

'Suffer not one sort of men too long to remain representatives, lest they be corrupted by bribes of office or places of preferment: for standing waters though never so pure at first, in time putrifies.'

COL. JOHN LILLIBURNE.

The Anarchist Dilemma

The Function of Mandela

AS he was led off with his seven companions to begin serving the life sentences passed on them by the Judge-President of the Transvaal, Nelson Mandela, the African leader is reported to have "smiled and given a thumbs up sign".

Not only had he escaped the hangman's rope—others in the past have been executed on much less grave charges than the one to which he openly admitted—but he must have reflected that the very fact the State was concerned to avoid the ultimate penalty, was a significant victory for his cause. At least it is in this sense that we interpret the judge's remarks that the crime on which they had been found guilty was "in essence one of high

treason" but that "the State has decided not to treat the crime in this form (our italics).

IT is true that from the point of view of world opinion and the South African government's relations with other governments, death sentences would have resulted in a hardening of opinion as well as making political relations more difficult. But everything, it seems to us, indicates that the Verwoerd government in its blind pursuit of

apartheid, is unconcerned with world opinion or of improving its diplomatic relations with the rest of the world. It is a fact that all the most horrible kinds of regimes that one can think of, have always acted in defiance of world opinion, which anyway counts for very little so long as it limits itself to making moral judgements. Indeed what has world opinion contributed to the 'evolution' of the regimes in Russia, Spain, Portugal, and the African continent, for instance? "Liberalisation" of regimes, if it comes, comes from within, as a result of pressures and differences in the ruling hierarchy itself and/or by growing movements of resistance from below. It goes without saying that in the struggle among the hierarchy, the contending factions may well seek political and financial allies outside, just as the resistance movement is often obliged to seek the material wherewithal to carry on its struggle from sources outside its frontiers. Mandela made this abundantly clear in his speech from the dock (published in a shortened version by the *Observer*, 26/4/64) in which he stated that when Umkonto was formed in 1961 "to perform sabotage"

The fight which held out the best prospects for us and the least risk of life to both sides was guerrilla warfare, and to this end in 1962 he went to seek support in Africa and Britain.

I started to make a study in the art of war and revolution and, whilst abroad, underwent a course in military training.

But, we repeat, world opinion, as

such, when it does not fall on deaf ears can, in the hands of capable politicians, be used to consolidate the regime it seeks to undermine. The Pretoria trial recently concluded was obviously not staged for the sake of world opinion. And since the nine arrested men could have been detained indefinitely without trial the government must have had its own reasons for wanting to put them on trial. One reason could have been that they wanted them to be found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. But as we have already pointed out in trying to interpret the judge's remarks, the government did not wish to hang these men, therefore it is difficult to see why they should put them on trial simply in order to get them "put away" for life. The trial must therefore have been staged in order to unite the large white minority behind the government by presenting them with a detailed picture of a coloured African terrorist movement organising itself on quasi-military lines and working hand-in-glove with the enemy number one of humanity: the communists. The editorial comments of South Africa's leading Opposition newspaper, the Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail*, which is described as "vehemently anti-apartheid in outlook" referred to the sentence as "wise and just" and added "the damage done in the hardening of white attitudes following the Rivonia revelations is incalculable. The delicate mechanism of human adjustment to change has been shaken loose" (our italics).

Alongside this significant statement we would quote the one from the *Johannesburg Star's* editorial to the effect that if the accused had been sentenced to death "the effect would have been widespread."

THE foreign editor of the *Sunday Times* declares that "most of the accused, in what seems to be an act of martyrdom, convicted themselves". *The Observer* on the other hand refers to Mandela as "one of the few men, like Kenyatta after his seven years in jail, who could have the trust of both sides; he is a man who has both moderation and statesmanship. By his acts of lonely courage, he has gained the admiration of nearly all Africans". Mandela, it seems to us is a courageous determined man, as there are many in Africa, but not a martyr. He is playing for high stakes, and the risks are great. His speech was a brilliant exposé of the politician's art; it was the speech of a man confident that the future of South Africa would be in his hands and not Verwoerd's. Mandela is a revolutionary so far as the means by which the white stranglehold on the country will be broken, but his ends are "the parliamentary system of the West" which he "admires" and through which he seeks to repeal "those features of poverty and lack of human dignity" which "are entrenched by legislation". And he probably takes it for granted that the road to power invariably passes through the prison yard.

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INDUSTRIAL NOTES

40 hr Week-No Tie Up!

Last week engineering unions turned down the employers' offer of a three year package deal. The unions claimed a 40-hour week to be granted quite separately without any strings.

This meeting between the unions and the employers resulting in the offer and the unions rejection was just a formality for the whole thing was a foregone conclusion. The employers know that sooner or later, and they obviously prefer the latter, a 40-hour week will be gained by the engineers. In fact the shipbuilders will commence the 40-hour week in July 1965, and with the engineers often working alongside these workers, it puts the engineering employers in rather a spot. With this in mind they are after as many concessions as possible if they are to grant the inevitable 40-hour week.

In their three year package deal, they offer the 40-hour week in July 1965, an extra day's holiday at Christmas. Wage increases are to be made every six months, 5/- for men and 6/- for women, giving 30/- and 36/- respectively over the three years. These increases apply to workers getting minimum wages and at the end of the three years, these would be £12, 1s. 8d. for skilled men and £10, 9s. 4d. for labourers. Workers earning above the minimum basic rates will get no increases. The employers insist on the whole question of wages being tied for three years with no national or local claims to be made.

With this also went the more efficient use of labour, the end of demarcation and the use, where possible, of more than one machine per operator. They except the union to help after the 40-hour week is granted, "in their efforts to ensure the full utilisation of working hours and would co-operate in the extension or introduction of nightshift and shift-working."

Although these offers were turned

down, they have not been finally rejected by the unions. Sir William Carron, leader of the Amalgamated Engineering Union said that they were "unsatisfactory". Carron himself, is very much in favour of a long-term agreement, and it can be expected that he and other union leaders will try to get some form of wage concession from the employers before accepting the package deal.

The employers want more control over labour with flexibility of jobs and the elimination of local pay increases so that they can plan production on a long term basis. But meanwhile workers are tied, and while production goes up and profits increase, wages remain at a standstill.

It is not just a matter of getting a little more cash and accepting this package deal. The whole thing should be thrown out and the 40-hour week demanded without any concessions.

Long-term contracts are an effective way to avoid disputes. Instead of the yearly round of bargaining, it will be every 2-3 years or at even longer intervals. One of the first contracts of this sort was signed in America between the United Automobile Workers and General Motors in 1948. After the war there had been a number of very long strikes, General Motors for instance being out for 111 days, and substantial pay increases were won from these disputes. The employers were concerned about the halt in production that these disputes caused, for during the post-war period, a continual run of production was needed. The long-term contract came from this situation and in America the majority of workers are tied in this way.

It is now becoming very popular, both with the employers and the union leadership in this country. At the moment, it is estimated that nearly 3 million workers are covered by some such agreement, i.e. Building industry and powermen. This form of agreement eventually takes more and more control of the affairs of their unions, out of the hands of the rank and file. There isn't the annual agitation for demands, which means workers are even more divorced from the struggles with the employers. Only by continual participation in the day to day affairs which affect every worker can any real resistance be built up to combat employers.

Long-term contracts give the union leadership more control over members and give the employers the means to squeeze even more production at less cost from them. Engineers should reject the whole tie-up and should demand the 40-hour week. No concessions should be made, and with the shipbuilders cut in hours, it places the engineers in a strong position.

P.T.

VERWOERD FOUND GUILTY

NELSON MANDELA and 6 other anti-apartheid militants have been sentenced to a living death; they could have been hanged but the S. African authorities are shrewder than that. As was stated at the trial there was no intention of making them martyrs.

The S. African Government has been building up for this trial since July 11, 1963, when the special branch raided Goldreich farm in Rivonia and captured six of the anti-apartheid militants. Mandela was already in prison serving a five year sentence for leading the three-day general strike in May 1962.

Since the 'Rivonia' arrests the accused have been held for interrogation under the notorious 'no-trial' law (General Law Amendment Act of 1963). Kept in solitary confinement, forbidden to read or write or speak to anyone, even the prison staff, they have been subjected to constant inquisitions by the police special branch, threats and attempted bribes designed to make them 'confess' or become police informers. In addition to such mental torture, designed to break down the personality of the victim, many ugly reports have leaked out of actual physical brutality by these special police against those detained under the 'no-trial' law.

When the 11 accused appeared in Court on October 9, Abram Fischer, Q.C. appearing for most of them, asked for a remand of at least a month. He said that after 88 days of solitary confinement, interrogations, threats and attempted bribery, they were not in a fit

state to stand trial. He drew attention to the 'haggard and drawn' appearance of the accused.

Mandela, a robust man and amateur boxer, had lost at least 30 pounds in weight. Sisulu also, though he has experienced prison many times, had the appearance of having endured a terrible ordeal, and so did nearly all the others.

The prosecutor, Dr. Yutar, opposed Mr. Fischer's application, but the Judge, Mr. Justice de Wet, allowed a postponement until October 29.

Who are these men who claim to be paragons of justice? Verwoerd, Louw and Voster were self-admitted admirers of Hitler. Verwoerd was editor of the Afrikaner Nationalist newspaper, *Die Transvaler*, and was accused by another newspaper of carrying on treacherous propaganda in favour of the enemy. Verwoerd sued in Court for libel and lost. The Judge stated "He (Verwoerd) is not entitled to complain. He did support Nazi propaganda, he did make his paper a tool of the Nazis in South Africa and he knew it."

Balthazar Voster, Minister of Justice, who locks up people and charges them with treason and sabotage, spent the best part of the war period in internment. He was a member of the fascist Ossewa Brandway, a para-military organisation which devoted itself to blow up bridges, cut telephone wires and otherwise assist the German forces against S. Africa.*

*South Africa on Trial (an A.N.C. pamphlet).

These leopards have not changed their spots.

South Africa's leading Opposition newspaper in Johannesburg the *Rand Daily Mail* which is anti-apartheid describes the Rivonia trial sentence as "wise and just" and goes on to say that "The men found guilty had organised sabotage on a wide scale and had plotted armed revolution". This bloody lip service to anti-apartheid makes one vomit. How often must one get kicked in the guts (literally) before doing something about it.

In 1946 African mine workers of the Witwatersrand came out on strike, after repeated efforts of the Union leadership to negotiate or even to evoke a reply to their numerous letters to the Chamber of Mines. They were met with truncheons and bullets. Nine miners were killed, 1248 wounded. In 1960 unarmed Africans demonstrating against pass laws in Sharpsville and Cape Town were shot down by the police, in massacres which horrified the world. One can go on and on. 90 days detention law which can go on for ever without trial. Slave labour on farms where animals receive better treatment.

Does the imprisonment of the seven militants mean that opposition to apartheid in S. Africa has been broken? Temporarily set back possibly, beaten—never.

The *Sunday Citizen* editorial 14.6.64 states, "Verwoerd and everything about him affronts the conscience of decent, free people everywhere. Boycott has not been an effective weapon attempted collectively and through organisations. But for the individual, far from the

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ANARCHY 40
Is on the Unions and Workers' Control

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The Anarchist Dilemma

"The worst slave-owner is the good slave-owner." OSCAR WILDE.

"I don't want to see 'good' bosses, 'good' governments, 'good' landlords, 'good' laws and all the other bamboozling concessions which butter up revolutionary feeling. I want bad ones."

AN ANARCHIST MILITANT.

THE problem is this: do we want the police to be easy-going and humane, civil servants to be efficient in administering our welfare, politicians honestly concerned for their constituents' best interests, and employers to be humanely decent to their workpeople—or do we want the very reverse?

Regard the dilemmas of the anarchist. If he says he is in favour of the human agents of coercion, administration and exploitation being benign, then he is committed to a reformist outlook. If he wants a thing should he not actively campaign to bring it about? If, on the other hand, he is actively pleased when policemen act like thugs, civil servants like hidebound cretins, politicians like crooks and employers like slave-drivers, then he takes on another sort of responsibility. He may be pleased to be able to say—"Look what a lot of bastards they are, those who rule your lives!" and to bring forward glaring examples of oppression, fraud and muddle. If so, the anarchist propagandist is glad to have examples of the worst possible kind to quote.

But if evil is to be done, who are to be the sufferers? Let each of us ask ourselves just this: "Do I want policemen to assault and frame me? Do I want officials to mess my affairs around? Do I want politicians to make a fool of me? Do I want to have my economic worth exploited? The answer, of course, is no, and many of us will go on to say that personally we are in a better position for resisting abuse because we are enlightened, wary and strong, precisely because we are anarchists. But I must insist, if oppression is to take place, someone must act as sacrificial

lamb in order that propaganda may be made out of his sufferings. So we are in the nasty position of wanting to point out the sufferings of someone—provided it is not ourselves.

Here I must make the admission that there are some individuals who do not obtain their satisfactions from the good things of life, but from pain. They like being martyrs. If policemen kick them and jailors abuse them, the better they are pleased; they invite flagrant mis-use at the hands of authority, and delight to bore all the audiences they can capture with the tale of their woes. We cannot make propaganda from their sufferings, even though they attach themselves to the "anarchist cause", for really their oppressors are doing them a good turn. (How impotently furious Jesus would have been if they had decided to turn him loose, and crucify Barrabas on Calvary instead!)

I know perfectly well that there will never be a shortage of innocent and honest recipients of unmerited oppres-

sion, even in such a seemingly tame society as Britain in the sixties. The greatest frustration of the anarchist in the contemporary scene lies in the great hypocrisy of our society. He is to be pardoned when he reads (with satisfaction?) that it is proved that policemen use rhinoceros hide whips on their victims, and he makes capital out of the affair. The anarchist is aware that the reality of the police force in our society is very different from the myth which is maintained by respectable people, so he is eager to display the chinks in the mask. But really, the fact that many policemen are brutal and crooked is not the essential criticism which anarchists have to make of the police. The major point we have to make is that the existence of a police force proclaims a type of social organization with which we disagree most fundamentally. But who will listen to our major criticism while they are convinced that society runs smoothly supported by "a fine body of men" whose

existence and function is essential now and for always? We are thrown back on the easier but more superficial task of showing up the police. Indeed, unless one has the human ability to get indignant about the brutes and twisters who operate under the protection of a blue uniform, one's academic criticism of the nature of a police force as an index of social dysfunction, is pretty cold and unappealing.

Although our cartoons of bureaucrats, and our word-pictures which resemble cartoons, depict them as essentially stupid characters, we know that this is not an accurate picture. We delight to pick on bureaucratic stupidities in order to say, "Look what fools rule you? Why should you tolerate this?" But we know that civil servants are not necessarily fools at all. Our real criticism is that however intelligent they may be as people, a bureaucratic system has certain essential flaws which lead to much human waste and misery, whatever may be the intentions of many of the officials who administer it. Again, we fall back on the superficial, cartoon-like debunking of politicians and capitalists, when our real criticisms are much more profound than our superficial jeering and carping.

What are we to do, those of us who are humane individuals who do not like to see our fellows thwarted or suffering yet, because of our vision of

society, must seem to want the oppressors to be nakedly oppressive and the crooks to perpetrate shameless swindles? We are quite clear that we do not intend to be the victims, yet when a politician turns out to be honest and a capitalist a real benefactor it causes a queasy feeling and we want to shout "Don't let it mislead you!" This dilemma is as old as anarchism, and is well exemplified in the person of Bakunin.

At the time of Bakunin, social reform had already got under way in Europe. The reformers wanted the police to be well-conducted, honest and humane, the civil service incorruptible and efficient, politicians true representatives of the people, and capitalists the beneficiaries of society rather than money-making parasites. The revolutionaries would not campaign for the reform of institutions which they opposed fundamentally; rather, they hoped that these institutions would deteriorate because of their shortcomings and eventually collapse and be replaced by alternative forms of social organization. At the extreme of the revolutionary wing there were individuals like Nechaev who were not moved by any humane considerations for oppressed people but by a single-minded determination to destroy every aspect of the Establishment. Nechaev put the full and complete case for exacerbating every facet of oppression in

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LOOK-NO BLUEPRINTS!

ONE of the drawbacks of the anarchist case is thought to be that we have no plan for the free society. In these days of electoral fever, party platforms are rife and one is often tempted to prescribe what would happen (for example) to the motor-bike in a free society. One is more often decoyed into prescribing for motorbikes in a free society by some chance conversational gambit.

The first method of treatment is to take the high-and-mighty line that in the free society the problem of motor-bikes will be taken care of. To cite the preacher who preaching of hell said, "In hell there will be weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth." "But how about them that ain't got no teeth", interjected a doubter, "Teeth will be provided" said the clergyman. One is inclined to feel that motor-bikes will be provided (or not as the case may be) in the free society.

The second method is to hint that motor-bikes are merely an aberration of this society and the free society will have no need of such things.

The third method is even more trying, when confronted with the problem of the motor-bike one counters with a

dissertation touching on juvenile delinquency, tribalism, cultural isolation, the origins of jazz, town planning, sexual freedom, and the defects of education with snippets from Robert Lindner, David Riesman, Malinowski, Henry Miller, Lewis Mumford, Wilhelm Reich and A. S. Neill.

This third method involves a progressive demolition of the vast mass of suppositions by which most people live. Bakunin once said "the destructive act is also a creative act." These 'constructions' which clutter up the mind of the average man are very difficult to destroy especially in the wholesale manner which the mental creation of a new free society necessitates. In fact such destruction is very often so catastrophic that a fierce resentment is created in an effort to hold on to "these fragments I have shored against my ruin."

People who live by elaborate constructions (e.g., Catholics and Communists) are particularly resistant to this form of attack. However when their defences do crumble, the resulting chaos of mind is pitiful. Such destruction is more apt to take place from internal collapse, than from external attack.

The vacuum left in the minds of those who have lived by some highly dominant political or religious theory cannot be filled by the theory of anarchism. Too often such personalities are authoritarian, or (what is the reverse of the same coin) looking for a 'lead'.

To one reared in the heady atmosphere of political parties with the policy-making decisions, the flinching that goes to choosing a candidate, the intrigues and diplomacy before an election, and the heady intoxication of an electoral struggle, the calm a-political air of anarchism comes somewhat as an anti-climax. True, attempts are made to stir up the political atmosphere, even 'leaders' have thrown themselves forward in the anarchist movement, but, lacking the one thing needful to a leader, i.e., followers they have sunk without trace.

This has never prevented attempts being made to draft blueprints of a free society, in the hope of attracting the non-voters' vote, as it were. Our product is very attractive it will be admitted. 'The free society' can be drafted nearer Utopia than any other form of society now being marketed. Built-in teeth can also be provided. But such 'utopian' salesmanship is as dishonest and self-defeating as many other forms of advertising.

The form the free society will take depends upon individuals preferences. Those preferences are formed by the free individual here and now. The free

society may reveal a vista of freedoms constantly expanding, through freely arrived at choices.

The free society is not a blueprint which can be pinned down but an expanding and growing idea.

JACK ROBINSON.

HISTORIC REVOLT

"SPARTACUS", by F. A. Ridley (Frank Maitland, 7s. 6d.).

THIS pamphlet was first published in 1944, and its re-publication is timely, since we have had one film about Spartacus, another about an imaginary son, and, since antiquity was full of slave revolts and wars of the oppressed, we are probably in for a spate. This preoccupation with revolt in the ancient world is at least more in the anarchist line than all the Christians-thrown-to-lions business.

There are very few books on Spartacus. Naturally enough the Romans had no interest in transmitting to posterity an elaborate account of this frightening and humiliating episode. They very nearly lost their power for good. Ridley speculates on what might have happened if the slaves had won; no Christianity and instead an Industrial Revolution before its time!

This lack of interest in recording in any detail the history of Spartacus' war has the result that it is possible to give a full account of it in a short book or pamphlet such as this. Probably this little work contains all that we are ever likely to know for certain about Spartacus until someone invents a Time Machine. This also explains the lack of books on this historical episode. There is Arthur Kostler's novel, which is really written to prove that everything is hopeless, and we should all become professional anti-Communists. There is another novel by Howard Fast, which I found disappointing. And there is J. L. Mitchell's *Spartacus*, which is excellent, judging by an extract I read in an anthology, but which has been out of print since I was born, practically.

It is intriguing to speculate what might have happened if Spartacus had won. F. A. Ridley permits himself some guesses. Certainly his defeat was by no means inevitable. A combination of barbarian invasion, internal revolt and general decay did bring the Roman Empire down in the end, so perhaps he may be said to have had the last word. If he had won the Roman world would have split up into a number of tribal and feudal kingdoms in all probability, more or less as it did eventually anyway. The slaves were not utopians but barbarian warriors for the most part, and the sort of world they would have created would have been the kind which they already knew.

It is an interesting thought though that Christianity might not have appeared in this case, for it was the religion of the defeated slave, the supernatural consolation of men who no longer believed it possible to revolt against the earthly tyranny. The Middle Ages without Christianity would most likely have been the legacy of a slave victory. A.W.U.

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THOSE who believe that painter was an automatic synonym for rebel will receive a salutary shock from the work now on display in the Grosvenor Gallery at 30 Davies Street, W.1.

Eric Estorick, the owner of this lush Mayfair gallery, has patiently acted out the role of leg-man for the Russian government and his galleries have come to be accepted as the London end of the pipe line that begins in the offices of the Russian Ministry of Culture. The reward for so much delicate negotiations so much hand-shaking so much travel-sickness was the decision by the Moscow Artists' Union and the Ministry of Culture to allow Estorick to show about a hundred-and-fifty oils, water-colours and drawings to a London audience. And here is official Official Art at its lowest, level, sycophantic, decorative, mindless, as uncommitted as the flowers on the wall-paper and as over-priced as an aged whore in a one-woman brothel.

In April of this year six hundred officially acceptable artists had their work offered for Estorick's inspection and from this vetted work he chose those who would go to join the works that he had previously purchased. All experimental work has been brushed aside as unworthy of a London showing and the Russian *avant-garde* are still licking their wounds after the mauling they received at the 1962 Manège exhibition. So we are to judge the 10,000 professional artists who work within the Soviet Union by this London exhibition, for here is work that the Russian government made every effort to stage in one of the Western world's cultural capitals. One can have little sympathy with the Grosvenor Gallery over the lack of enthusiasm that this exhibition has aroused within the breasts of the Town's critics, for even these easily-pleased performing animals could hardly be expected

Round the Galleries

to go roaring along Bond Street to a second-rate version of our own Royal Academy. Yet one can feel justified in condemning Estorick for refusing to show that work which the Russian art politicians have constantly refused to allow a public audience.

In private conversations with various members of the gallery the point was made time and time again that while experimental and abstract works were being done they could only be dismissed as in the main complete rubbish, yet in his press handout Estorick does not hesitate to invoke the names of Malevitch, Lissitsky, Chagall, Kandinsky, Soutine, Tatlin, Pevsner and Gabo. Why he should do so in connection with this present exhibition is completely beyond my understanding, for these men are completely out of favour with the Russian Ministry of Culture and the work on show at the Grosvenor Gallery echoes the academic work that was current in most western capitals thirty or more years ago.

But here is the artist as the prisoner of the State caught in the vicious trap of pleasing others, that he may continue to enjoy the rewards that the State hands out to the hired clowns. Whistler was once accused of throwing a pot of paint in the public's face and then charging two hundred guineas for that performance but these Moscow hacks with hardly an iota of the little American's talent are reputed to be able to earn over £100,000 a year for work that would hardly sell on the London market.

Here is Alexander Deineka, winner of the Lenin prize with his "The song" an uninspired grouping of three figures who

exist only because of the ill-placed high lights and bourgeois eroticism. Rabin the Jewish outsider with his London scenes, reminiscent of the old Lyric theatre posters, Papikin and Sarian with their saccharine landscapes and the gay little Christmas greeting card snow scenes. It would be idle to condemn these works if it were merely just another casual showing, for taken at their true value they are neither better nor worse than most of the exhibition of officially inspired art that litters most large towns. But this work stands to be condemned for its very negation as works of art. Here is the travesty of the artist and his work. Of work that exists not for any aesthetic qualities in itself but because it has pleased certain politicians and by their grace you and I wander around this gallery. Yet we are told, albeit with a downward turn of the lip, that there are others working within the Soviet Union whose work is unfit for us to see. Like the poetry and the novels that managed to find their way across the guarded borders of these countries we may one day see these works and be allowed to form our own opinions.

Yet, one cannot dismiss this exhibition without at least drawing attention to a small watercolour by Yershov. An illustrator of children's books Yershov is represented by a small watercoloured painting of two glasses. Hidden away on the wall of the smaller gallery is this lovely little painting completely out of key with the rest of the work on show. Saved from being a pure abstract painting by a few brief lines its merging blues and greens sing of the creative artist in a plush world of officially appointed hacks. ARTHUR MOYSE.

DOES THE PRESIDENT MATTER?

THE choice of the extreme right wing candidate Senator Goldwater in the California primary elections a couple of weeks ago led to a number of articles in the press analysing the significance of his victory. These ranged from assertions that Goldwater (a) was a neo-fascist and (b) was far from being a neo-fascist, to complicated computations about the effect of the California result on the Republican convention, the presidential election, the next presidential election and the future of American foreign policy. However, none of them reached the fantastic grasp of truth revealed by the defeated candidate, Governor Rockefeller, who "blurted out" as the *Guardian* put it, that "the thing is that millions of people just do believe these right wing views."

True to the post-ideological mood of the commentators, the point about whether or not the senator did represent the people who elected him, which is presumably the theoretical object of democracy, was largely ignored. The most important aspects of the exercise were to guess what the effect on the image of the Republican Party would be to have such a candidate, or what would happen to the European image of the U.S.A. if he were elected President.

In fact, the actual result of the election does not make any difference one way or the other, and to pretend that it does is to fall into the trap of the cult of the personality, which seems if anything to be more highly developed in America than in England. During the primary campaigns we have been regaled by personal stories about the candidates including the divorce and re-marriage of Rockefeller. It was suggested in some articles that the fact that his wife gave birth to a baby a few days before the election was a factor that damaged his chances. These trivialities may well influence elections, but can anyone seriously believe that they, or the results of the elections really affect the government?

There are what might be described as two permanent constituent parts to the institution of government. On the one hand the apparatus of power, the people who by controlling the banks, the factories, the agricultural economy and the armed forces, actually ensure that their policies are put into effect. On the other hand is the passive mass of people, whose general attitude of tolerance and passive support is necessary for the ruling class to rule, and which is manipulated by the organs of press, education and radio into supporting the former. The transitory aspect of government which consists of the "elected representatives of the people" plays a minute part compared with the executive drive of the people really in control, and the apathetic agreement of the masses.

As an illustration of the unimportance of personalities, it is only necessary to look at the continuity of American foreign policy since Johnson replaced Kennedy as president. According to press accounts at the time the fact that an intellectual, Catholic, New Englander was being replaced by a noisy Protestant Texan was going to have a deep effect on world politics, and it was feared that the balance between the

U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., supposedly based on personal confidence between the two K's, was likely to be shattered. Suppose now that an observer had been so immune from the cult of personality that he had managed to watch the international scene without noticing that Johnson had replaced Kennedy. Is there really any difference in policies that he would notice? It is like suggesting that the capacity and function of a ship will be drastically changed by changing its figurehead.

In saying it, it is not suggested that there is nothing to be concerned about in the result of the Californian election. An article in the current issue of *Private Eye*, which is no less serious in its argument because it appears in that journal and is written in a bitter style, justifiably attacks the view that Goldwater's success can be taken without concern because it shows us clearly where America stands. The point of the argument here is that the danger that has to be faced does not lie in one individual's success at the polls, but in the attitudes of the masses who support him. As recent events have shown, there are millions of people in the United States who are so firmly committed to white supremacy that they use violence against the state to maintain it; millions who agree that the state is right in its attacks on individuals with left wing opinions and support an aggressive foreign policy. In deploring the views of people like these who make possible the careers of the Goldwaters, there is little we can do, since our activities are mainly concentrated in England, but in expressing our international feelings of solidarity we should make it clear that the way out does not lie with the pitiful trail of moderates and Democrat politicians, or in any form of manoeuvring for political office and influence, but with the brave individuals and groups who are working in the U.S.A., as everywhere in the world, to open the people's eyes to the nature of the states that rule over them, and the corruption of society that results, and urging them to act to change things. P.H.

THE FUNCTION OF MANDELA

Continued from page 1

THE South African Minister of Justice, with most of the African leaders of note either imprisoned, under a restriction order, or in exile, boasts that he has "broken the back" of Poqo—the terrorist organisation. The borders are being watched for guerilla-trained exiles and it is estimated that the government can put 200,000 trained men, including police and police reservists into the field at short notice. This all may be true. It is equally true that in Algeria Ben-Bella and other leaders of the resistance were for years prisoners of the French; that the French disposed of an army of 500,000 equipped with the latest weapons of war; that the "colons" were more determined to fight to keep their privileges than are the South African whites... and that in the end they had to give way. And because of their intransigence, their determination to hold on to everything they ended holding nothing,

PRODUCTION of the Adam and Eve scene in the film of "The Bible" was held up while Christopher Fry and John Huston discussed with Greek theologians whether the fruit was an apple or not. It was decided that it was probably not but "the fruit should purely be symbolical and that visually it should not be identifiable, otherwise the symbolism of Eve's disobedience is lost". . . .

JEAN STRAKER deposited his book of 80 studies of female nudes in the House of Commons library because he thought there was great confusion in the public mind what 'pornography' and 'obscenity' meant. Dr. Ferdinand Henriques, speaking at the International Planned Parenthood Conference said that in his view there was no evidence that pornography corrupts the young and hence there was no evidence to justify any kind of censorship. He claimed that in Yorkshire many day-shift miners allowed their wives to be unfaithful with men on the night-shift; in some remote valleys of Wales men exchanged wives; in Lancashire during the thirties, he claimed, lodgers shared room, board and "sexual favours"; in the Sheffield cutlery industry the women "buffers" were notorious for their addiction to foul language and aggressive sexual behaviour in the 'twenties. These statements were denied from Yorkshire, Wales, Lancashire and Sheffield: The President of the Welsh National Party said, "He must be referring to what happens among the fairies because nobody lives in remote Welsh valleys today." Mr. Ellis Smith, M.P. denied that in the thirties lodgers were taken in because of the means test. Mr. Bullough of the National Union of Miners said that Mr. Henriques' statement was "horrible and irresponsible. When he wrote his book 'Coal in our Life' he seemed to spend most of his time in fish and chip shops, bookmakers' premises and public bars to get his information. If Dr. Henriques had got around more in the coalfield he would have found art and choral societies, and particularly around the Huddersfield and Halifax area pits, very ardent church and chapel goers". . . .

MR. MESHACK NDISI, chairman of the Kenya Family Planning Association speaking at the I.P.P. Federation Conference said that in a polygamous society there was family spacing, the health of the mother was not overtaxed, the mother was able to give the children all the care and attention they needed, competition with other wives and social pressures meant that a wife who might be naturally neglectful was kept up to scratch. In the extended family, the child who was fatherless, motherless or orphaned was still very much wanted and—living in close contact with many aunts and uncles—had no feeling of isolation as it might have in Western societies. But in most African countries the pattern of the unwanted child was now evolving because the onrush of modern civilization had led to the breakdown of tribal life. Christianity, he said, was all for monogamy and one of the results had been the unspaced family, maternal ill-health, weariness and neglected children. . . .

"WEST LONDON OBSERVER" court reporter in 'Shorts from the Courts' refers to the police knowing a woman as "a



highly active and successful prostitute". In another part of the sociological scene the *News of the World* report of a Liverpool case where police dressed as 'beatniks' to get evidence, the prosecution said there was no evidence of prostitution in the club though there was evidence of enthusiastic amateurs". . . .

LORD DEVLIN speaking on television said that it did no good to send adult homosexuals to prison. Asked if the abortion law should be reformed. He said that the punishment clearly reduced abortion but drove it underground. "The law itself drives the thing underground, increases the physical danger, and then the physical danger is used as an element" [of punishment by the law]. . . .

MR. HENRY BROOKE, after his visit to Soho introduced legislation to protect suckers visiting Soho clip-joints and being fobbed off with near-beer and cash-only hostesses.

The delights of books, on the other hand were proclaimed by the Queen who opened the World Book Fair, quoting "a love of books is the golden key that opens the magic door". She is recorded by the *Guardian* to have spent the longest time at the cookery stall run by the North Thames Gas Board. *The Bookseller* quotes Bernard Newman on Japanese temples, "Some temples have huge circular bookcases, well filled. 'It is an easy way to gain merit' said a friend. He paid a fee to a priest and pushed the bookcase round. That counts as if I had read 6,771 holy books". . . .

THE ANARCHIST DILEMMA

Continued from page 2
order that people would rebel, of using blackmail and corruption in order to make respectable reformists into advocates of revolution. To some extent Bakunin supported him in this and, for a time, conceived of the role of revolutionaries mainly in terms of social provocateurs, agents who would stir up trouble, even if it entailed misleading people with a grossly distorted picture of what was actually going on, much in the manner that was later adopted by the Bolsheviks.

To his credit, it must be allowed that Bakunin was too large and too truly humane a man for this to be the whole of his programme. He did believe in a revolutionary elite spurring on the masses to violent action by inflaming violent passions, but in his day it may

That the Verwoerd government should feel the need to close the ranks suggests that they do not underestimate the African opposition—even though they boast of having "broken its back". That in spite of the frank admission of guilt by its prisoners to charges amounting to treason it does not exact the full penalty of the law, indicates that they were not sure what might have happened if they had. It is surely significant that the S. African government shows more respect for the person of a Nelson Mandela than for all the resolutions of the United Nations!

If and when South Africa's 14 million non-whites succeed in freeing themselves from domination by the white minority (34 million) it will be by their own efforts and not by resolutions in the United Nations and pious protests on the steps of St. Paul's. Lutuli has been ennobled and surpassed. Mandela and his friends have assumed the leadership of the struggle. They don't need our bundles of petitions and protests. What they do need is material help of every kind.

41.9% of the electorate voted in Liverpool Scotland division and again returned a Labour member with an increased majority. The *Guardian* correspondent at Geneva reported that little was expected in disarmament talks at Geneva, "the Americans are working hard completing the draft treaty setting up the multi-lateral force, nothing is going to happen before the British elections, while the possibility of the Americans dropping MLF as part of a later arms package deal is considered feasible only after the American presidential election." Mr. Peter Thomas, Minister of State to the Foreign Office, leaving London airport on his way to Geneva said Britain would like to see early agreement on the destruction of some weapons such as in the proposed "bonfire" of obsolete bombers. . . .

THERE HAVE been 190 cases of leukaemia—more than five times the national average—during the past 18 years among Hiroshima atom bomb survivors. The opening of Civil Defence Headquarters at Sheerness, Kent, was postponed because of fire. 144 men and women volunteers were locked up for six days in a German atomic shelter at Dortmund to test survival conditions. One woman collapsed on the third day and was taken out to hospital, the shelter will really hold 1,000 but 144 are being used as a sample. . . .

JULIAN BECK and Judith Malina who refused to pay taxes on The Living Theatre on conscientious grounds, were found guilty of not paying taxes and of contempt of court. They were sentenced to sixty and thirty days' imprisonment respectively. *Time* magazine, reporting this, failed to mention the reasons for their form of protest. . . .

It is reported that Abarca has been released from prison in Belgium and is not to be extradited to Switzerland. Britain is on the verge of an agreement to supply £14m. arms to Spain by supplying Leander class frigates under license from the Defence Ministry, these will carry radar sets, anti-submarine detection devices, Seacat guided missiles and homing torpedoes.

JON QUIXOTE.

be truly said that conditions could hardly be much worse for large sections of the people. Again, with the limited technology of the 19th century, there was a very good chance of the violence of a mass uprising achieving concrete if limited objectives. He wrote somewhere of the future breakdown of authoritarian society in Europe coming about through the military clash of nation-states. If this was in fact his belief and his hope, then at least he cannot be charged with intriguing for the furtherance of militarism and war, as the communists have done in later times.

From time to time there appears in *FREEDOM*, and in more ephemeral anarchist papers, a sort of neo-Bakuninism, generally in the form of a letter from some young militant anarchist, who is convinced that the whole movement is corrupted by sissies. The last came shortly after Easter when some bloke was disappointed that a mob of anarchists and CNDers did not go in for a real scrap with a mob of coppers surrounding a R.S.G. stronghold. What and second, the necessity for martyrs first, violence as an energizing myth, an second, the necessity for martyrs with bloodied heads and fettered hands. At the beginning of this article I have tried to deal with the salient point—that no-one but a mug or a pervert will offer themselves as martyrs, and a policy of trying to provoke people so that they will get their heads bashed involves one in the position of Nechaev, a position enthusiastically embraced by the Bolsheviks and their successors, but which anarchists have not usually followed. But let us not be deterred by a rather scanty precedent. If some people think that a certain line is correct, then let them say so. Let them not be deterred by the name of Nechaev, as by a bogey, any more than others are deterred by the name of Stirner, which is also a bogey in some circles. The broad and tolerant columns of *FREEDOM* have in the past been used for every kind of argument, and it surprises me that this particular dilemma is not given more of an airing now a hundred flowers are blooming down one side of the back page. G.

Tired of Standard Bearers

I AM getting a bit tired of the attitudes of some of the self-appointed standard bearers in the movement. I am not against banners in general, and I think it's a good idea to have them in marches like Aldermaston and anti-apartheid demonstrations where most other groups have theirs, provided it doesn't result in too much cliquishness. It is after all, a good idea to talk to non-anarchists. Also, when there is a specifically anarchist demonstration one needs banners to let people know.

What I object to is the kind of incident when a demonstration is called by a small group of individuals with a specific well-defined aim in view, who invite participation on the basis of carrying slogans relevant to that aim and not bringing organisations and ideologies into it; and a few anarchists who have not helped in the organisation of the meeting push to the front of the march and unfurl their red and black

Letters to the Editors

flag to the annoyance of most people on the march. In conversations with reasonable, intelligent people who one could reasonably hope might come round to anarchist ideas, I have found that their image of an anarchist is not a black-cloaked bomb-thrower or a Tolstoyan weirdie, but someone who pushes in front of a march with a banner and then roundly abuses the people who probably put a lot of work into organising the demonstration, calling them authoritarians, etc. This belief has a factual basis.—

To borrow a phrase from Mary

Canipa, I think when taking part in demonstrations, people should ask themselves: "What are my activities saying of anarchism to a stranger?" We should be broad-minded enough to see that non-anarchists might not like being included in an anarchist label, just as we wouldn't like a small march in which we participated, being led by a Communist Party banner, and that irritating people in this way puts them off the movement.

There is furthermore a constructive alternative. Instead of standing out at the front lugging a flag around and getting people's back up, anarchists can join in the march and talk to other people about anarchism and sell anarchist literature. Worshipping the flag is after all an irrational authoritarian behaviour pattern, while respect for people with whom we are working, and responsible co-operation are more appropriate to anarchism. P.H.

SUPPORT THE ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Verwoerd Found Guilty

Continued from page 1

Rivonia trial, it will now be, more than ever, the first and best weapon of protest." "Boycott—the best weapon of protest—fair enough let's try again let the *Sunday Citizen* call upon the Co-op to give their present stocks of S. African goods free to 'War on Want' and from then on NO S. AFRICAN GOODS IN CO-OP STORES. After such a call maybe the *Sunday Citizen* will again mean something on a Sunday. In other words something worth reading and not a purveyor of tripe.

Fiddling in Nigeria

POLITICOS IN NIGERIA have just received the biggest shock of their lives, the workers have informed them in no uncertain terms to 'get stuffed'. After a thirteen day national stoppage the workers have forced concessions from the Government.

Nigeria is notorious for its political fiddling. In 1956 supporters of the Northern Element Progressive Union, the main opposition party in N. Nigeria were arrested. It was reported that they were arrested on the orders of the

District Head who was himself a candidate in the coming November elections, for the ruling Northern People Congress.

The N.E.P.U. charged in the past that the government party through the Governor, and native judges, had made use of the rule of disqualifying from elections persons serving terms of imprisonment, etc., in order to reduce opposition. It is evident that political charlatans are not peculiar to any one race. One wonders who their tutors were.

In 1957 public annoyance was roused when it became known that the ten Federal Ministers of Nigeria had voted to build ten ministerial houses costing £30,000 each, when, in Lagos, maternity hospital women were commonly placed two in a bed and had normally to leave within twelve hours of delivery.

The Prime Minister of the Federation received £5,000, ten departmental Ministers £3,000. The three regional Premiers receive £4,000 each. Bourgeois politics is a paying game.

The strike was called to force the Government to implement the Morgan Commission report which recommended a living wage of £12 a month in the Laos area compared with the present £7. 12s. 0d. and £6. 10s. 0d. in the rural areas compared with £4. The Government offered £9. 2s. 0d. for Laos area and £4. 15s. 0d. for the others.

The trade union movement previously split between so-called moderates and extremists combined in a Joint Action Committee and challenged the Government. Thousands of workers downed tools, Port, Power, Railways, and other Public transport. It is reported that substantial agreement has been reached. What now? A new political party is mooted. Does history always have to repeat itself? But, as always, this political party will be different. BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Keep it up!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT JUNE 13th, 1964

Week 24

EXPENSES: 24 weeks at £70 £1,680

INCOME:

Sales & Sub. Renewals: £ 1,232

Weeks 1-23 ... 1,232

Week 24 ... 60

1,292

New Subscriptions:

Weeks 1-23 (109) 117

Week 24 (11) 9

126

1,418

DEFICIT £262

DEFICIT FUND

Stockport: A.B.K. 5/-; Sandhurst: Anon. £3; Hayes: Anarchist Group* 2/6; Edinburgh: E.G.M. £1; London N.W.1: V.W. £1/8/10; Hartney Witney: M.T. 10/-; East Rutherford: A.S.* 7/-; Chigwell Row: P.W. 10/-; Salisbury: N.H. 10/-; Preston: R.M. 7/-; Phoenix: J.C. £1/15/-; Bristol: R.V.C. 2/-; Trinidad: V.R. 1/10; London, S.E.2: G.H. 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Nottingham: K.B. £1; Hayes: M.W. 1/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 3/-; Ilford: J.G. 7/6; Hove: T.B.B. £2; Redhill: L.G.M. Todmorden: G.B. £1; Denver, A.E.J. £1/8/11; Los Gatos: Group per C.M. (part proceeds of picnic) £17/10/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-.

TOTAL 34 12 1

Previously acknowledged 382 2 4

1964 TOTAL TO DATE £417 4 5

*Denotes regular contributors.

Copy of letter from the B.B.C.

9th June, 1964.

JOHN RETY,
Anarchist Federation of Britain,
10 Gilbert Place,
London, W.C.1.

DEAR SIR,

I refer to your letter of 3rd June, addressed to the Director General.

The arrangements for political broadcasting at the time of the General Election are made in agreement between the broadcasting authorities and the three leading political Parties which the British electorate has chosen to represent in Parliament. The B.B.C. is not prepared to change these arrangements unilaterally and is, in any case, prevented from doing so by a directive from the Postmaster General. In programme matters generally the B.B.C. has freedom under its Charter and Licence to determine the content of its programmes, subject to due regard being paid to balance in the treatment of controversial issues. Your demand for broadcasting time can, therefore, be treated in the same way as other programme suggestions, but I am unable to say whether it will be considered at the time of the General Election to have sufficient interest to be included in our output.

Yours faithfully,

C. J. CURRAN,

The Secretary.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

Birmingham Group

Peter Neville,
12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

Birmingham (University)

Dave Chaney,
7, Birches Close, Moseley, Birmingham, 13.

Birmingham College of Commerce Anarchist Society

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

Bristol Federation

Irregular meetings—enquiries to Ron Stuttle,

9 Cornwallis Crescent, Bristol 8.

Meets Sundays (weather and circumstances permitting), 3.30 p.m. on the Downs (Blackboy Hill).

PROPOSED GROUPS

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.

SHEFFIELD

Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.

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.

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ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Tom Jackson,
10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

Secretary: Arthur Uloth, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

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.

JUNE 21 Albert Meltzer on:

Is an Anarchist Daily Paper Possible?

JUNE 28 Jack Robinson on:

The Police: and How they got that way.

ALL WELCOME

Notting Hill Anarchist Group

Secretary N.H.A.G., 5 Colville Houses, London, W.11.

Jazz Group

"Lamb & Flag", Saturday, 20th June, at 7.30 p.m. prompt.

John Jack and Jack Stevenson present

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BETRAYED OR THE STORY OF THE

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Cambridge Group

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

Dundee Group

Contact Rod Cameron,
6 Westfield Place, Dundee.

Edinburgh Group

Enquiries to: Douglas Trueman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3. Meetings at the above every Monday.

Glasgow Federation

Enquiries to Ronnie Alexander, c/o Kennedy, 112 Glenkirk Drive, Glasgow, W.5.

Oxford Group

Contact N. Gould, Corpus Christi.

Hayes and District

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

Tunbridge Wells Group

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

Plymouth

8 p.m.,
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.

Tyneside Federation

Enquiries: Dave Wallace, 64 Belford Avenue, Horsley Hill, South Shields, Co. Durham.

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.

Wimbledon S.W.19, Third Saturday of each month. 8 p.m. Phone WIM 2849.

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FINGS

Demonstration

June 20th, "On site Inspection" of A.W.R.E., Orfordness, to find out if our Prime Minister is telling the truth about running down the production of weapons grade fissile materials, as we have reason to believe that this A.W.R.E. is being expanded. Market Place, Aldeburgh, 12 noon. East Anglia Committee of 100.

Accommodation

There is a cheap single room available in an anarchist household. From June 26th to September 10th. Please write to Pete Hoida, 5 Colville Houses, Notting Hill, London, W.11.

Anti-Polaris

Two-day March, June 27th and 28th. Faslane. Details CND, 48 Dundas Street, Glasgow, C.1. DOU 6198.

Anti-Election

Anti-election campaign has advanced to Putney border of Fulham. So meet middle of Putney Bridge, June 22nd at 8 p.m. for leafletting door-to-door.

"Peace News"

This week: Colin Ward on 'Paul Goodman' 6d. weekly from Freedom Bookshop or any good newsagent. Subs from 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Demonstration

Peace in Cyprus, Hyde Park (Speakers Corner), June 28th, 3 p.m. March to Cyprus High Commission, Greek, and Turkish Embassies, Greek and Turkish Cypriots invited. Peace in Cyprus Committee.

Farm Work Wanted

Comrade and his girl want work on the land in remote country place to get away from the London 'rat-race'. Any offers to P.C. c/o Freedom Press.

"Freedom" Sellers Wanted

for Street-corners, Hydes Park and public meetings. Get in touch with Peter Turner, c/o Freedom Press.

If you think

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