeting of employers and unions, there is likely to be further action taken. There are future shows booked for both Earls Court and Olympia which could be affected.

By taking direct action for themselves, the rank and file of the unions have shown, not only the employer but also their own leaders, that they are determined to win their demands. With their organisation they are in a very strong position to do this. P.T.

ANARCHY 37: Symposium on 'Why I Won't Vote!'

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The Futility of voting Labour-2

THE myth has grown up, assiduously fostered by the cliché-mongers that Labour is the 'party of peace'. This is a hollow mockery uttered by the collaborators in the war coalition government of 1941-45 which authorized the first atom-bomb; the party whose leader negotiated the Potsdam agreement, hailed the United Nations set-up, joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, continued conscription in peace-time, carried out research on the hydrogen bomb and pyramided the national expenditure on armaments until it menaced the social services which were the proud boast of the old-time 'socialists'.

At the moment there is that 'darkening of the air with chickens coming home to roost' which President Roosevelt spoke of. At the moment Greece and its ambitions in Cyprus is in all our minds. The history of the Labour government with regard to Greece is typical of the double-think of politicians in power. Britain's economic withdrawal from Greece and final departure were announced within twenty-four hours of each other by one of those coincidences which are no coincidence. Our withdrawal from Greece was occasioned by the economic crisis accentuated by the fuel shortage, this made it necessary for the US to fill the power-vacuum. On March 12th, 1947, President Truman recommended to Congress that special military and economic assistance amounting to 400 million dollars should be extended to Greece and Turkey and proclaimed that "it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures".

Greece had always been a British

'client-state'. This was acknowledged even by Stalin who agreed in October 1944, that Greece (together with Yugoslavia) should be in the British 'sphere of influence' in exchange for Stalin's sphere of influence in Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. Churchill noted with satisfaction that the suppression of the pro-communist rising in Athens in 1944 passed with "not one word of reproach from *Pravda* or *Izvestia*". In 1946 the Conservative royalist party (propped up by British support) commenced the persecution of left-wing progressives which has persisted until today and many, imprisoned at that time, are still in prison. A mild criticism has been made by the Labour Party of the repressive measures of the Greek Government which they helped to support!

Ernest Bevin, on the strength of his involvement in the 'Jolly George' episode, established a reputation as a friend of Russia, he coined the slogan 'Left understands left'. His whole actions proved the falsity of this saying. The division of the world into 'spheres of influence' was the reality and the myth of the 'socialist brotherhood' faded before the necessities of playing at power politics.

Among the gifts of Attlee's socialism to military strategy was the 'Briggs plan' whereby the technique for suppression of colonial peoples was evolved in Malaya in 1948 (and used by American 'advisors' in Viet-Nam today). This involved isolating peasants in village compounds, cutting them off from their source of food-supply and isolating them from the guerillas. The later developments of destroying jungle coverage with hormone sprays were refinements added by the Americans to the English strategy. That it failed to pacify Malaya and is failing in Viet-Nam is no fault of the inventor's sponsors, the Labour government.

Colonialism under the Labour government was much the same as under any other government. In Malaya repression, and in Indonesia and Indo-China in 1945 British troops and aircraft were used to maintain the *status quo*. Harold Laski, then chairman of the Labour government denounced with the schizoid aplomb of which only the Labour Party is capable, that the attacks in Indonesia and Indo-China "makes the British claim to have been engaged in a war for democracy and freedom a hollow mockery all over South East Asia". The arrest of Nkrumah and the exile of Seretse Khama both acts which are regarded by progressives as textbook examples of repressive colonial imperialism both happened under the Labour government.

The story is told of a novelist in Hollywood who, after seeing sweeping adaptation of his novel, destroying every vestige of his original work of art, finally dug his heels in on the expunging of one sentence. "What the hell," said the scenario writer, "You've not objected to the other thousands of changes we made in the script. Why kick so much at this one?" "Well," said the author sadly, "It's the only line of the original left."

It is ironical that of the original "aims" of the 1939-45 war, the liberation of Poland was one of the first to go. Poland was saved from one of her hereditary enemies, Germany, and handed over to another enemy, Russia. The loss of the original government of Poland is no cause for grief but it is part of the original war aims.

In the same way that the Labour Government collaborated in the post-war settlement of Eastern Europe under Stalin's domination so did they collaborate in the frustration of the aim of the Jews to get out of Europe with its dire memories of concentration camps

and pogroms. This being the second original piece of the scenario for the 1939-45 war.

Ernest Bevin exercised Britain's mandate in Palestine, relentlessly restricting illegal immigrants and interning them in Cyprus. This policy quite naturally failed and led to the terrorism of the fanatical Zionists. One could respect Bevin's policy had it been an attempt to harmonize the needs of the Jewish people and of the indigenous Arabs, but it carried in its heavy-handed application the stigma of appeasement of the Arab bloc and an absolute failure to understand the needs of the Jewish people for a home and a place in a world which had hitherto only persecuted them. When this policy failed, partly owing to US support of Palestine's transition to Israel, the recognition of Israel reaped no gratitude. Mr. Bevin did not know how to win friends and influence people.

Mr. Bevin failed to appease Dr. Moussadeq of Persia when he wished to take over the British oil interests. However Mr. Bevin was firm in repulsing Russia's ambitions in Persia. Mr. Bevin also failed to convince Egypt of his pacific intentions, this laid the foundation of the Suez crisis with which the Labour Party is overflooded of saddling the Tories with complete responsibility. In 1947 Egypt complained to the United Nations that Britain was maintaining troops in Egypt against the will of the people. Labour Britain replied that she based her rights on the 1936 treaty which still had nine years (i.e. till 1955) to run. Egypt's complaint to the Security Council was effectively nullified by the machinery set up for the purpose of penalizing the smaller nations.

The first essay in 'brinkmanship' by the great powers was breathlessly followed by Britain, hanging on to America's coat-tails, in the 'chicken' exercise of the Berlin air-lift. It was not until the Korean War broke out in June 1950 that Britain's Labour government participated in a real live war with real British deaths. True, it was on behalf of the United Nations but it was only that by accident, Russia was absent when UN decided to embark upon this 'police operation' which dragged on for three years, utterly destroying the

economy, life, and society of Korea, the 'beneficiary' of the war leaving it divided and exhausted. The Agent-General of the United Nations' reconstruction agency testified, "I doubt that ever in the history of the world since perhaps the sacking of Carthage has there been such complete destruction as has occurred in Korea". General MacArthur admitted that Korea was "pretty well destroyed". So much for the first of the UNO wars!

This unhappy chronicle of failure in international affairs was only surpassed by the sad saga of home affairs. With Ben Smith succeeded by John Strachey, Ellis Smith resigning under Stafford Cripps, Dalton resigning under the scandal of a Budget Leak and Cripps succeeding him, the resignations of Bevan, Wilson and Freeman, and the Lyensky Tribunal leaving a bad smell almost as bad as the Profumo affair, but no sex scandals. The brilliant repartee of Hartley Shawcross (whatever became of him?) "We are the masters at the moment—and not only for the moment, but for a very long time to come", Bevan's inspired invective, "The Tories are lower than vermin". But why go on? . . . Indeed, why repeat the whole sad sorry story by voting Labour again.

The Labour Government of 1945-1951 was perhaps no worse than any other government but in view of its promise and powers its failure was lamentable. Even in 1946 Herbert Morrison said "The Government has gone as far Left as is consistent with sound reason and national interest". *The Economist*, no friend of Labour said, "A Socialist Government with a clear parliamentary majority might well have been expected to go several steps further". The last word must rest with Anthony Howard of the *New Statesman* (in his essay in *The Age of Austerity*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1963, from which some of the background material to these articles was drawn). "Far from introducing a 'social revolution' the overwhelming Labour victory of 1945 brought about the greatest restoration of traditional social values since 1660". Voting, anyone?

JACK ROBINSON.

[Further articles on Conservatives, Communists, Trotskyists and Flat Earthers to follow].

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A REVIEW OF CIVILIAN DEFENCE

IN times of depression the peace movement can all too easily be divided into two camps—compromise or despair. The fact that a third camp, hope, is underpopulated and its inhabitants silent should compel a degree of circumspection when attempting a critical analysis of the civilian defence theory. A round condemnation of the existing state of affairs or a conscientious withdrawal can be sustained effortlessly and satisfy the critical faculties but they provide few openings for a breakthrough to public opinion.

Civilian defence invites the label compromise but its advocates clearly see the virtue in evolving a strategy for the movement which, because it recognises a widely felt need for defence and the institutions of defence and because it accepts the inevitability of conflict in human relations, stands the chance of such a breakthrough. This, however, is only secondary to the case for civilian defence which summarised is: In a violent world, nations or groups need defence; conventional or nuclear defence have obvious drawbacks already familiar to us; the acceptance of a foreign policy based on civilian defence would, in itself, greatly reduce the danger of attack; if, however, an invasion took place, although an enemy could not be held on a border, making occupation inevitable, resistance within a country would be just as effective as conventional means and the loss of life would probably be less; military organisation and assumptions would be employed more positively and the dangers of democracy inherent in militarisation greatly reduced; the fringe benefits would include a compulsion to overhaul social values, a more creative foreign policy, a trend towards decentralisation, the conversion of arms expenditure, if not immediately to aid, at least to improved education, and in increased scope for social change. If there are in this list any omissions or over-simplifications I can only apologise and refer the reader to the growing fund of literature on the subject.

The four authors of the pamphlet cover a great deal of ground in their attempt to disturb the inertia of the movement and preserve our way of life. They say much we can agree with; they repeat and contradict each other—all

A 'PEACE NEWS' PAMPHLET

healthy signs of a pragmatic approach to the problem without any finalised pronouncements. What they do not say convincingly is precisely what we are going to defend. True, Adam Roberts thinks that his policy would "probably not protect overseas bases, and régimes based on violence". Arne Naess wants to defend Norwegian "independence and freedom to shape our lives within our social traditions and cultures against external forces", e.g. the Soviet Union. An outsider is scarcely qualified to comment on the quality of Norwegian democracy which, no doubt, has its good points but, if we turn our attention to Britain, a number of questions arise. Have we not said with a fair amount of evidence to back it up that this is a society based on violence; or has some dramatic change come about without our noticing? Perhaps we will have to wait until Wilson gets in! Is it not difficult to recognise any community of interest between employer and worker, Government and the governed, the haves and the have-nots, the military and civilians? Britain is a nation state with a class society, riddled with privilege at home, and with a record of oppression in territories overseas. Arguments designed to preserve certain illusions of liberalism are not only unconvincing but positively dangerous for revolutionary movements in a profoundly revolutionary era. No one who has ever advocated non-violent methods would dispute that non-violence can and should be used for the defence of values, human dignity, economic and political rights but they do at least attempt a political analysis to find where these are lacking and how they are to be restored. No such analysis accompanies this pamphlet.

The discussion on civilian defence hinges on the necessity for social change and means of achieving it. The contributors, perhaps in anticipation of criticism, make nervous references to the need for social change but only seem sure of their ground when dealing with demonstrably totalitarian régimes. Arne Naess suggests that his defence plan would be a back door approach to change but does not explain why he

believes that the upholders of the *status quo* will be any more amenable to revolutionary changes in the highly cherished institutions of defence and war than to revolution itself. Jerome Frank is much nearer the mark when he says "Acceptance of non-violence by Western nations would require changes in attitude and values of the magnitude of a religious conversion of an individual or of a major revolution inside a country." Adam Roberts, however, adopts a way-out position in insisting that "a non-violent defence policy could be adopted without any major alteration in the social structure." Even the Hon. Alastair Buchan, Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies, in his excellent preface states he is in serious disagreement with this view.

The basic weakness of the pamphlet lies in what it leaves out. It would have been much easier to judge the relevance of the idea had a section been included which dealt with measures to be taken for the introduction of civilian defence in Britain now and, if the miracle occurred, how it would operate.

"Its strategy and tactics have yet to be worked out". Precisely. Speaking of the United States, Jerome Frank says that military occupation is a remote possibility. So it is, although governments, for their own purposes, would try to convince the peoples otherwise. Are we to join in the pretence and base the whole strategy of the peace movement on "a remote possibility"? There is here something of a parallel with the Christian Scientist who sells the perfectly fit client a religion which will cure his ailments when he has contracted them. It might go down well in Cuba but not in the U.S.A. or Britain.

It is admitted that while there is a

psychological need for the illusion of protection against an all-out nuclear attack—this is particularly true in Britain—civilian defence does not really give any help. Its effectiveness is more convincing against the threat of invasion and therefore as a strategy it is more likely to elicit a response in Central Europe. Even then, with the present military balance of terror, it is hard to imagine a conventional conflict in Europe not degenerating into a nuclear flare-up. All in all the whole concept offers little at the point of access to public consciousness, the danger of nuclear war.

The message the peace movement has been trying to deliver is that disarmament itself is a reasonably effective way of lessening that danger. Disarmament is considered the first line of civilian defence by these writers, but why should they suppose that the Government and the interests behind it which have been consistently opposed to disarmament should suddenly change their minds? The vehemence with which the Government has clung to its right to arm itself to the teeth and to suppress any opposition has led most of us to believe that it is not fundamentally interested in defence in its most basic sense but in armed defence which has the advantages of substituting a mythical enemy for the real one and preserving an industry which has always been a mainstay of capitalist economy. When views like these are expressed within the peace movement it really begins to appear that the Holy War has been more effective in covering up the cracks in the structure of the modern State than we had imagined. My own conclusion would be that civilian defence starts here and now with resistance to war preparations, for, as Gene Sharp states, "the real threats to freedom today are not primarily geographical". There is "a crying need for detailed, sophisticated, hard-headed analyses of possible methods of

Continued on page 4

ENERGY, ENTHUSIASM AND MONEY ARE REQUIRED FOR THE ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

FREEDOM

March 28 1964 Vol 25 No 10

CNDoublethink

Continued from page 1

as far as the gutter press is concerned rests on his social background which contrasts violently with his rationalist, anti-militarist (first world war only) and moral attitudes. And we are the first to recognise the importance of his contribution to the breaking down of religious and moral prejudices. But like so many pioneers in the struggle against religious and moral obscurantism, Russell, in politics, is an autocrat, a believer in the most centralised form of government (world government), and therefore clearly, in 1961 when he led the sit-down to Whitehall at most he had to be considered a reluctant rebel but never a revolutionary. And those who found themselves seduced by this persuasive and cogent old man may have had their illusions shattered by his "Penguins" on *Has Man a Future?* (his apologia for world government) and *Unarmed Victory* a pathetic collection of epistolary exchanges which he had with the newsworthy politicians of the day, in a futile attempt to influence the top-level politicians, and in the vain hope that his words of conciliation might establish a niche for him in the political annals of our time. The fact is that it was not long before Russell resigned from the Committee of 100 and the next we heard from him (in the way of press hand-outs, that is), were details of the "Bertrand Russell Foundation", a swish set-up with a swish brochure and a sister organisation in the United States, unlimited patronage—financial and political—to ensure its independent existence. Another pressure group with its own potential means of mass communications, research, etc., and prominent among its directors and secretaries, Ralph Schoenman, the man behind the Committee of 100, and Pat Pottle, the man who defended himself at the infamous "trial of the Six" at the Old Bailey in 1962. (Last week it was announced in the capitalist press that Pat Pottle had resigned but refused to say why. Does he not, however, owe an explanation to those who, such as FREEDOM, defended him at the time of his trial as to (a) why he joined the Russell band-wagon and did not return to the Committee of 100 when he came out of prison and (b) why he has now left the Russell band-wagon?)

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WAY back in 1958 we were suggesting that what Mr. Priestley and other founders of CND should "investigate more closely" was why it is that our writers, our philosophers, our scientists and our "intellectuals" with few exceptions make no impact on the public mind when they lend their names to issues affecting the public conscience and the future of mankind.*

A question which Mr. Priestley (who had a brief flirtation with the "gentle anarchists" but never with FREEDOM) did not think worth answering. In 1964 poor old Canon Collins bemoans the fact that

CND is too much in the hands of a self-conscious little cadre of intellectuals. People are no longer excited about us. How are we going to sell a new outlook to them?

*"Nuclear War Means Universal Death" (FREEDOM, Jan. 4, 1958 also *Freedom Selections* Vol. 8, pp. 1-4).

The answer, a brutal one, is that if Canon Collins wanted publicity he should have boarded Russell's bandwagon (for what it's worth), but that if he, and Russell, really believed that mankind was threatened with annihilation, they should have had the courage and the integrity to advocate drastic measures. Little wonder that the threat of nuclear annihilation has lost its force. For years they have been warning us of imminent disaster, and mankind is still alive on this planet.

★

THE failure of the peace movement to expose and attack the causes of war is much more serious than the lack of success that has attended its efforts to abolish nuclear warfare. Nineteen years after the last world massacre, the spectre of "over-production" and "shrinking markets" once again looms large on the horizon. And what is quite clear to us is that the governments and rulers of the world are seeking other solutions than that of war, if only because war solves these problems of capitalism for a very short time. The lesson of the Second World War is that a cold war economy is a more flexible means of controlling problems of "over-production", "inflation" and the various other diseases of capitalism. It is also clear that the health of the capitalist system in the 60's depends on general prosperity. The abolition of poverty in the world today is as essential to the prosperity of the ruling class as its retention was to the capitalists of a century ago.

It is no coincidence that the shrinking of markets, so far as the large industrial nations are concerned, coincides with a determined effort in the United States to combat poverty within the United States itself; as well as a general concern to raise the standards of living in the underdeveloped countries. De Gaulle's trip to Mexico is not simply a courtesy call on that country's President any more than was his recent meeting with President Ben Bella of Algeria. France, in spite of its full employment, needs outlets for its ever expanding industrial production. Italy was, last week pumped with huge American loans, and apart from it being a financial measure to bolster up an apparently tottering *lira*, if our analysis is correct it presages development in the poverty-stricken south. Spain, too, is ripe for dollar-sterling development, and apart from these black spots in Europe and the American continent there is unlimited scope for development in Asia and Africa.

The ruling classes of the world no more want war than we do, though for different reasons, obviously. Their aim is a world of well-fed, well-gadged slaves in which they continue to enjoy their roles of power and privilege. In our opinion present day capitalists are flexible enough, and the markets available for development large enough, and the power of the ruling class entrenched enough, to permit the system to survive without major wars, certainly in our time.

As we see it then, the threat to humanity is not annihilation by nuclear war but a kind of "spiritual" annihilation; a world of avid consumers without a thought or a care; a world of human "broilers".

EDWARD TELLER went to Pomona, California to dedicate 'Unseen City', America's first self-contained civil defence centre. The new Public Safety Building was picketed by Women Strike for Peace with signs such as "Let's Live Above Ground". Mr. Teller ('father of the H-bomb') said. "We have fire departments not because we want fires but because we want protection and we have shelters not because we want war but because we want peace." The shelter has only enough food and beds for 150 of Pomona's 78,500 populace. "In a real emergency, said one city official, "there may be a mad scramble to get in." The US, according to *Newsweek* now has more nuclear weapons than it will ever conceivably need. In 1960 (the arsenal) reached "overkill" level. Since then it has grown 50%, US now has more than 80,000 warheads in its stockpile. General Curtis Lemay of the US Air Force said in evidence to a US Senate Committee, "Limited numbers of very high yield weapons could contribute measurably to the deterrence in a manner which the Soviets would understand and respect." He appealed to the committee for the development of 50 megaton bombs equal to that exploded by the Russians in 1961. This was equivalent to fifty million tons of TNT. Dr. H. J. Bhaba, chairman of India's Atomic Energy Commission claimed that if he had permission to concentrate on developing the nuclear bomb, India would have it before China. . . .

SMALL AMOUNTS of radio-active iodine have been found in milk produced in Nevada as a result of a low yield test. The Atomic Energy Commission emphasised that the amount was far below the danger level. The radio-active iodine escaped through cracks in the earth's surface. . . .

A PARTY of 36 went into the Amazonian jungle to gather information on the possibilities of building a road through the jungle to the Brazilian border. A party of Cocamas Indians attacked them with poisoned arrows and they were besieged for five days. Helicopters which came to look for the party could not land, the expedition's radio broke down and the Indians set up decoy fires to confuse the aircraft. Bombing and machine gun raids were made on the Indians but the Indians kept up the siege, shouting wild cries and hurling insults at the expedition, which nearly drove them mad.

IN South London there is a Christian University Settlement where young graduates from Cambridge live and engage in Good Works. One of their lines of activity is providing clubs for boys, and for teenagers of both sexes, and I noticed a poster outside the building where their teen-age club meets. It shows a girl and a boy twisting in gay abandon and around them are lines of type, like streamers: the type reads—Don't risk it—Don't risk it—Don't risk it. At the bottom of the poster are the words "V.D. is on the increase".

I do not know who has published this poster. It may be the Ministry of Health, or one of the numerous anti-fun church bodies, to whom the existence of V.D. is such a godsend. The poster does not say what is not to be risked: some ignorant children may think that it is a warning against twisting, or attendance at that particular club ('Don't go there Gertie; it seems they've got a nasty epidemic there—it must be those young men from Cambridge'). Others may think it is a warning against heterosexual intercourse, or intercourse without a condom and pot. permang. as the sergeant major warned us. Others may think, perhaps rightly, that it is just part of a campaign just to take the fun out of life for teenagers by vague innuendos and threats.

This use of V.D. as a stick to beat teenagers, stems from the BMA report which has been used to imply that there is a fantastic increase in sexually transmitted disease among young people. Now there are said to be lies, bloody lies and statistics. I am glad to see in the current "New Society" (19th March) a letter from Sylvia Male which takes the BMA statistics to pieces. Without having the actual raw figures before me I cannot check the actual percentages myself, but Sylvia Male has performed a useful job in pointing out the false conclusions which may be drawn from over-all trends both in V.D. figures and illegitimacy figures. What I do deplore is the sanctimonious glee with which the enemies of youth seize upon any statistical trend in disease, illegitimacy or delinquency and twist it so that they have 'facts' to support their own emotionally backed crusades. I do not propose to quote Sylvia Male's letter here, as anyone can look it up for themselves.



Eventually troops reached them and aided by the Peruvian Air Force the party broke out and made their way to the river where a gunboat awaited them. Officials of the New York World's Fair have decided that in view of the fact that a deed dated 1684 showed that the Mohawk Indians had the right to cut bullrushes in Flushing Meadow, the site of the Fair, they would issue free passes to the Fair to any Mohawk Indian. . . .

A GERMAN POLITICAL prisoner at Auschwitz said that the Jews went to their deaths in the Auschwitz gas chambers singing religious songs but the gypsies fought their captors before dying. "The gypsies wanted to sell their lives as dearly as possible". Even the children had collected razor blades and other weapons so that they could resist the S.S. guards. A man known as the 'King of the Mendicants' was acquitted in Oxford on a charge of stealing a 1½d. bun from Douglas Hogg, a Christchurch undergraduate and son of Mr. Quintin Hogg, Lord President of the Council and Minister for Science. The 'King of the Mendicants' said outside the court, "I always come up [to Oxford] at the beginning of the academic year. I always get a list of the undergraduates and look for noted families to see if their sons are at college. Then I look them up in *Who's Who*. I have had about £2,000 from undergraduates over the years." He usually told a hard luck story. . . .

HOGG (MAJOR) accused the Labour Party of being "deeply crevassed and divided by the presence in their ranks of considerable fellow travelling and anti-British elements". This lay at the root

of "their successively unhelpful attitudes in Malaya—during the terrorist war; Kenya—during the Mau-Mau; Cyprus—during EOKA; and in various African territories". . . .

ALL PROSPECTIVE candidates for the general election are to be sent, on April 16th, a letter, with the support of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal parties asking them to sign this pledge. "As prospective parliamentary candidate I wish to make it clear before the general election that I would deplore any attempt to exploit racial tensions for political purposes". The prospective Conservative candidate for Smethwick decided not to issue a writ in connection with remarks made by Harold Wilson. Mr. Griffiths felt that political life should be conducted on policies not on personalities. . . .

A MAN WHO asked to leave his car at a police station because he was feeling unwell was arrested and charged with driving on the station forecourt while under the influence of drink or drugs. He elected to go for trial at the Quarter Sessions. At the magistrate's court hearing on the case of the detective sergeant and three constables accused of planting evidence on eight people during the Greek royal visit, the prosecution asked for a constable to be treated as a 'hostile witness' owing to alleged discrepancies between his evidence and his statement. This plea was denied by the magistrate. When Mr. Donald Room said he had a "conscientious objection" to giving evidence for the prosecution and only gave it under penalty of £100, adding "Unless I get a subpoena, I won't go to the Old Bailey". The magistrate replied, "The prosecution will see to that". He was bound over in the sum of £40 to give evidence. A former prisoner at Auschwitz concentration camp refused to give evidence against the 22 former guards on trial at Frankfurt, saying that the trial was a shame to the country. "I have a good job now. I am a cook and I just want to be left alone. My customers don't like this trial. They say it should have been held much earlier." After the judge had conferred with lawyers he excused the witness. . . .

AFTER BURNING his candle at both ends the 'lovely light' of Brendan Behan was extinguished to the sorrow of his friends. JON QUIXOTE.

Don't Risk it?

One feature of the V.D. problem which is not given prominence is that no public authority is prepared to be honest and issue sound prophylactic advice to the public as to how the spread of V.D. can be avoided. This is a quite monstrous shirking of duty by the medical profession. Can one imagine a situation in which say, pulmonary tuberculosis was on the increase and the health authorities refused to publicise simple measures to check its spread? The fact that the health authorities won't give the instructions which are given to young men in the army is partly because they are scared of the Church. In the armed forces men are regarded as cannon fodder, and so incapacity through V.D. defeats their main purpose, but in civil life their health and happiness is nobody's business compared with the envy of their virility suffered by old men, professional virgins and kill-joys.

I have said that part of the reason for the official medical reluctance to give public advice about prophylactic techniques to prevent the spread of V.D., is because of fear of the Church. But the official medical Establishment has a grisly record of sheer reaction throughout its history. The physicians fought the spread of enlightened surgery, and both combined to keep the apothecaries from becoming more than pill-makers. Efforts to establish the proper training and registration of midwives were fought by the medical Establishment with the same energy they had shown in fighting the coming of anaesthetics and hypnotic analgesia. They hunted down and expelled the first enlightened doctors who gave birth-control advice, and now conduct a smear-campaign against those who advocate legal abortion. The campaign against V.D. must be conducted

against the fundamental attitude of reactionary medical feeling that it is a valuable scourge of the young people who want to work out their own code of living.

If anyone contracts disease there are free medical facilities for its cure. But providing facilities for cure is not the same thing as taking active steps to prevent it. It is nonsense to pretend that medical responsibility is discharged by saying 'Be chaste and you won't catch it'. They might as well have said, in the days of epidemic cholera, 'Just live an isolated life in the country and you won't catch it!' As for the half-baked clergy who approve of such ridiculous poster propaganda as I have quoted, their line is actually worse than useless. As they are unwilling to discuss the simple facts of where and how gonococci and spirochaetes are transmitted, but throw out dark hints, so ignorant children start by imagining that they may catch V.D. by cuddling, and end by catching it in utter ignorance of how it might have been avoided.

Only when people are equipped with knowledge will they be capable of acting with discretion and responsibility. To deny the spread of full knowledge is to encourage social irresponsibility. Yet it was because his children ate fruit of the tree of knowledge that God got in a nasty paddy and threw them out of the Garden of Eden. Apparently he wanted them in ignorance eternally, perhaps to flatter the vanity of their creator. We are therefore indebted to the serpent for starting us on the road to thinking for ourselves and achieving personal responsibility. Let us continue the good work of the serpent. G.

Proposed Anarchist Federation

INAUGURAL CONFERENCE at the Arncliffe Gallery, Triangle West, Bristol 8. 11th & 12th of April, 1964. Suggestions for Agenda and Enquiries to Bristol Federation of Anarchists, 9 Cornwallis Crescent, Bristol 8.

Bristol Conference

DEAR COMRADES,

With only three weeks left before the Bristol Conference we feel that a report on progress and arrangements is called for. The response from the various groups we wrote to has been encouraging—although on one or two points differences of opinion, or rather of emphasis, have emerged already, principally on the invitation of the Press and parlibertarian groups (Committee of 100, S.W.F. and *Peace News*). Two of the largest groups have said that they will not attend if 'the capitalist press' does, and in spite of an earlier resolution on our part, we have dropped this idea. We have however invited the other groups to send observers with the proviso that if at any time the opinion of the Conference is in favour of a closed session non-Anarchists will be asked to leave—with the implication that the entire Conference could be closed.

It was originally planned that the Conference should be on an individual basis—but some of the more distant groups have for financial reasons decided to send delegates. We are nonetheless still welcoming individual anarchists and it will simply be a question of giving extra weight to the opinions of those who are delegates when taking a consensus.

Accommodation can be arranged for everyone who is coming, if they let us know soon, and although the Conference proper can't start until 1.0 p.m. on Saturday 11th, we would like people to arrive on the Friday evening if possible and meet informally then. The second session on Sunday from 10 a.m. on Saturday and we have arranged a party for the evening; it is hoped that sufficient people will be able to stay for a second session on Sunday from 1.0 a.m.

We are proposing to draw up a provisional agenda amalgamating our own and Glasgow's suggestion from 'The Anarchist' and including various suggestions we have received from other groups.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street
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The First Person (Selections) 2/6

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

LETTERS

Our expenses for the Conference are not large, but we would welcome any contributions to help pay the fares of more distant groups.

R. E. Stuttle,
A. MARGARET ROBINSON,
for the Bristol Federation.

Don't lets be nasty to Journalists

THE EDITORS, "FREEDOM",

I was sorry, and a little surprised, to see Jack Stevenson attacking journalists and Chris Segar, in such a general and violent manner. Unfortunately—being cut off in the wilds of North Wales I haven't seen the article in *Punch*, but however libellous it would not justify a general anarchist witch-hunt against journalists simply because they are journalists. To quote Jack's own words: "... if anarchists don't behave like anarchists, there seems no point in going on, does there?" and I can see nothing in what I understand of anarchist philosophy to justify a McCarthy type campaign with journalists playing the part of "the Reds".

I would remind Jack that as a member of the Editorial Board of FREEDOM he is a journalist himself and so are the friends with whom he works to produce the paper. As an ex-journalist I would take some exception to Jack referring to me as a "Tory capitalist stooge". (I may be of course but I'm certainly unaware of it, and anyway isn't it time we left that kind of 19th C abuse to the Communists who invented most of it).

The whole point is that if you treat journalists as Jack would have us treat them then we are certain to be maligned and misrepresented. If you give them their interview and treat them with a reasonable amount of courtesy you'll probably still be misrepresented but there is just a chance you won't. I would remind Jack Stevenson of the very fair treatment that the *Sunday Citizen* gave to our Cuba demonstration. Admittedly they were practically alone in printing our refutation of the Cuban Ambassador's accusation but nevertheless had they been treated as Jack

Civil Defence

Continued from page 2
non-violent struggle analogous to current studies of methods of war", but the question we should ask, and which this pamphlet fails to ask, is against what, in the first instance, they should be directed. The threat of an external enemy could then be dealt with in perspective and the concept of civilian defence against all sources of oppression and reaction be accepted.

The trouble with using civilian defence as a starting point is that it implies a far too negative view of non-violence. This, together with a startling degree of acceptance of existing power structures, is what makes one uncomfortable with the whole approach. Non-violence is seen in paramilitary terms even extending to ludicrous talk about non-violent manoeuvres. The military and civilian forces are seen as two wings of an integrated system. Sweeping powers for a central authority are taken for granted and Arne Naess sees conscription as a necessity. Throughout, with the honourable exception of Frank, the terms of the Cold War are confirmed. We in the West must defend ourselves from them, the Communists. The alleged democracy of the West must be defended against the undisputed totalitarianism of the East. Nationalism is a creative force and internationalism important merely "in the elementary sense that one should not look on opponents as 'Untermenschen' (to you, sub-human). No. Non-violence is not this at all. At least not to me. It is a creative and at times an aggressive force dependent both on certain basic principles and, when applied politically, on realistic political analysis. The achievements and the positive elements in a society can be acknowledged and improved, but the inconsistencies, the inadequacies and the destructive forces must be rooted out. Non-violence is education, persuasion, determination, struggle and reconciliation. It can be used to avoid conflict or to prevent it and even, when the occasion arises, to create it—or, more accurately to detect hidden conflict and bring it to the surface. If we need a substitute for war, it is most likely to be found in meeting the challenge of peace.

TONY SMYTHE.

Stevenson advocates our denial would not have been printed. Much the same applied to the ITN interview I gave the same night. That interview was pre-filmed and could have been cut very much to our disadvantage. It wasn't, and our case again got across to a fairly wide audience. Only two cases admitted to put up against so many smears but if those people had been told to go away in Jack Stevenson's inimitable and picturesque manner the anarchists would have been the losers.

Come to think of it Jack, I think the *Guardian* printed a reasonable piece about us just after Canon Collins had disowned us for spreading out across Whitehall (something he appears to be benefiting from this year) and the same paper was the only one that printed anything like the real story on the "Easter Rising". Jack Stevenson is old and ugly enough to know that you can't tar everybody with the *Daily Express's* brush; he might profitably take note of Jack Robinson, cool down, and while he's about it get rid of "the party right or wrong" attitude that seems to have crept into his thinking, or at least into the second paragraph of his last letter.

Regards,
JOHN PILGRIM.

Harlech.

Peace-in-Cyprus Committee

THE Peace in Cyprus Committee met for the first time on Saturday, 21st March, at the Grange Hotel, centre and meeting place of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. The purpose was to find ways of communicating the decisions of the Emergency Meeting of the 15th March to the people of Cyprus, both Greek and Turkish, the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities in London and the peace movement in general.

It was suggested that those who are sent to Cyprus should belong to nationalities not involved in the dispute. Incidentally the committee itself could hardly have been more international, there were English, American, Swedish, Kurdish, Welsh, Turkish and Greek people present. There were even one or two from Cyprus itself.

It was also suggested that it would be possible to work through the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities in London. The idea was even put forward that through them it should be possible to contact the communities in

Welfare at Ruislip

The Welfare Groups ask those intending to take part in the civil disobedience demonstration at Easter to contact it beforehand or on the day, so that relatives can be informed if there are arrests and imprisonment, and arrangements made for prison visits and newspapers to be sent in. Prior information is particularly important in the case of those intending to refuse to give their name and address in court.

Volunteers are required for court observers to report back to the committee details of demonstrators fined or imprisoned and also people prepared to provide sureties for demonstrators charged and asking for bail.

The Welfare Group will be on the route on Friday and Saturday to sell tea, and refreshments, and will be ready to receive information, offers of help and donations.

Anti-Election Campaign

Meet at 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6.
7.30 Tuesday, March 31st.
Healthful, legal, social occupation.

Cyprus, and we should wait for an invitation to send delegates to the island. It was pointed out that there was a very real danger that anyone set out there, even though their purpose was avowedly to make peace, would be suspect to both sides, and might run the risk of being shot. Nobody was very keen to send someone, even a volunteer, to their deaths. On the other hand, to wait for in invitation might be to wait for a very long time indeed!

It was agreed to produce leaflets in Greek and Turkish. To distribute them first among the Greek and Turkish Cypriots in London. Also a leaflet should be produced stating the demands and aims of the committee to the general public.

A.W.U.

PROPOSED GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM AND WEST MIDLANDS
Peter Neville,
12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.
BIRMINGHAM (UNIVERSITY)
Dave Chaney,
7, Birches Close, Moseley, Birmingham, 13.
COUNTY OF STAFFORD TRAINING COLLEGE
John Wheeler, C.S.T.C., Nr. Stafford, Staffs.
HEREFORD
Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close, Hereford
MANCHESTER
John McEwan, c/o Farrish, 4, Sanby Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Manchester.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

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

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21, Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

Freedom weekly

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

Anarchy monthly

ANARCHY (2/3 or 30 cents post free), a 32-page journal of anarchist ideas, is published 12 times a year on the first Saturday of the month.

Postal Subscription Rates to FREEDOM only

1 year (40 issues) 20/- (U.S. \$3)
6 months (20 issues) 10/- (\$1.50)
3 months (10 issues) 5/- (\$0.75)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies FREEDOM

1 year (40 issues) 30/- (U.S. \$4.50)
6 months (20 issues) 15/- (\$2.25)

A Surplus!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT MARCH 21st 1964

Weeks 9—12		
EXPENSES: 12 weeks at £70		£840
INCOME:	£	£
Sales & Sub. Renewals:		
Weeks 1—8	515	
Weeks 9—12	145	
		660
New Subscriptions:		
Weeks 1—8 (47)	48	
Weeks 9—12 (13)	14	
		62
		722
		DEFICIT £118

DEFICIT FUND

Rexdale, Canada: R.B. £1; Hounslow: "L."* 2/6; Chicago: J.A.C. £1/8/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Lewes: R.J.G. 3/6; Glasgow: M.M. 12/6; Hitchin: L.A. 10/-; West Kirby: R.P. £1; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Gibson, B.C.: A.H.C. 12/6; Phoenix: C.C. £1/8/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Billericay: R.W.D. £1; Little Clacton: M.E. 13/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Belfast: W.G. 5/-; Hounslow: "L."* 2/6; Auckland: B.S. £3/6/6; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Weston-super-Mare: H.A.A. 5/-; London: H.M. £1; Readings: J.R. 5/-; Cheltenham: A.J.F. 2/6; Bosley: P.S. £25; Red Deer: B.G.* 7/-; Wolverhampton: B.L. 1/6; Dunblane: R.A.H.: 4/-; Hounslow: "L."* 2/6; Almondsbury: D.P.: 1/-; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; New Jersey: A.S.* 7/-; Belfast: W.G. 5/-; Edgware: M.K. 6/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Wakefield: I.H. 5/-; Hounslow: "L."* 2/6; Detroit: J.C. 14/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 4/-; London: "Victoria"* 10/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Edinburgh: An. Fed. 3/-; Shepton Mallet: E.H.S. 5/-; Manchester: J.H. 1/9; Lincoln: A.R.B. 5/-; Glasgow: J.H. 15/-; Boston: R.D. 14/6; Surrey: F.B.* £1.

TOTAL £46 9 3
Previously acknowledged 146 13 9

1964 TOTAL TO DATE £193 3 0

GIFTS OF BOOKS: London: A.W.U.; London: M.G.
*Denotes regular contributors.

PROPOSED BRITISH FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

Co-ordinating Secretary: J. E. Stevenson,
6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.

MAR 22 Arthur Uloth:

Random Thoughts

MAR 29 No Meeting.

APRIL 5 Philip Sansom:

Just Speaking: Organization.
ALL WELCOME

Notting Hill Anarchist Group, Enquiries (Top Flat) 38 Oxford Gardens, W10

ANARCHIST YOUTH

Easter Sunday, March 29th.
Meeting at Lamb and Flag, 7.45.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

Cambridge Group

Meets Tuesdays (in term), Q5 Queens. Details and information, town and gown, Adrian Cunningham, 3 North Cottages, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.

Edinburgh Group

Enquiries—Anne-Marie Fearon (Top flat), 31 Scotland Street, Edinburgh.

Oxford Group

Contact N. Gould, Corpus Christi.

Tunbridge Wells Group

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

Bristol Federation

Irregular meetings—enquiries to Ron Stuttle,
9 Cornwallis Crescent, Bristol 8.

Glasgow Federation

Contact R. Alexander c/o Robertson,
42 Denbrae Street, Glasgow.

Birmingham College of Commerce Anarchist Society

Discussion meetings weekly. Details from John Philby, c/o College.

Dundee Group

Meet in City Square, 12.30 Sundays.

MERSEYSIDE

Details from Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13. (STO 2632).
Every Saturday 2.30.

Outside Lewis's paper-selling.

PLYMOUTH

Fred Spiers, 35 Ridge Park Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.

READING

Meetings third Friday of each month 7.30 p.m. at Eric and Carol Morse's, 16 Foxhill Road, Reading.

ROMFORD & HORNCHURCH

John Chamberlain, 19 Chestnut Glen, Hornchurch, Essex.

SHEFFIELD

Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.

Tyneside Federation

Enquiries H. D. Nash,
30 Queens Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 2.

Last Thursday in month:

At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

1st Friday of each month at Ann Davidson and Dennis Gould's, 4 Benhams Place, N.W.3. Beginning March 6th.

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

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

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