

The proper memory for a politician is one that knows what to remember and what to forget.  
JOHN, VISCOUNT MORLEY

## Open Letter to H. Brooke

FP & THE MOVEMENT

Seated One Day at the Organ

LAST week, Sir Norman Wright, secretary of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and formerly Deputy Director General of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation quoted what the *Guardian* report describes as "sobering statistics" on the tasks of feeding the expanding world population when he spoke to the Royal Society of Arts in London.

At the moment, he said, the proportion of hungry people in the world in strict terms of calorie intake was between 10 and 15 per cent. The now famous UN "Third World Food Survey," however, combined evidence of malnutrition and concluded that up to one half of the world's population was suffering from hunger or malnutrition or both. By 1975 the population would have risen to 4,000 million, and would have doubled to 6,000 millions by the turn of the century.

"By 1975 we shall have to increase the world's cereal production by over one third, and the world's output of animal products by nearly two thirds.

# Grow for Humanity!

by the year 2000 we shall have to have doubled the world's cereal production and trebled its output of animal products. Indeed, to achieve fully adequate dietary levels in some of the developing countries by this date, their outputs of animal products will need to be increased by from four to six-fold over the present levels."

We frequently raise this question of food production in *FREEDOM* and make no apologies for returning to it again and again. It is a subject of basic importance to every human being throughout the ages, and will continue to be, so long as food remains the means by which Man maintains life. Both Capitalists and Marxists (and to a lesser extent anarchists) have, for different reasons, ignored the problems of

food production. The former saw their chances of large profits and expanding markets in industrial development, and the Marxists that the factory workers, as well as being more advanced", were concentrated in urban areas where it would be more easy to organise effective resistance to the class enemy. Not only have the land workers in the industrial nations been left behind in the struggle for better wages and conditions, thereby creating deep resentments between rural and industrial workers (which in times of social upheavals, have invariably jeopardised the chances of the revolutionary movements), but equally serious has been the exodus from the rural areas to the industrial centres, with the consequent abandonment of all but the most fertile and profitable land. That this "erosion" of agriculture in Britain, for instance, has not gone further than it has can be explained by military, strategic, and industrial considerations rather than the commonsense one of awareness of the basic importance of producing food! After all the "erosion" of agriculture was halted only during the last war when the military and political leaders suddenly realised that a successful German submarine blockade of this island could starve its population into submission. Then overnight not only were we exhorted to dig up the parks and "dig for victory", plough the village greens and the pasture land and sow wheat, but it was considered a crime that inefficient farmers should be allow-

ed to waste valuable land even if they could afford to! People were exhorted to go back to the land; "land girls" were no less glamorous than their sisters in the factories, hospitals and in the Services, and Conscientious Objectors who opted for the Mines or the Land could more easily have their objections recognised by the boneheads on the Tribunals. Food growing was of strategic importance and every acre mattered; the mechanisation of agriculture was considered no less important than the mechanisation of the armed forces. In the short space of three years production increased from the pre-war level of one-third to one-half of the food consumed (and on a decreased labour force as a result of principally, better land use and mechanisation).

★

THOUGH agriculture in Britain has not returned to its pre-war state, and will not, if only because ICI do very big business supplying fertilisers and other firms in supplying an ever more complex variety of plant and equipment, the trend is towards larger units, with greater mechanisation and industrialisation of the land, thereby making it unprofitable to cultivate or bring into production poorer land. We shall be told that more food is being produced, more cheaply on fewer acres by fewer people—which is what the Americans boast as they put out of cultivation millions of acres of farmland—and all this may be true

but it is only a part of the truth.

The other part is that the situation whereby countries such as Britain can easily make up their food deficiencies by importing from countries throughout the world is an artificial one, and is based on the paradox that there are food surpluses in different areas of the world which however would not be sufficient to go round if every individual in the world had the means to purchase the food needed to maintain life and health. In other words if the distribution of monetary wealth (in the sense of purchasing power) were to be changed tomorrow, and we in Britain had no preferences in the world's food markets, the chances are that we should be unable to purchase enough food abroad to ensure a normal diet for everybody in these islands, quite apart from the fact that as demand would greatly exceed supply, food prices would soar. The present "happy" situation whereby we can ignore such an eventuality, depends on the fact that millions of people in the other half of the world haven't the means to purchase their daily bread. This is a situation which all the "have" countries of the world have been deploring in Geneva these past weeks, which the Churches and the political parties are loud in their appeals for something to be done, and to which the people of this country are far from unsympathetic as the results of the various relief organisations, such as Oxfam and War on Want, indicate.

Continued on page 2

### S. RHODESIA

## By way of Revolution

(From our Correspondent)

A FRIEND of mine remarked a few days ago that living through a hurricane must be something akin to the experiences which are besetting us in Southern Rhodesia. With Winston Field safely out of the way the Rhodesian Front Government has begun a ruthless and vicious campaign against African opposition. This began with the arrest on Thursday morning (17/4/64) of the main nationalist leaders: Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Mr. & Mrs. Chinamano—two leading officials of Nkomo's party in Salisbury, and Joseph Msika, another leading Nkomo nationalist.

The reaction to these arrests was predictably violent and has included the reprehensible assaults on European women in a large store in Salisbury, as well as demonstrations by women, marches, an attempted strike, school boycotts and general stone-throwing and sabotage. Anti-white feeling is rife and there are a number of signs of unbalance in governmental circles and elsewhere.

Perhaps the most startling event has been a suggestion by the Minister of Local Government, Mr. John Gaunt for the formation of a League of Loyal Rhodesians to resist the "Quislings in our country and the enemies out of it". Even the settler "Rhodesia Herald" was moved to call this "an evil proposition" and "morally evil" indeed "an incitement to physical action against freedom of thought and action". The editorial suggests: "Rhodesia can do without the Ku Klux Klan or a Gestapo—or a resurrected McCarthy."

One can only surmise about the petrol bombing of the car belonging to Mr. John Lentell, who is looking after the youngest three-year-old Chinamano

child. Mr. Lentell has perhaps suffered at the hands of the organisation proposed by Mr. Gaunt.

There is in Salisbury and in most of Southern Rhodesia however, a general unease in the European population. There is a definite campaign to get rid of the Rhodesian Front and it is likely to fall in Parliament. Both Mr. Field and Mr. Howman, the two ex-Cabinet Ministers would vote against a unilateral declaration of independence by the Government and there are other Government M.P.s who would follow them. With a majority of only five the Smith Government cannot move in that direction—by means of parliament at any rate.

Your correspondent has reliable information that the Chief Army Officers have stated that they would not obey Mr. Smith if he declared independence, they have been asked by the Governor whether they would remain loyal to him at this time and they have all said that they would. The police would be divided about 50-50 on the issue. Unless there is some unexpected turn of events the Government will fall in a matter of months.

But before the Rhodesian Front goes there may well be—correction, there will be—more repressive action. The Government, I am informed, intend to close down Highfield Community School, the school which Mr. Chinamano ran as Principal before his arrest. It is claimed that the school is a centre for subversion. When this action is taken 2,000 children will be without school.

Perhaps we will then see some words written by Mr. Chinamano shortly before his arrest as being somewhat prophetic. He writes in an article that has appeared since his arrest ("Daily News" 21/4/64): "History has taught us that where people's desires are suppressed by unpopular legislation, their desires come about by way of revolution."

The Africans, and indeed the Europeans of this land, are discovering that the law is dangerous in the hands of disordered minds. Any sane person can see that in the interests of humanity this Government must go. Alas, they do not see that all Government must go. They do not see that the good Christian Clifford Dupont, Minister of Law and Order and dear John Gaunt are only startling cases of the sickness of Statism. They do not appreciate, at this particular moment, that the lessons of Africa in the last ten years are that one party States are a failure in human terms, they do not see that the solution to the problems in Southern Rhodesia lies not just along "the way of revolution" but also requires the awakening of a sense of community that makes the State superfluous.

## 70 AT LUCAS SLOW CAR INDUSTRY

Although the 70 men at the Joseph Lucas central warehouse at Birmingham were on strike for only a few days, their action was felt by the car manufacturers. The five big car firms all issued statements saying that production would very soon be affected and the Standard Triumph International Co. at Coventry did in fact start laying men off on Friday.

Because of the economics of the motor industry, large supplies of components are not held by car firms. They rely on a more or less continuous supply to their factories. Lucas supply over 35% of the industry's electrical components and have practically a monopoly in respect of some of these. For instance, in 1960, they supplied 94% of the dynamos and 85% of the lamps used by the industry.

With the car firms so dependent on

one supplier, it puts the strikers in a very strong position, added to which, the loaders and internal drivers in the central warehouse deal with all the components before they are dispatched from the factory. This store holds about £2m. worth of equipment and as such is a vital link for car production throughout the country.

The men, members of the Transport & General Workers' Union, stopped work over their claim for a 12% increase in bonus earnings. Their union has been negotiating for them and other workers, but it seems that these members were in fact unhappy about the negotiations and decided to take unofficial action for themselves.

Although they have returned to work, there is a strong possibility of further action if claims are not met. New negotiations are taking place on Tues-

day. There are also talks in progress for a general claim by three unions representing about 10,000 of the 25,000 men at the Birmingham plant, who are asking for comparable increases for production and non-production workers. So far Lucas's have offered 6% and 5% respectively. This would have given a 6/6d. increase for male and female production workers, but only 4/2d. for non-production workers which include the strikers at the central warehouse. This offer has been rejected.

The workers in the warehouse have shown how quickly strike action can affect the industry. Only 70 men can bring car production to a halt within a very short time. Obviously this puts the workers at the Lucas plant in a very strong position, if their general claims are not met. In fact only sections of workers need take action to be effective and different departments could alternate any action decided upon.

A shop steward in the central warehouse has said that they decided to return to work so that fellow trade unionists would not lose their jobs, although they would come out again if their claim was not met. Their action and the threat of a further stoppage might be enough to gain their claim. Strike action is often the only way to gain demands and a "Guardian" editorial has taken the warehousemen to task for endangering the jobs of other workers. At the same time, it calls the "one out, all out" principle a "noble concept". It is against making strikes illegal in a "free society" but would like to see any dispute being put before a referee before any strike action was taken. He

Continued on page 4

## ANARCHY 39: IS ON HOMER LANE

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## NO EXTRADITION!

Because there was a strong possibility that Francisco Abarca might be extradited from Belgium to Switzerland, it was decided, at very short notice, to hold a demonstration last week outside the Belgian Embassy. Several placards were hurriedly prepared and about 90 notices of the demo. were posted off. I'm afraid that only a handful of comrades thought it worth while giving their support.

With what numbers we did have, a picket was formed and maintained for about 2 hours. The police were there in strength and we also had the company

of three plain-clothes men who sat in a car making notes. Just before we packed up a cameraman came along to take a few shots for the files.

The police got very panicky when we decided to march up the road to the Spanish Embassy, with the Inspector doing a sprint to get in front of us. Then we reversed and came back, spreading out the full width of the road. After this we went home.

At the time of writing no news has been received from Belgium and the question of Abarca's extradition is still in the air. P.T.

# Open letter to Henry Brooke

203 Carshalton Road,  
Carshalton, Surrey.  
2nd May, 1964.

DEAR HENRY BROOKE,  
The current hysteria concerning the use of "purple hearts" and Indian hemp by teenagers is a neurotic symptom of our present society's feelings of inadequacy, insecurity, and guilt. The teenagers who, brainwashed by television and advertising, stuck in dead-end jobs, without the opportunity of evaluating

their place in the economic and social structure of society, and denied access to the sources that would enable them to formulate a personal philosophy of living, by using drugs are merely showing their utter contempt for this society, which has brought them up so misshapenly.

The chorus of righteous condemnation from the Establishment takes no account of other hard and obnoxious facts—that alcohol and cigarettes are far more dan-

gerous drugs from which the State every day drains fabulous amounts of money in taxes, much of which goes to finance our own expensive but impotent nuclear and conventional armoury.

Who of these M.P.s who stand up in the house so indignantly to suggest imprisonment for teenagers in possession of drugs have not driven to their local pub for a drink or so? Who of them have not smoked in front of their children, and other children? How many

on peace, not war; co-operation, not competition! Let's give the child the practical education he needs to allow him to see himself as an individual, independently assessing his contribution to life with his fellow man! End the dead-end jobs, the dull week in, week out grind; let us follow Fourier and give each and every one not just one choice of employment but two; say one indoor and one outdoor job which could be followed on alternate days of the week. This would be just a start. There are many other suggestions I could make. In order to kill all the unpleasant side-effects of the industrial, scientific and monopolistic age we live in we must so change society that it will be unrecognisable. We must so change it that living in it will be a sheer joy, uninfluenced by the artificial stimulants and soporifics that present-day society supplies us with to keep us happy like contented cows (and fails so miserably to do so).

May I suggest you and the so-called democracy you represent attack not the foliage but the roots of this evil? Lopping off the foliage, like lopping off dandelion heads, won't kill the roots. Change the society! Let's be hellbent

trained for nine months to be ready to go to Nigeria to put up buildings and build an airstrip. They learned the elements of the Hausa language and sixteen of them were finally chosen to go to Africa. They spent four months there, on ten bob a week pocket money, did their work, had the time of their lives, and learned a great deal. The flying doctor service has just begun to operate. A far cry from puerile gang fights.

It occurred to me that just as, in Inspector Spencer's explanation, the police are paid to do for the public what it is no longer willing to do for itself, so the youth service is paid to attempt to solve problems which public attitudes have created. Our school system is geared by a process of continual selection to the production of an élite, and we don't care—and make the fact very evident—about its rejects. At five they can't wait to get into school. At fifteen they can't get out quick enough. They are bored with school and can't wait to get to work. When they get there they find simply more boredom—a succession of meaningless and boring jobs. They live for their leisure and find that boring too.

The day after the Solihull peace meeting, the Clacton "wild ones" were appearing in court and the House of Commons was debating teenage hooliganism. All the usual views got an airing. A Tory member thought that a bit of square-bashing with the Guards would do the trick, a Labour member blamed the acquisitive society. No one posed the problem and its solution as succinctly as Paul Goodman did in a recent issue of ANARCHY: "The cure for their violent sexuality is to allow them guiltless sex. The cure for their defiance is to teach them real enemies to fight. The cure for their foolish activism is to provide them with a world which has worthwhile tasks."

penney he owns in the name of rent and publicity. Every successful artist will become a partner with the dealer in foisting his work onto people for completely artificial prices and when Sir Charles talks of dealers rigging a market he is stating something that one assumes was a normal part of his trade. When one specific gallery paid a sculptor ten pounds for each small work he brought to the gallery and then sold that same work for five pounds apiece they were not selling at a loss out of kindness or madness. They were salting the collections meaning that they were planting a small amount of the sculptor's work in the collections of people in the public eye. Having planted a sufficient amount of bait the dealer then waited for the trial by association to take place and when the small fry buyers came to buy, the price would then rise to repay the dealer a dozen times over. In this particular case the sculptor welshed on everybody by dying. Yet Sir Charles must know of men and women who seem able to command the work of a particular gallery to hang on the walls of their home and a stooge is a stooge whether they stand in the crowd in the Charing Cross Road helping to rig the three card trick or deliberately publicising a painter's work by suggesting that as creatures of taste and sensitivity they have bought it with their own cash.

But if Sir Charles is too frightened of the dealers to face them in public he cannot complain if others are not interested in fighting for the arts he is hired to protect. So, Charlie boy, since it is your own society that you fear to face, stay and play with the painted garbage at your Royal Academy of Arts.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Meanwhile, pushing these youngsters into already crammed penal institutions will only add to the pool of criminal talent from which so much trouble comes. If you ban amphetamine, you must ban drink and you must ban tobacco. Why seek only to crush those elements of society which seem to be the easiest to crush? The other sectors of the drugs industry, the breweries and tobacco. Why seek only to crush those dangerous, so much bigger. I can only conclude that the State's income from these industries is so fat that they cannot face the prospect of taking the logical and obvious action.

Dear Henry Brooke, I must finally remind you that you do not represent the moral standards of this nation; indeed, it may hurt you to know there are no National Moral Standards, there are only individual moral standards. To each individual his own morals. You must not attempt to impose your own morals and the supposed morals of your class on us; you merely increase repression and frustration by practising the intellectual fascism which leads to your many attacks on us, our literature, art, music, and lifeways. We get the impression from you, Henry Brooke, that we, the younger generation, are sick, but you would not treat us for this sickness. You would instead send us to institutions where our knowledge of the methods of committing crime against society would double in the matter of a few weeks.

Think again, Henry Brooke, think again!

Yours sincerely,  
CHRIS TORRANCE,  
Co-editor "Origins Diversions".

## Grow for Humanity!

Continued from page 1

Yet nobody is prepared to face up to the fundamental problem which is that there is not enough food being produced in the world anyway for everybody to enjoy a healthy diet. To say that the food problem can be solved by solving the population problem is to miss the point in Sir Norman Wright's statistics—and they have been presented often enough during the past ten years not to be misunderstood—which is that up to one half of the world's present population is suffering from hunger or malnutrition or both. Birth control cannot solve the present problem however much it may contribute to slowing population growth and easing the problem so far as future generations are concerned. The problem we must all face, as a moral and practical one, is what can and must be done for the hungry millions of today. And we suggest that there can be only one answer: every acre of agricultural land must be put back into production throughout the world. If it was not considered a wild dream when this was done for military reasons, when millions of human beings were killing each other, then it should be even easier to put across such a concept in the name of humanity. Or is it?

In war the slogan was "Dig for Victory"; in peace—such as it is—it should be "Dig for Humanity". Such a campaign, we feel could catch the public's imagination and open the way to all kinds of practical and significant experiments in Mutual Aid.

## Confrontation in Solihull

(From our Correspondent)  
SOLIHULL is a town of about 100,000 people on the Warwickshire side of Birmingham, recently promoted to County Borough status. It is largely a middle-class dormitory town, with Jaguars parked among the trim lawns outside detached houses. There is a fringe of working-class housing, and very little industry apart from the Rover car factory: most people work in Birmingham. The dominant political faction is the Independents—really conservatives—who came in on a clean-up-local-politics ticket in the years after the war. Solihull's peace has recently been disturbed by fights among teen-age gangs, and the police chief, Chief Supt. James Waghorn, called rival gangs to a "peace meeting" held at the Hob's Moat Assembly Rooms last Sunday week.

Not at all a bad idea, though it might have been better if the police were guests instead of hosts. As it was, the meeting started off on the wrong foot, firstly because one vital faction failed to turn up, and the area youth officer had to go off to Birmingham to persuade them in; secondly because of the seating arrangements—table for the big noises at the front and straight rows of seats down the hall—not the best layout for a "confrontation"; thirdly because a microphone was used; and finally, because the press were there in force, and

the arriving gangs accused the police of organising a publicity stunt. The press cameramen were asked to leave, but the TV people remained at the back of the hall, and undoubtedly this affected the subsequent "happening"—people tended to act out the role expected of them.

Flanked by spokesmen from rival gangs, Mr. Waghorn explained his object in calling the meeting. Amid catcalls and cheers he told his audience: "We do not want you to feel you are being hard done by. We want your help to solve the problem." Inspector Spencer launched out on an explanation of how the police force came into being, with a disquisition on the Tens and Hundreds, the Peelers and the origins of the constabulary in order to make the point that the police were the paid servants of the community to whom it had delegated the responsibility of maintaining public order. Something about his manner, or the apparent irrelevance of his theme, failed to capture the sympathy of his audience. In an atmosphere of growing restiveness the Superintendent motioned to him to cut it short and invited questions from the floor. Accusations and counter-accusations followed—people moving down towards the front of the hall to say their piece and turning round to be sure that the TV men's cameras were focused on them. Then suddenly the chairs began to fly. The hall emptied a lot quicker than it filled, dispersing the clusters of policemen outside the doors, and excited groups of people milled around outside. This of course was exactly what was needed to turn the occasion into the kind of pseudo-event which would get headlines in the following day's papers.

Many of the audience subsequently

returned, and continued discussion in little knots and groups, whose composition, I was told, cut across gang memberships. This was thought by the local club organisers to be a gain. These gangs are not distinguished from each other by their mode of dress. They are recruited through acquaintance between individuals from a wide area and gain their identity from the places where they meet rather than through where they live. The typical Solihull gang member is 17 and in an unskilled or labouring job.

Later that evening a member of the Freedom Press group was propagating a very mild kind of anarchism to a discussion group in another youth club in the same town. "Well, how would you cope with anti-social acts?" they asked. These were the highly respectable kids who would never be gang members, never a problem for the rate-payers of Solihull, though even they couldn't escape the generation war. They used to hold dances on Sunday nights, but there were complaints from neighbouring householders about the noise (though the houses were about 300 yards from the room where the club met). Complaints were made to the Town Clerk, the noise should be reduced as the presence of the club lowered the value of adjoining property.

Actually the youth service in Solihull is active and lively. It provides workshops like those mentioned in the "Community Workshop" issue of ANARCHY, and facilities for making things like canoes and diving suits at low cost, and it recently played a part in the provision of a flying doctor service in Nigeria. A group of young people in Solihull raised twelve hundred pounds,

IT is a time honoured practice to hold up the yearly Summer Exhibition, staged by the Royal Academy of Arts, to public ridicule and it must be accepted that this is done with the full co-operation of the Academicians responsible for this yearly horror.

Here at Burlington House in Piccadilly they hold an official inquest on official art and damn the nation with their choice.

No longer is it possible for the impecunious artist to haul his work up the back steps of Burlington House for a ticket in this kultural raffle because a handling fee of one pound has eliminated the garret genius while the cost of transport wipes away the chances of two-thirds of the Island Race. What is left is an assembly of work so drear and so banal that any provincial town would hesitate before wasting money in publicising the affair.

The first day for viewing is given over to the press and a dozen or so men are left to wander around these wounded walls to trip among the television cables, impede the workmen and to gaze with glazing eyes at these masses of framed incompetence. A small group trailing around seeking the picture of the year, thumbing the free catalogue and wishing that the Academy had softened the blow with a handout of free wine. But it is all here from Merton's technically brilliant painting of Mrs. Christopher Loyd to the Rt. Hon. Sir Winston S. Churchill's cheerful daub of Chartwell. If the men responsible merely offered the thing as a private charity show of the arts we would have little to quibble over but this is the major exhibition of the year triggered off with all the official clowning that these occasions call for. Blessed by the

## Round the Galleries

Most Rev. Archbishop Lord Fisher of Lambeth, G.C.V.O., D.D., chaplain to the pad and philosophised over by the current Prime Minister it gives an official approval to all that is bad in a society's culture.

Every creative work should be a manifesto, a protest or the result of an act of love yet year after year we are offered work that is dead and sterile. Work in the literal meaning of the word created for no other purpose than to pander to an idle mob. The vapid women and the braying men will trail from wall to wall to peer at the badly painted flowers, identify the hanging celebrities and admire landscapes as phoney as the cover of a tourist handout, for this is the Season and tomorrow the races.

Sir Charles Wheeler the President of the Royal Academy tried to liven up the week by accusing various dealers of rigging sales and in general acting like low and common peddlers, and the Bond Street warriors rose as one man to defend their worthless honour. Sir Charles Wheeler hastily backed down muttering that the laws of libel forced him to keep his mouth shut and the Bond Street hucksters retired to their sucker traps waving warning fingers in the direction of Burlington House. Yet any unsuccessful artist knows that spiv dealers will take him for every half-

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## FREEDOM PRESS AND THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

THE relationship between FREEDOM and the anarchist movement is one which appears to give rise to some confusion and to generate not a little heat. When some anarchists came together in Bristol last month to federate their groups and to establish an organised basis for their activities, this relationship was inevitably brought up for discussion.

One suggestion was that FREEDOM should put itself under the control of the Anarchist Federation of Britain and appear as its official organ—or state categorically (in every issue, one group asked) for the whole world to see, that it was not the new federation's official organ. It was thought that FREEDOM was not representative of the movement, and it was said at the conference that confusion existed abroad because this journal was thought to be the mouthpiece of the movement here. One piece of evidence is our sub-title *The Anarchist Weekly*.

Now we are indeed sorry if this confusion has caused any bother to our comrades abroad—or even to comrades in this country with contacts abroad who have been embarrassed by some of FREEDOM's opinions. But since we have never claimed to be the organ of any movement, we can hardly be asked to accept any blame for this misunderstanding.

In fact, of course, for the greater part of the life of Freedom Press there has been no organised body of anarchists in Britain that could itself claim to be representative, and there have been several long stretches of time when only Freedom Press and a tiny handful of supporters throughout the country have kept the ideas of anarchism alive. Even the foundation of Freedom Press in 1886, when Kropotkin was invited to launch FREEDOM, was not through the direction of a movement, but was the initiative of a few individuals—including dissident Fabians and the like!

The situation today is that over the past twelve months a number of anarchist groups have formed themselves (with no direction from anybody else) and have quickly become numerous enough to feel that there is some advantage in federating—presumably for mutual aid. The personnel of these groups consisted mainly of anti-bomb militants disillusioned with the political slant of CND who realised that the logical development of the practice of direct action was the acceptance of the philosophy which went with it. Further, they saw that the bomb is not an isolated factor in authoritarian society and that the struggle against the bomb led inevitably to a struggle against the state.

So we got a great increase in the number of people calling themselves anarchists, some of whom were (and are) pacifists first and anarchists second. These new comrades accept the relevance of anarchism to their primary interests but reject the traditional revolutionary attitude which the anarchist movement as a whole has represented.

Besides these, there was a tougher leavening of militants who thought in terms of mass revolutionary movements and, rejecting the fragmentary Marxist groups, found their answer in the ideas of anarcho-syndicalism.

For both these groups FREEDOM

was—and is—an unsatisfactory organ of opinion. We do not, in these columns, plug single-mindedly either non-violence or syndicalism.

One other thing these groups shared: the need for numbers and for tight organisation. Non-violent demonstrations need enormous numbers of highly disciplined participants to be successful. The principle of openness gives the police time to organise their defences, and to be effective your demonstration must at least outnumber the police! Even more does syndicalism depend upon the support of millions, and such mass organisations in industry must protect themselves against—shall we call it 'adulteration'?—by built-in organisational checks and controls.

But these are born of fears and distrust which should not be necessary in the small functional groups of affinity which characterise an anarchist movement. Checks and balances may be necessary in a mass movement in industry; they are not a principle of anarchism.

It is, as we see it, the raising of organisational tactics to the status of principles which has led to a misunderstanding of the nature of work within the anarchist movement. It does in fact lead to a misunderstanding of the nature of anarchism, and through that to the desire for the movement to speak with one voice.

This would be fatal for anarchism if it were possible. Because of the nature of anarchists, however, it is not possible. In the first place—what is the movement? It was with this question at the back of our minds that we wrote above that 'some' anarchists gathered at Bristol last month. We wish in no way to be thought lacking in sympathy for the enthusiasm and the aims of that gathering if they are to be instrumental in making anarchist propaganda and activities more effective. These, whatever some may think, are our own enthusiasms and aims. But would any of the hundred or so comrades there make so bold as to claim to represent anybody but themselves—or at the most, the groups from which they came?

There are some groups in the country which did not want to take part in the conference and are not interested in joining a federation. There must be hundreds, if not thousands, of individual anarchists up and down the land who feel likewise. Are they not part of anarchism in Britain? Are they not part of the movement, even if not of the Federation?

We are always pleased to see anarchists doing what they want. We are pleased to see those groups who wanted to have a conference and form a federation go ahead and do just that. But let them not discount all the other anarchists who live their anarchism, or work or fight for anarchism in other ways which do not depend upon mandates from organisations.

This is what anarchism means for us; free individuals living their lives as they see fit, working for the movement in ways and means of their own choosing, expressing their anarchism in accordance with their work, their personalities, their interests, their capabilities. Can anyone say that FREEDOM does not express that? Our columns are open to the expression of all anarchist points of

view. Even those with which none in the Freedom Press Group may agree—and we do share among us most of the known variations of anarchist thought—anarcho-syndicalism, anarchist-communism, anarchist pacifism, even Stirnerism enlightened by that self-interest that teaches we get more out of co-operation than by fighting each other. We haven't in fact got an extreme individualist—for obvious reasons.

And we do work on the simple anarchist principle of workers' control. The members of the Freedom Press Group (four of whom went to Bristol, incidentally) have all joined the group through working for some of its functions. It is a functional group of responsible individuals who do not need leaders or mandates or delegation or appointing to come forward and get on with the work. We have all become integrated with the group by doing that work—not through influence, money, elitism, power hunger or anything other than doing the work. Although each one of us fondly hopes that he or she is serving the ideas of anarchism, none of us would dream of doing it for any other reason than that we believe in what we are doing—nor do we pretend to be spokesmen for anybody else.

This journal is here to be used by the movement—individuals or groups or federations. The more you use it, the more will it reflect your point of view, but the Freedom Press Group will jealously guard against it becoming the mouthpiece of any one trend within the movement, for this would not be to serve the movement as a whole.

Organisations have come, and organisations have gone. Astonishingly enough Freedom Press has survived. It is the one anarchist organisation that has lasted, though the shakiest periods in its history have been when workers' control

Not unaturally, we want to go on surviving, to go on doing the work we have set ourselves. To this end we claim the right that every anarchist group has: to be autonomous; to be allowed to do our work as we think fit; to be able to call for mutual aid in the movement without having to accept dictatorship as well; to be trusted as tried and responsible anarchists; to be acknowledged for what we do right as well as criticised for what we do wrong; not to be subjected to abuse when we don't agree with your interpretation of something or other.

In a word: to work like anarchists in our movement.

THE FREEDOM PRESS GROUP.

## A Constructive Proposal

At the Bristol conference, one constructive proposal was made for maintaining relations between FREEDOM and those members of the movement interested in distributing and improving it.

This was proposed by Ian Vine of the Bristol Group, and suggested that there should be meetings held from time to time at which readers and sellers of FREEDOM could meet the editorial group in open discussion.

FREEDOM welcomes this proposal,

## Distributors Please Read this

We send out a number of bundles of FREEDOM and ANARCHY to groups, individual distributors and newagents in various parts of the world, without having heard for a long time what happens to some of them if and when they reach their destination. Naturally, if the papers are sold we'd like our share of the proceeds [ANARCHY is in fact too expensive to send out without return].

But what we'd most like to know is whether the papers are being distributed and thus fulfilling the propaganda purpose for which they are



THE B.B.C. held a service at Westminster Abbey to inaugurate Channel 2 with God's blessing. A 72-year-old man travelled up from Penzance to make accusations of profanity and blasphemy against the B.B.C. His words were drowned by a trumpet fanfare but a power-failure at Battersea effectively suppressed Channel Two's first night. A 13-year-old boy queried in a letter to the *Guardian* that the service 'to commend to God the developing activities of the Broadcasting services in the United Kingdom', asked 'how will God be able to see B.B.C.2 in the near future so that He can give it his blessing, as it is only available in the London area? via Telstar? . . .

IT WAS revealed that the income of a Bishop was on an average £10,000 per annum. Two jobless and homeless men who stole a loaf from a doorstep in Swanley, Kent were jailed for four months. Headline in *South London Press* to a Christadelphian's advertisement: "Return of Christ Imminent" . . .

FLANKING THIS, the headline "Escapism seen in Jail Art". The *Guardian* reports a 'happening' staged by Herr Otto Muell in Vienna who flings sour milk, spinach and beetroot at the near naked body of a woman until her skin is completely hidden in filth, then she is tied with a red rubber hose and encased in a wooden cask. Otto Muell says that as a young man he took part in the Rundstedt offensive. He saw the corpses of his comrades frozen in the attitudes of death, hung about with earth, rags, and bits of bone, or pressed into the ground by forward-rolling tanks, he mentions, say the *Guardian*, "the terrible beauty of that vision. It has remained fixed in his inner eye. All he has done since was to re-create it". Mr. Henry Farlie says in *The Spectator* (quoting Sassoon), that the revival of interest in the 1914-18 war and the "half-pacifists" presenting such material "mock those riddled corpses round Bapaume" . . .

LORD MONTGOMERY said that anybody who thought that Britain should not be a nuclear power must be "crackers". At a luncheon of the Association of Land and Property he said, "The British people will never forgive any government which deprives them of the power to hit back, which power by existence can avert the disaster of war," he went on: "France has got it [nuclear shield]

now, China will soon have it, and short of some real and foolproof means of enforcement, lots of other more dangerous and volatile, not to say, irresponsible countries may follow suit." It was alleged that the late General MacArthur had a plan for winning the Korean War by an air-strike with thirty or forty atomic bombs just north of the Yalu River and to prevent reinforcements from arriving MacArthur wanted to lay down a five-mile belt of radio active cobalt at the border. This plan, MacArthur claims, was stubbornly and successfully opposed by the "Anglo-Saxonophiles" . . .

PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON, who also has an election on his hands announced the closing of some U.S. bases abroad, he also gave vague hints on the ending of selective service. However, all this good work was nullified by his being photographed in the act of lifting up a beagle by its ears which should lose him the dog-lovers' vote even if he gains the peace-lovers' vote. . . .

GEORGE CLARK resigned from the CND executive. Peggy Duff was discerned in the pages of *Sanity* reading a pamphlet by Tolstoy which is okay since the revised version of Canon Collins' resignation speech discloses that he excommunicated "non Tolstoyan anarchists" from CND. CND's discussion pamphlet *NATO's Final Decade* will not now be published by national CND. This was the pamphlet which the *Guardian* thought implied consideration of support for NATO. Pat Arrowsmith and Brian McGee were imprisoned for six months for their part in the Ruislip demonstration. A warrant was issued for Mrs. Eileen Farr who failed to appear at Court. Lily Lee, who was on the same demonstration, had her sentence reduced by half. . . .

TONY AMBATELOS was released from prison in Greece after sixteen years. Greville Wynne was released from a Russian prison after one year in exchange for Gordon Lonsdale, leaving Ethel Gee, and her three fellow spies to serve the rest of their sentences. Rudolf Hess observed his 70th birthday in Spandau jail. . . .

GENERAL FRANCO was suggested for the Nobel Peace Prize.

JON QUIXOTE.

## Seated One Day at the Organ

IN RESPONSE to a request from Mr. Jes D. Gilbert-Rolle, Esq., on behalf of the Tunbridge Wells Group of the Anarchist Federation of Britain (as from April 12, 1964), we hereby state and affirm:

in order that the aforesaid Tunbridge Wells Group (hereinafter known as the party of the first part) shall in no way be held responsible in law, nor deemed responsible in any way other than they shall expressly state in such manner as they shall deem fit and through such channels as they may find open at such times as they may need it, making due proviso for the fact that individuals may or may not speak for that party of the first part and indeed may not understand the true basis of initiative and responsibility within any anarchist movement, whether glorified by codicil or not, and inasmuch as the party of the first part may or may not be niggled from time to time by sins of omission or differences of opinion on the part of the Freedom Press Group (hereinafter known as the party of the second part) and thus be in a state of disgruntlement amounting to alienation, that the weekly publication of the party of the second part known as 'Freedom the Anarchist Weekly', while being in numerical fact the only anarchist weekly being printed at the present time in Great Britain or Ireland or any territories naturally to be regarded as a catchment area for the Anarchist Federation of Britain or any constituent group particularly the party of the first part, is in true fact only AN anarchist weekly produced on the responsibility and through the work effort and undying devotion to the cause of the aforesaid party of the second part on their own group initiative without mandate or delegation or direction or waiting to be instructed by the party of the first part or anybody else who may or may not have been in existence in the years 1886, 1905, 1914, 1917, 1936, 1939, 1945, or any subsequent or intervening year preceding 1964, and in order that the party of the first part shall in no way be embarrassed by being thought to be in any way connected with the aforesaid publication of the party of the second part, nor in any way responsible for any of the anarchist opinion expressed therein from time to time except as and when the party of the first part may see fit to make use of the facilities provided by that publication as and when pride or spleen may allow or over-riding need may dictate or any other means of communication may fall, that this publication may not under any circumstances be regarded as the official organ of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Congress of Methodist Churches, the Society for Psychological Research, the Ipswich Amenities Society, the Bow Group, the Royal Communist Party, the Federation of British Industries, the Freedom Group, the Union Movement, Moral Re-Armament, the Cambridge Heretics Society, the Anarchist Federation of Britain, the Conservative Party, the Sewing Machine Dealers' Association, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Britain (SPGB), the New West End Synagogue, the Progressive League, the Labour Party, the Liberal Party, the Flat Earth Society, Dr. Barnardo's Homes, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the Tunbridge Wells Anarchist Group, the Institute of Directors, the National Film Institute, the Holy Catholic Church (nor any splinter groups breaking away from it), the Automobile Association, the British Canoe Union, Alcoholics Anonymous, nor anybody other than the anarchists who may from time to time constitute the Freedom Press Group.

4 **Distortion!**

Your correspondent M. J. Walsh's report of the open forum of unilateralism at the Conway Hall on April 18 (FREEDOM, April 26) refers to

"appeals by Michael Howard, Adam Roberts and a few others to 'let's all work together and ignore the trouble makers'."

This may or may not represent Mr. Howard's position fairly, but it certainly a gross distortion of what I said, which was: that some of the charges made against the CND leadership, particularly by George Clark, were not backed by any evidence; that policy discussion was more important than personal abuse; and that it was hypocritical to criticise CND for publishing a discussion pamphlet suggesting a compromise position with NATO, when hardly anyone had ever bothered to demand a discussion pamphlet arguing the case for all-round unilateral disarmament.

My suggestion that it was important to discuss policy apparently amounts in Mr. Walsh's mind to making an appeal to "work together and ignore the trouble-makers." I wouldn't be worried about this strange confusion normally, by it disturbs me now because so many people at the Conway Hall seemed to consider discussion of policy, of the merits and faults of unilateralism, quite irrelevant.

London, N.1. ADAM ROBERTS,  
Assistant Editor "Peace News".

Continued from page 1

would look into the case of each side and would make his report within 21 days. "Ideally, both sides should agree in advance to accept his findings, but for a start it would be enough to agree that no strike should take place pending his findings."

Most unofficial strike action is taken without giving any notice to employers, and this gives them their effectiveness. As for referees, workers know from bitter experience what can be expected from them. For workers to be tied

## 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  
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Neither East Nor West paper 7/6

## ★ LETTERS ★

### Lily Lee

DEAR FRIENDS,

Thanks for mentioning the cases of Charles Stimpson and Lily Lee in FREEDOM this week. The information I received about Lily being refused leave to appeal was incorrect and in fact an appeal was heard today, at the Middlesex Guildhall, Westminster. The outcome was that her sentence has been reduced from 6 to 3 months.

However, it was once again not because of the principle involved that the sentence was reduced, but because a point of law was found i.e. that the Uxbridge magistrates who originally sentenced Lily were under the impression that she had been bound over at Marham and had broken this order. This was not true and the appeal court had to take notice of this fact but pointed out that 'people who deliberately set themselves up against the law must face up to the consequences of what they do'.

Lily, who has already served one month of her sentence in Holloway, will have to serve the full further 2 months, as she is a civil prisoner as from Monday (the first month being concurrent with a month's imprisonment for refusal to pay the fine)—civil sentences not receiving the benefit of remission.

Counsel was engaged for Lily—and

it looks as if this was a wise move, for if he had not been persistent in his submission that the magistrates had given the maximum sentence under the wrong impression, I am sure that the sentence would not have been reduced. Counsel costs money though—and Lily has commitments which must be met whilst she is in prison—any any donations to help the 'Lily Fund' will be welcome by the Welfare and Legal Group of the Committee of 100. Cards to Lily, No. 724 Holloway, would give her encouragement.

(Charles Stimpson is now back in circulation).  
London, Apl. 4. BRENDA GORDON,  
Treasurer, Welfare and Legal Group,  
Committee of 100.

### Cyprus Committee

The Peace in Cyprus Committee have already sent one volunteer, Christopher Lake, to Cyprus, but although he is well qualified to act as mediator, having many years experience of this part of the world, and many contacts there with both Turks and Greeks, one man is not enough.

To send a single volunteer to the island, and keep him there for a sufficient length of time to do any good, costs £600 or more I believe. At any rate the expense is prodigious. On the other hand the need is great. We have already seen non-violent ideas catching on in Greece. It will be extremely valuable to spread such ideas in the

Eastern Mediterranean, torn by so many centuries of conflict. From there they may spread.

At all events, even if no more is achieved than the mitigation of the Cyprus conflict it would still be worth while. Even if only one life were saved that would otherwise be lost. May I therefore appeal for contributions to be sent to:

Angela Aspinwall,  
Secretary, Peace in Cyprus Committee,  
43 Gordon Mansions,  
Torrington Place, W.C.1.  
A.W.U.

### Contented Cows

DEAR EDITORS,

You state (25/4/64) that modern capitalism will encourage working class prosperity if only to help consume the ever increasing quantities of goods that modern industry produces. You foresee that workers will be like 'contented cows' after the wage increases and improved conditions that bosses will willingly give.

Of what use then is your suggestion that anarchists should urge workers to demand yet more? It would be playing into the capitalists' hands.

Perhaps the only realistic programme for anarchists is that of 'contracting out' of capitalism. For 'contented cows' (your vision) do not make revolutions. Individuals (with values other than the materialism of the herd), can however make their own private ones.

London, Apl. 24. JEFF ROBINSON.

DEAR EDITORS,

I think your Editorial on Contented Cows missed one important point. Wages will rise and hours will probably become much shorter—to cope with the unemployment caused by automation—but one doubts whether 'discipline' will become less severe or 'supervision' less exhaustive—rather the opposite. Also, will work itself become more meaningful in the age of obsolescence, will man become less 'alienated'?

P.R.

### PROPOSED GROUPS

#### HAYES & DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP

Contact Mike Wakeman,  
12 Hoppner Road, Hayes, Middlesex.

#### 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 Farrisah, 4, Sanby Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Manchester.

#### MERSEYSIDE

Details from Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13. (STO 2632).  
Every Saturday 2.30.  
Outside Lewis's paper-selling.

#### SHEFFIELD

Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.

#### Tyneside Federation

Enquiries H. D. Nash,  
10 Simonside Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 6.

### 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.

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.

Last Thursday in month:

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

### 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/- (U.S. \$1.50)  
3 months (10 issues) 5/- (U.S. \$0.75)

#### Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies

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

wage rate they could get and the best possible conditions to work under and therefore organised themselves accordingly.

The firm has now re-organised its production side and new labour-saving machinery has been installed. The workers needed to operate these machines are driven in and out of the factory, past the picket lines, in closed wagons.

The strike, although official, is still very isolated. Railwaymen in the area have given support by refusing to transport any "scab" goods from Denby's. This week the strikers have been picketing a Yorkshire area council meeting of the National Union of Mineworkers in an attempt to gain their support by "blacking" firms who collect coal for delivery to Denby's.

So far £9,000 has been collected from voluntary donations and gifts and this has helped to swell the strike benefit paid by the union. Much assistance has also been given by the local people. Hot drinks and food was given to those on picket duty and this was especially welcome during the cold winter months. Without local help and donations to the strike fund, this dispute would have collapsed.

However, production is still being maintained at the mill and goods are still going out on the market. Until this is stopped Denby's won't give a damn. The dispute is still isolated and action is needed from other workers to bring the strike to a successful end.

P.T.

## Slipping!

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT MAY 2, 1964

Weeks 17 & 18

EXPENSES: 18 weeks at £70 £1,260

INCOME:

Sales & Sub. Renewals: £ £

Weeks 1-16 ... 778

Weeks 17 & 18 ... 58

836

New Subscriptions:

Weeks 1-16 ... 76

Weeks 17 & 18 ... 10

86

922

DEFICIT £338

### DEFICIT FUND

Belfast: W.G.\* 5/-; Stevenage: V.M. 10/-; Peterborough: F.W. 5/-; Hounslow: L.\* 2/6; Wokingham: F.B.\* 5/-; Nuneaton: D.H. 4/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; New Malden: J.T. 5/-; N.Y.: A.S.\* 7/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Chicago: R.C. 15/-; Hayes: Hayes Group\* 2/6; Glasgow: J.H. 15/-; Hounslow: L.\* 2/6; Oxford: A.A.\* 5/-; Preston: R.M. 5/-; S.E.18: J.B. 4/5; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; Huntingdon: M.B. £1/9/6; W.11: M.H. 15/-; S.E.26: M.C. £1; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; N.Y.: A.S.\* 7/-; N.22: W.J. 10/-; N.W.9: 10/-; Wokingham: F.B.\* 5/-  
TOTAL 17 4 11  
Previously acknowledged 259 16 8

1964 TOTAL TO DATE £277 1 7

\*Denotes regular contributors.

GIFT OF BOOKS: London: J.B.; Lewes: R.G.

### Lucas Strike

down by the "Guardian's" suggestion would severely weaken the chances of gaining their demands. As for "endangering the jobs of other workers", this is so, but it is only of a temporary nature and benefits gained by one section are very often followed throughout the whole of the industry. After all the struggle for higher wages and better conditions is common to all.

#### STILL OUT AT DENBY'S

Workers at the Denby Mill near Bradford have now been out on strike since October 30th. They are striking in support of a closed shop policy and first stopped work when a foreman did production work during a tea break.

The managing director, Mr. Wright, said recently that before the stoppage the factory was "a pre-entry closed shop. It was through this that we were landed with agitators and troublemakers". What Mr. Wright really means is that the people employed wanted the highest

### FINGS

Solidarity with the Spanish People. C.N.T. in exile. March to Spanish and Belgian Embassies. Sunday, May 10th, assemble 3 p.m., Speakers' Corner, Marble Arch.

S.W. France—walking tour—two weeks from 14th June. Anyone interested making up small party write Jeff Robinson c/o FREEDOM. Strong legs essential.

Heavy and onerous clerical duties of F.L.A. secretary make imperative finding a room of one's own, at the top not essential, shape irrelevant, view unimportant, furniture must leave room for expansion. Offers, in or near Central London at moderate rental to Arthur Uloth, c/o FREEDOM.

Bristol Federation of Anarchists is co-ordinating a campaign against conscription, and would be glad of monetary and informative assistance. 9, Cornwallis Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.

#### Would any skilled Brickie

like a spell in the country building a garden wall for comrades? Beer, board and lodging and remuneration by agreement. Unskilled mate available. Apply P. Sansom, c/o Freedom Press.

#### Funds Wanted

Anarchist Federation of Britain needs cash for purchase of duplicator, etc. Cash, cheques, etc., to Jan Wallis (Treasurer), c/o 5 Colville Houses, London, W.11.

Sellers and Agents Wanted for "Anarchist Youth". Apply Martin S. Gilbert, 10 Danescroft Flats, Brent Street, Hendon, N.W.4.

French Libertarian Camp Utilabus hired from 7th August to 22nd August. Shared cost. Seats still available. Details, Albon, 55 Station Road, Hailsham, Sussex.

#### Film Shows

Did you know that there are film shows every Sunday night for anarchists and/or ... For details ring: FLAXam 5277.

If you think that your 'fings' are worth inclusion in this column let us know. . .