

Those who choose the lesser evil
forget quickly that they chose evil.
HANNAH ARENDT.

Why Permanent Protest?

COMMITTEE OF 100?

The Cyprus Carve-up

IT is perhaps worth reminding oneself that the crisis in which the heads of the two dominating world powers as well as of a number of others have been busily pronouncing themselves during the past fortnight is over an island about 145 miles long by an average of 45 miles wide and with a population of not much more than 500,000 men, women and children.

No one can honestly suggest that Cyprus is any kind of threat to world peace in itself. It has been a troubled island for a very long time. For 300 years it was subjected to Turkish rule and though few of its inhabitants can remember what this was like, there seems to be no desire to return to Turkish rule, just as 80 years of British rule, which is fresh in the memories of most Cypriots, inspires them with no desire to repeat that experience. What appears strange to us, is that in the circumstances, anybody in Cyprus should ever want to get involved with Greece or any Big Brother nation again! Of course the "pudding stirrers" in Cyprus are not only the politicians from outside but the religious leaders within the island. But for them, and the consequences of their "spiritual" teachings the people of Cyprus would probably by now have solved both any real differences as well as have discarded the ones artificially provoked by the politicians and other outsiders.

It is, this month, four years since Cyprus achieved independence, the terms of which were determined for the people of this unhappy island at a conference table in Zurich, present the leaders of the interested parties: Greek, Turkish and British. The Constitution on paper safeguards the rights and interests of the Turkish minority (representing 20 per cent. of the population, or 100,000 people). In practice Makarios, archbishop by profession but under his holy robes as cunning a political operator as you could expect to find anywhere, with more than any "normal" politician's share of megalomania, has, during these four years of independence, sought to whittle away the rights of the Turkish minority, and only last December he put forward proposals for constitutional amendments which would have swept them away. According to a *Sunday Times* correspondent

though [Makarios] has not said so himself, those closest to him claim that it was British diplomacy both in Nicosia and in London which led him to believe he could take this step without driving the Turks to desperation.

This is probably true. It would not be the first time that British

"statesmen" have double-crossed enemies as well as their so-called friends. Contemporary history is littered with unfulfilled British promises, but we hasten to add that it is abundantly clear that the British are no exception to the rule which is that the essence of politics and "statesmanship" is that it is so elastic that what is white today can be shown to be jet black tomorrow. De Gaulle, after all, agreed to return to power by unconstitutional means, to declare that Algeria was "française", only to "sell out" the "colons" in Algeria by doing a deal with Ben Bella as well as locking-up the OAS when they protested, with plastic bombs and *attentats*, at being double-crossed by the man they had pushed (against all the rules of the dirty game of politics) into office. And the British in Cyprus have both exiled Makarios to the Seychelles (1956) as well as installed him as the political boss of Cyprus (1960) just as they have imprisoned at some time or other all the African leaders who at a later date they have wined and dined, recognised and addressed as "Excellency" or "Mr. Prime Minister".

THE colonial powers have "granted" independence to the subject people because to do otherwise would have been less profitable in the long term. As well as granting independence on their terms, they have bequeathed to the new ruling class social and other problems

either created by them or which they had no interest in attempting to solve when they held the reins of power. Since "divide and rule" is the basis of government in all its manifestations it was always the role of the colonial power to feed the religious, tribal, social and other differences rather than seek to resolve them! It is not surprising therefore that as each colonial power quits, it leaves behind it a situation of disunity and chaos which as well as giving the former colonial power the possibility of establishing a political and financial foothold in the new country, without the expense of having to "police" it, is a potential "problem" requiring intervention by the bureaucratic-firemen of the United Nations.

That the United Nations bureaucracy or its armed forces have not succeeded wherever they have been summoned to put out the "political conflagration" is not meant as a derogatory reflection on them as firemen. Their failure must, in part, be attributed to the fact that the United Nations are disunited and therefore unable to seek solutions to problems such as those confronting the people of Cyprus without introducing their own interests as principals or stooges in the power struggle.

Within the existing authoritarian, capitalist, set-up (East or West) can there be an equitable solution between majorities and minorities? In these columns, years ago, we

argued that the ultimate solution to the problems of Algeria and Kenya would be that the ruling white minorities (the "colons"), because of their intransigent attitude, would be obliged to quit. This has, and is happening. (Last week's *Sunday Telegraph* prints a dispatch from its special correspondent in Nairobi to the effect that about "2 million acres of European farms" will be "turned into state farms and co-operatives run on the Communist bloc pattern; and established and supervised with the help of East European experts" and is likely "to cost Britain as much as £20 million").

This trend, foreseeable though

it may be, is deplorable because it reveals an intransigence among the new forces which for practical and moral reasons they can neither afford nor should encourage. In the case of Cyprus the overwhelming Greek majority should, in its own interests, seek to give the Turkish minority every guarantee, if only to establish its independence from outside pressures. Cyprus will be the shuttlecock of Greece and Turkey as well as of the Big Powers so long as the people who live in its 6,500 square miles are divided among themselves over questions of nationality and religion though each seeks to earn a livelihood from the soil.

UNDER existing conditions are multi-racial communities possible? On the evidence they are not. Whether the minority is large, as in Algeria, or small as in Kenya it cannot be assimilated where it has hitherto existed as a *privileged* minority wielding power. Hence the understandable apprehension of Wetensky in Southern Rhodesia and Verwoerd in South Africa in the event of the black majority seizing power. The case of Cyprus is a different one since it cannot be said that the large Turkish minority had been the privileged minority before independence. Its rights as a minority group are respected in the constitution; and it is entitled to its proportion of government posts and

other "important" jobs. Yet in practice it has not worked this way after four years of independence. And it obviously could not work when both sections of the community in Cyprus were being bombarded by nationalist propaganda from Greece and Turkey respectively. Is it too late to demand that the people of Cyprus should be left alone to sort out their problems? The alternatives are partition or the evacuation of the Turkish minority from the island. These may seem drastic measures to suggest but we cannot see anything worthwhile emerging from the policing of the island by the United Nations forces or the Geneva talks. Both are stop-gap methods. The very presence of United Nations forces in the island will emphasise the differences between the two sections of the community. It is more likely that common sense might prevail if all the "peacemakers" so-called were to get out and give this unhappy island a chance to sort out its problems. As we were saying earlier the whole population of Cyprus is less than that of a medium sized British provincial town, yet at the moment the island is an armed fortress and most of the people mere pawns of a crisis not of their making.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

DOCKERS CAN WIN CLAIMS

In order to avoid the risk of unofficial demonstrations and strikes, as occurred at the time of the previous meeting, negotiators for the dockers' unions and the employers, met last week in secret. On the day of the first joint meeting, widespread unofficial action had brought some docks almost to a halt and both the unions and the employers wished to avoid a similar occurrence, hence the secrecy. In fact they even decided to keep the new improved pay offer a secret until the delegate conference.

No wonder they decided to keep quiet, for at the conference on Friday, the improved offer turned out to be an insult, 2d. a day extra on the original 10/- a week. It took the conference only an hour to reject this, for many of the delegates thought an offer of around 16/- would be made and it appears that this would have been accepted by the unions.

The chief Docks Negotiator of the Transport & General Workers Union wouldn't commit himself over strike action and no withdrawal of labour was threatened. New talks are to be held during the last week of this month.

There is, at present, a mood of determination to gain a substantial increase of 25/-. After all, the last wage increase was in May, 1962, when the unions accepted the employers' offers and averted a national strike. Coupled with the claim for a general wage increase is the dissatisfaction with the working arrangements of the new 40-hour week agreements. In the Manchester docks, overtime bans have been in operation on the Friday night and Saturday morning shifts. Treble time is being claimed, instead of double, from Friday midnight until 6 a.m. on Satur-

day. Under the present agreement treble pay is paid if both week-end nights are worked.

Further evidence of the mood of the rank and file docker was seen at their meeting in Hull last week-end when they demanded that negotiations on the 40-hour week should be re-opened. Mr. Leonard Ludders, the chairman, said "Parts of the agreement which was reached between the T.G.W.U. and the port employers are unworkable." Dockers on the Merseyside are also dissatisfied with the agreement and have banned week-end working.

In London the employers have closed up the port because of the dispute with tally clerks and stevedores on week-end overtime payments. In Liverpool, meetings of the T.G.W.U. and their rival, the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, are taking place this week-end to discuss the present situation.

From past experience, not only of portworkers, but of workers in other industries, the claim of 25/- will not be won by the officials of the unions. Some deal around 15/- seems likely and will probably be made at the next talks. Jack Dash, chairman of the liaison committee of the London's Royal Group, said at the lobby of delegates on Friday, "I am confident that the rank and file in the industry will stand solid behind the negotiating body in their endeavours to bring about a realisable living wage to meet the present ever-increasing cost of living." He thought that 25/- was acceptable "though not the ideal".

This has surely been the trouble in many industrial negotiations. Long before any settlement is reached, workers know they have not a chance of gaining their full claims through their

union leadership, yet they wait for the outcome, when everything is signed and sealed. Jack Dash's political affiliations are known well enough among portworkers, but his sort of statement, especially if acted upon, leads to defeat. The 40-hour agreement is an example. Action is being taken over it now, but welcome as this may be, surely the best tactics would have been to take action before the agreement came into force. Now the port employers should have it made clear to them that the rank and file want 25/- increase and nothing less. If refused, industrial action must then be taken to win this amount.

There is an unofficial National Liaison Committee, and through this rank and file organisation, together with the similar bodies which dockers elect in their own docks, action can take place to win claims. A docker once told me that numerous disputes take place, which never reach the newspapers, where prompt action has won demands at the different quays. In some cases it has needed the threat of sympathy action from other parts of the docks and the solidarity has been there to back this. This needs to be done on a national scale now, if it is not to be the usual case of compromise. It is the membership of the unions who should decide the claim, the action and just what to accept. It is up to them, they should run the show. P.T.

STUART CHRISTIE

STUART CHRISTIE (18) of Blantyre, Lanarkshire, is in a Spanish military prison in Madrid accused of being engaged in anti-Franco activities "to carry out acts of violence against official buildings and private houses to create a psychosis of terror". It was said he was arrested carrying a knapsack containing five packets of plastic explosives, five pressure detonators, two electrical detonators and chemicals for making explosives. His arrest led to the detention of Fernando Carballo Bianco (40), a Spaniard. Stuart who is a member of the Committee of 100 and a founder member of the reconstituted Glasgow Federation of Anarchists, is said to have hitch-hiked to Madrid. He is one of the team of anarchists in *Let Me Speak*, filmed for BBC2 and showing on Saturday, August 22nd.

Stuart Christie Defence Committee

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THE ANARCHIST COMMUNIST APPROACH

(The concluding part of a lecture to the Anarchist Summer School, continued from the last issue.)

IT is true that the differences between tendencies within the anarchist movement are more often differences of emphasis than substance, but since the intention of the summer school is to compare these tendencies, some of the communist criticisms of "individualist anarchism", Stirnerism and anarcho-syndicalism are outlined below.

Communist anarchists try to get as much enjoyment as possible from everyday life, form beneficial relations with other people for their own interests without being tied down, live their own lives and enjoy their idiosyncracies just like the individualists, and for that matter the other 2,000 million people in the world. One difference lies in the fact that communists notice that freedom involves freedom to eat, have a home, freedom from being exploited at work and bombed and shot in war, as well as freedom to behave in a personally eccentric manner in an affluent democracy, and that most people in the world are denied these freedoms not because they are lacking in psychological will power or desire for sovereignty, but because power over their affairs is held by an exploiting ruling class. Another difference lies in the attitude to the function of the movement. Communists are so convinced of the uniqueness of the individual and his right to enjoy his personal life without intrusion or interference that they do not find it necessary to exalt their personal idiosyncracies into the basis of a social movement, while individualist anarchists tend to write and talk about theirs at length. It is nice to have a few individualist anarchists around, but their propaganda tends to be much ado about nothing and may have a negative effect if newcomers are put off by the fact that the individualists make a song and dance about what everyone else takes for granted. It is when someone's eccentricities include a strong desire to be free of capitalism and the state, to live in cooperation with other people, not to have his wealth taken by the ruling class and the means of communications filled with the lies of the government and the advertisers, that there becomes some point in organising together with similar-minded people, freely and voluntarily, to work for the changes he wants, and that constitutes anarchist communism. It would be provocative to suggest that individualist anarchists need a communist movement to provide

audiences and periodicals in which they can express their views.

Stirnerism involves the endless repetition of phrases to the effect that people act in such a way as to further their own interests, and that sensible ones do so consciously. This simple point is elaborated to such an extent that its devotees miss the fact that social philosophies differ from each other precisely in their various evaluations of what a person's interests are. Anarchism for instance, suggests that people are better off the freer they are from authority in all aspects of life, and in any case includes the notion that a person's ability to realise his "interests" and "individuality" depends to a large extent on the social relationships operating in the society he lives in. Stirnerism takes one to the point where anarchism starts, and it would be just as logical to suggest that the man who sang "The working class can kiss my arse, I've got the foreman's job at last", was a true

Stirnerite, although none of the anarchist Stirnerites would dream of taking the foreman's job, but would devise labourious arguments to prove that it was not really in their interests. Working for an anarchist society, or trying to move our present society in an anarchist direction, can be rationally enjoyable and satisfying, provided one has decided independently that freedom is a good thing.

Anarcho-syndicalism lies on the opposite extreme in that it is put forward as the working class aspect of anarchism. It would be very important if there were enough anarchists among the industrial workers for unions to come into being based on direct action in the day to day struggle and oriented towards an eventual revolutionary take-over of the factories, in other words if the anarchist movement were so widespread that it included a syndicalist movement within it. However, the accepted concept of syndicalism involves industrial unions

founded and inspired by anarchist militants, but aiming to enrol a large membership many of whom will not be convinced anarchists. This unfortunately involves the anarchists in political type manoeuvring to keep control of the union at the top, and the anarchist movement suffers both in diversion of energy and confusion of ideology as a result. A further point is that both the philosophy and proposed organisation of syndicalism are directly related to industrial struggle and do not always have a beneficial effect when they are extended to other aspects of anarchism. Syndicalism should be industrial activity inspired by anarchism, but sometimes it seems that trade union traditions are uncritically given preference over anarchist ideas. For instance, while fighting for higher wages in capitalist industry, anarchists may also be supporting communal factories or free schools at which the pay is less than union rates; anarchists may be defending the right of an individual not to join a trade union, or to join a minority union at the same time as working for the right to organise and agitate. These points illustrate the fact that anarchism must include syndicalism as a part of itself, and not fall

into the mistake of regarding itself as a kind of inner circle of the syndicalist movement. After having advocated the communist approach within anarchism, the last part of the lecture is a necessarily brief appeal to put anarchism itself first among our social commitments. The last few years have seen the anti H-bomb movement and in particular the Committee of 100 grow and illustrate an inspiring regeneration of interest in social affairs among young people in Britain and Europe. However, its impact is receding, and it is important for people who were inspired by it to take an active part in agitation, as well as those who were active before, to evaluate its rise and decline and decide what kind of activity is important in the future. While it is inevitable that relatively large numbers of people will be roused to protest against the outrageous injustices of the H-bomb, the fact remains that they are only symptoms of our authoritarian society, and if suppressed will reappear in another form. The most worthwhile activity is therefore the attempt to get people to realise the source of the problem in the authoritarian power structure of our society and to get them to change it, in other words to put activity for anarchism first. P.H.

THE AGE OF REASON

"REASON", April issue, 1/-. Published from 4 Benhams Place, N.W.3.

ON the cover of this new periodical appears a photograph of a demonstrator being dragged away across the muddy ground of what was to become the missile base of North Pickenham. The editors believe that the action against this base on December the 6th, 1958, was the beginning of a new age, the Age of Aldermaston, of C.N.D., of Civil Disobedience and the Committee of 100. Previous demonstrations and civil disobedience actions had made little impact. North Pickenham, with this particular photograph on the front page of many papers, made headline news. It launched a new epoch.

"Reason" is dedicated to finding an alternative to the world of violence and coercion. There are many good articles; on the plight of poor tenants, on the struggle in Albany, on creative toys, on poetry and violence, on sexual repression, on the recent executions, about which little was done, and there is an amusing short story or excerpt by John Brunner.

The article on creative toys I found most interesting. A number of firms and shops are listed which produce and market toys, mainly of wood and shockingly expensive, which are solidly made, with no sharp bits jutting out to harm the child, and which stimulate the child to take them to pieces and put them together again, to add on new pieces and to build things with them. Instead of encouraging violence and destruction like the toys which, I am sad to say, so delighted my early years.

Most of the shops described in this article do not have toy soldiers, guns and atomic rockets. Sometimes out of principle, sometimes because such things are too badly made to come up to their high standards of workmanship. It is a shame that the excellent things they do stock should be so dear. One feels as the author remarks, that the kind of parents these toys are really intended for do not often find their way to these shops, which are in the most upper class parts of the town as often as not, and well hidden. Toys for top people, children in fact! Or for a small "progressive" elite at any rate, who can afford to buy them.

Are there any anarchist carpenters or handicraftsmen who would like to devote themselves to the manufacture of simple wooden toys? There are several firms, and community enterprises, who are crying out for workers of this kind. The more toys of this type there are the cheaper they will be, and the more widely diffused they will be in the ordinary toyshops.

The article on the recent execution at Winchester is naturally enough highly emotionally charged. As the editors say "Reason" will be no enemy of emotion — of the right kind. The writer stresses the indifference, not only of the general public, but also of the Left. The man in question was one of the two responsible for a particularly brutal and senseless murder in Cornwall, and no doubt this had something to do with the lack of sympathy his own (legal) murder aroused on his behalf.

The writer ends his article with the remark that "we are all guilty". I think this is not wholly fair. Obviously he is not guilty, nor those who protested and demonstrated against this crime, nor

are those who have spent their lives protesting, demonstrating and writing against the whole set-up that makes hanging possible. The trouble is that reformers are mighty thin on the ground, while human atrocity is everywhere. The protesters have not time for everything.

The newspapermen do not come well out of this story, though one or two were decent. The others, who succeeded in trapping and questioning the sweetheart of the condemned man, behaved with the utmost brutality. There are many forms of violence. The physical kind is not always the worst. The whole story is brutal. The brutality of the original murderers, the brutality of the state, the brutality of the Cornish backwoodsmen who ostracised the girl (on the principle of "guilt by association"), and the brutality of the newspaper reporters who had a story, no matter what.

In my opinion they are all as bad as

POETRY OF ANGER

"POETRY FROM THE LEFT". Edited by Ken Geering. (Breakthru Publications, Densbarn, Lindfield, Sussex. Price 3s. 6d.).

"POETRY FROM THE LEFT" by its very title demands a statement of its terms of reference and the editor, Ken Geering, has attempted to clarify the position with a short introduction of this poetry magazine's aims and intentions. Geering has attempted to contain within a single cover the diverse songs of the divided left, claiming that though they sing in different keys it is all part of a single universal harmony. There is little that one could cavil at in this enterprise but one is forced to part company with Geering when he states that "today, the almost complete bourgeois press and publishing monopoly holds back left-wing poetry."

The amount of space given by the bourgeois press, or any other organ of mass communication, to poetry is limited not by their politics but by their complete lack of interest in the subject and if this be a fault then the *Daily Worker* must stand in the dock with *FREEDOM* and the *Times*. The bourgeois art galleries never hesitate to show the work of painters using left wing subjects for their canvases and the bourgeois publishing houses are impervious to the political fantasies of their contracted writers when profit and circulation are the sole arbiters of taste. God forbid that I should assume the role of the devil's advocate but when the right-wing American monthly, *Encounter*, publishes pages of work from the repertoire of publically acclaimed members of the card-conscious Left, then one must seek other reasons why the press have failed to use more poetry and William of Occam's answer would be that the reading public are just not interested. This is a harsh and simple truth that the market for poetry is so limited and the number of good poets so rare that the space is simply not available.

The answer lies not in attempting to scale the battlements of non-existent forts but to do what so many a poet and editor has done, and this magazine is a case in point, and duplicate and hawk it oneself for if the work has any value it will outlast the cheap paper and the tatty stencils. Johnson is quoted to

each other. Products of a wonderful civilisation.

Robert Shaw, in his article "More than monuments, more than governments", deals with poetry and violence, and shows how so many intellectuals are really in love with violence, and make a cult of the thing they are supposed to be attacking. I suppose that most of them live sedentary and protected lives, without coming into contact with much real violence. He quotes some really nauseating stuff in praise, seemingly, of flogging, written by a certain well-known modern poet. However Swinburne did the same thing, much more melodiously, in the last century. There is nothing very new about all this, thank goodness. One cannot say that things are getting worse, on this field at any rate, though the quality of the verse is inferior to Swinburne's. It is quaint that this sort of stuff gets published easily, while Lady Chatterly has to fight for her freedom and Fanny Hill gets banned. *Orgasm is dirt, flogging is respectable.*

REVIEWS OF SMALL MAGAZINES

These poets try to avoid moral judgments about violence, but this is a subject about which it is difficult to be neutral. Those who are not against often end by being for. Besides, while a good tussel may be harmless enough, giving a newspaperman a black eye may even be meritorious, flogging a helpless human being or animal (or even a reporter) can never be anything but wicked, and therefore what can one say but that it is the duty of all civilised people to say so, however Quakerish and fuddy-duddy this may be?

The only criticisms I can make of "Reason" are of the layout and the size of the type. Misprints abound it is true, but not to the extent of obscuring the sense. But there are huge margins and tiny type. I know that huge margins are the modern fashion. Well, it's a bad fashion, because it wastes space. And then, what is the sense of crowding your matter into one side of the page, and putting it into the kind of type which ruined the eyes of our Victorian grandparents? A.W.U.

hundred years from now ask why we of the left protest, then seek out this poem and sip the quintessence of our sorrow and of our anger. Cunliffe wrote this poem when he was employed as an attendant within an epileptic ward, and here is the sad anger of one who can offer nothing but sympathy and understanding to those whom society spurs for the evils that eat like a cancer into the hearts of men transcends class and economic barriers. Cunliffe ends his poem with the lines "& yet you lie naked & trembling as they clean your wasted body & as I watch them the key of your door dangles from a chain in my pocket".

What Cunliffe realizes and Geering does not is that when we lay down our party card or leave our dedicated group, we each of us by choice or force of circumstances join the ranks of the tormentors and the use of soiled and empty slogans are but false coins to buy our place within the ranks of the acknowledged faithful.

Over thirty years ago Mayakovsky put a bullet through his brain.

Here was a man who fulfilled the image of the poet of the official revolution. A member of the Party in his youth and for which he suffered imprisonment, to develop like juvenile boils "anarchist tendencies. He was rescued by Maxim Gorky" and then to be accepted as the poet of the people patronized by Stalin, tolerated by Lenin. The gay cosmopolitan who hymned the Party's songs. In the early months of 1930 Mayakovsky paid the price for his official standing when he addressed a group of the new revolutionary bourgeois. To these people he read his last poem "At the top of my voice" in praise of the current Five Year Plan and signed it a few weeks later with his own self-inflicted death. There among the peans of praise for a regime now, by hindsight, condemned for its tyranny, Vladimir Mayakovsky wrote his own epitaph and his credo for those who would seek to speak for the Left:

"my own statue will rise over squares, with gobs of tuberculosis, where whores with hooligans and—syphilis. I'm fed to the teeth with agit—prop."

ARTHUR MOYSE.

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REFLECTIONS ON COMMITTEE OF 100 STATEMENT

THE Committee of 100's Third Policy Statement was reprinted in *FREEDOM* (Aug. 8), without comment but in the expectation that some of our readers would consider it a document worthy of discussion in our columns. That nobody should have done so is either a reflection on our readers or on the importance they attach to documents issued by the Committee.

We think the Statement needs to be examined sympathetically by anarchists even if critically both for the ideas it expresses as well as in respect to the activities it proposes for itself as a Movement in the future.

"It is not enough to be merely anti-war" "We have broken with party politics . . . We have ceased to believe in dependence upon representatives and officials". As anarchists we welcome this growing awareness of the relationship of war to social and economic causes, which it has taken the pacifist movement a very long time to come round to, as well as a healthy scepticism regarding politicians and political parties. On the other hand it is clear from the statement that some of our friends are still somewhat muddled in their thinking when for instance they also suggest that the "neglected subjects in the twentieth century—problems of violence and its opposite, authoritarianism and its opposite—account very largely for the helplessness of politicians in face of two world wars and the threat of a third."

The Statement also declares that "we are proceeding beyond moral protest—in conflict situations—to take constructive action in their solution." This sounds all very fine on paper but by what means do they propose to put this action into effect? It seems to this writer that many people in the peace movement have raised the ideas of non-violence, of non-violent direct action, into a sort of religious faith, however much they may deny regarding them "as sectarian doctrines peculiar to ourselves". Now it seems to us that non-violence as a dogma is as stultifying to revolutionary thinking as is violence. As propagandists our principle function should be to seek to awaken a social conscience as well as a desire to act among as many people as possible.

The fact is that no lasting radical changes will ever take place until there are a very large number of people wanting and working to affect such changes. As to how these changes will come about will depend on a whole number of circumstances which those concerned in the struggle at the time will have to deal with to the best of their abilities. To state now as a dogma that whatever is achieved must be achieved by non-violent (or, for that matter, violent) methods condemns a movement to sterility. What we need to examine, and to make people aware of, are the forces

opposed to change; why they are opposed and how they protect themselves. Each individual must then decide for himself which of the means available to him he is prepared to use in the event of a "confrontation".

★

ON the organisational level the Statement declares: "We look forward to better and closer relations with all other organisations and individuals of the independent peace movement. We propose joint discussions, projects and demonstrations in which people of different persuasions can participate in their different ways without prejudice to their own values or to our common objectives".

In the public mind the Committee of 100 is the highly successful, much publicised sit-down movement which broke away from the more respectable parent body the CND. As such it has done its job, has inspired a number of people and has taught us many lessons for which the anarchists are the first to express their gratitude. But we would suggest now that the Committee of 100 as such has exhausted its possibilities, and we get the impression that what is left are a number of well-meaning individuals in search of a *raison d'être*. This desire to keep it alive at all costs, in our opinion, does more harm than good to the image, the impact of the Committee in its heyday.

That it failed to rouse the people of this country to take direct action against nuclear armaments is of no importance except possibly for the very few people who believed this could be achieved. That it failed to snowball after a brilliant start may or may not have been due to shortcomings in one or more aspects of organisation (the detailed lessons of the sit-down movement have still to be discussed and digested), or in the personalities directing the movement, or in the excessive sacrifices demanded from those willing to participate in the sit-downs. With all its shortcomings the Committee of 100 obviously inspired many people to come out of their shells and challenge authority, and its success was brief but brilliant.

However successful it might have been it could not have continued indefinitely, and in our opinion, those who now seek to revive the Committee are doomed to failure because such movements, by their very nature must have a limited existence, as well as limited scope.

We humbly suggest to those activists in the Committee of 100, who have learned from their experience that "to merely be anti-war" is not enough that, what is needed is "new thinking and action about education, housing, health, communications, transport and industrial relations"; that "party politics" and "dependence upon representatives and officials" is not for them and what is needed are "new experiments in regional, local and functional administration in which the importance of the individual counts more than the importance of 'the machine'"; that they should ask themselves whether they would not serve their ends and further their cause better by working with the anarchists who have been, after all, advocating and propagating these ideas for a very long time!

CHARLES FREDERICK WILSON serving thirty years for his part in the great train robbery decided not to. He was released from his cell by "some person or persons unknown" who "entered the prison from outside and hit a night patrol officer over the head, knocking him unconscious. They then scaled a wall at the rear of the prison, using a rope ladder." Arthur Burchinshaw, a British subject, who claims that he was planted by the Americans on the Russians in Germany to feed them with false information, decided not to. The British Consulate told him to burn some film he had to deliver to the Russians. "Burn it, make sure it is burnt, then flush it down the toilet," said the consular official. Burchinshaw says, "I did this, and I remember it stopped up the drains." Burchinshaw alleges that the Americans denounced him as a spy to the West Germans who arrested him but eventually released him on the grounds of 'insufficient evidence'. Iam Fleming, the creator of James Bond, who never had any trouble with toilets, died of a heart attack. This autumn sees the publication of Fleming's first book for children entitled *Chitty-Chitty-Bang-Bang*. Mr. Reginald Payne, editor of the *Sunday Mirror* during the Boothby mistake was replaced by the assistant editor of the *Daily Mirror*. . . .

THE OTHER Mr. Wilson made a brief reappearance in London with abrasions and contusions which he claims he got on the rocks. His opponent, Sir Alec Douglas Home claims that his finger was damaged cutting roses. National Opinion polls gave Labour a lead of 0.6% as compared with 13.1% in April. This cheered up the Stock Exchange. On the other hand, Gallup Polls failed to confirm this prognostication. At Liverpool an unpopular verdict in a boxing match produced another fracas in the ring in which a spectator injured one of the contestants, and the spectator sustained a knock-out. . . .

THE "SUNDAY CITIZEN" reported that a fire damaged a private hotel at St. Mary's in the Scilly Isles, where Mr. Harold Wilson and his wife were having dinner . . . A holidaymaker, Mr. Julian Benson of Tiverton, Devon, said, "Mr. Wilson and his wife were completely unmoved by the situation". . . .

HAGGLING OVER Cyprus continued, America decided to intervene in the Congo, Alice Lenshina gave herself up after more of her followers slaughtered and were slaughtered, and there were more race riots in the United States. . . .



IN THE LEBANON the *Bal des Petits Lits Blanc* was held in aid of French tubercular children and Lebanese orphans. The *bal* is said to have cost about £300,000 with a buffet of 30 lambs, 12 suckling pigs, 300 quail, 2 Kenya deer, 4 Swedish swans, and 6 New Zealand peacocks. It was attended by Prince Alexander of Yugoslavia, Princess Maria Pia, Vicomtesse de Ribes, Princess Ashraf and Miss Geraldine Chaplin among others. It lasted until dawn and the French tubercular children and Lebanese orphans benefited by £30,000. Mr. Shastri, the Indian Prime Minister faced with a chronic food shortage has ordered that no parties be held for two or three months and announced that his ministers would not accept lunch or dinner invitations. "We want," Mr. Shastri said, "to create a climate of thinking and behaviour in keeping with our present-day conditions. "Previously three million workers went on strike in Maharashtra State in protest against acute food shortage and rising costs. Mr. Krushchev extolled the virtues of fried horse-meat and said that there was nothing better than sausage made from horse-meat and pork. For the benefit of Russia's twenty-five million Moslems, Mr. Krushchev added: "He who cannot eat pork, let him eat horse-meat. It is simply a question of taste." Horse-meat, however, did not appear on the menu of the breakfast given by Mr. Krushchev to Lord Thomson of Fleet, chairman of Thomson Newspapers. The menu included caviar (two kinds), omelettes, asparagus, cauliflowers, turkey, dumplings and fruit; Mr. Krushchev is apparently on a diet and only ate yoghurt and black bread followed by mineral water. The Society Union announced a reduction in the period of primary and secondary education from eleven years to ten. Earlier this year it was announced that the period of higher education would be reduced by one year. . . .

GODFREY WINN wrote to pop-singer Cilla Black via the *Daily Sketch*: "Dear Cilla . . . Why Don't You Come Down to Earth?" and asks her to go by bus occasionally. He writes, "I deliberately take a bus every week of my working life. Not for economy but for the good of my soul. It cuts me down to size. It makes me feel I belong to the rest of the world." He goes on to recommend that Cilla gets about more. For example: take "a picnic to Kew Gardens, or visit Windsor Castle where the biggest star in Britain lives". He gets back to the common touch of the bus with "After all, Mr. Macmillan when he stepped down from being Prime Minister thought there was nothing incongruous about his going home from the office by bus. And you know, in this way, he was as famous as you are". In the *Express* a plea for "the biggest star in Britain". "Could not the Queen's work be eased if she ceased to bestow honours personally? Those who receive honours ought to be jolly well satisfied at getting them without expecting her to spend long hours in dishing them out." . . .

FIELD MARSHAL SIR GERALD TEMPLAR, a former chief of the Imperial General Staff wrote that the higher command (in the First World War) were not criticized by soldiers in the trenches as they are in some quarters today. There was "the normal grousing which is the age-old prerogative of all soldiers in wartime." "We did not believe that 'they' had led us into these circumstances through stupidity or callousness. I believe that we were convinced that our leaders were doing their duty to the best of their ability and with honour, just as we were attempting to do our best to carry out the orders given to us. It does no service to the dead or to the living to say, with the hindsight of fifty years later, that all the sufferings could be avoided." He was writing in the fifth volume of *Their Name Liveth*, a record by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in which 1,106,000 dead of the First World War and 580,000 of the Second will be, have been, or will be, recorded by name. . . .

THREE MEMBERS of the Committee of 100 from Ilford appeared in court each facing two charges of receiving Civil Defence documents of a restricted nature, two charges of breaking and entering Civil Defence headquarters and one of being in possession of house-breaking implements by night. They were remanded on bail after an undertaking to refrain from nuclear disarmament activities until the conclusion of their case. . . .

Why Permanent Protest?

I HAVE before me *FREEDOM*, Vol. 1, No. 1, dated October 1886* and the editorial states:—

"We are living on the eve of great events. Before the end of this century we will see great revolutionary movements breaking up our social conditions in Europe and probably also in America. Now that Europeans are so closely connected by steam and electricity; now that the same ideas inspire the Norwegian workman and the Italian peasant, the rapid spread of the revolution is yet more inevitable. Governments will be overthrown. Peasants will seize the land. Workers in towns will seize factories and mills. New forms of life will be submitted to a trial; new departures made in the industrial and political life of societies."

It is obvious that the revolutionary hopes of 1886 went unfulfilled because the masses simply were not interested. The millions who marched behind the elevating slogans of the then developing trade unions and radical parties must indeed have led our first editors to believe that revolution was imminent and the free society just around the corner. But although the masses marched behind the slogans of Peace, Freedom and Equality it turned out that what they really wanted was a higher material standard of living. At least that is what they have settled for. And the form of society which has provided this higher standard is capitalism. So as to convince themselves that the workers are with them most radical propagandists simply urge that people should get more and more out of capitalism. They simply cannot see that the practical effect of urging that everyone with over, say £15 a week, in this relatively prosperous corner of the globe, should get

more, is to make their propaganda serve as a remote outpost of the advertising industry.

In our own time the only large scale movement to have arisen has been CND. It is patently on the wane. The great majority of its supporters have been middle class; the workers just were not interested. The Committee of 100 rose in 1961 and hoped that each of its civil disobedience demonstrations would be larger than the one before. This did not happen and the Committee has dwindled to the present hard core. The masses failed to respond.

And so the workers will not improve this society let alone build an anarchist one. There are three other ways in which an anarchist society is supposed to come into being. The first is that the scientists will build it. The second that the psychologists will do all the work and the third idea is that society 'naturally' progresses towards freedom and inexorable historical laws will lead society to anarchy. Well, the scientists seem to be busy creating a hell on earth, the psychologists, although holding much useful truth, are hopelessly divided and can anyone produce any rational arguments backed up by concrete evidence that society 'naturally' progresses towards freedom? Rational arguments not pious pipe dreams.

The editors of 1886 believed that people wanted freedom. But obviously only a few do, the bulk of the population being quite happy with masters providing they are not too harsh. And their desires for more material wealth will never lead their thoughts in a libertarian direction. If affluence is a man's aim in life he joins the rat race, saves up, buys a little house in the suburbs, votes conservative (or labour) and endeavours to rise into the middle

class. He does not support anarchism on the off-chance of some glorious future society arising, which probably cannot produce as abundantly as capitalism anyway. But if self-motivation, enlightened self-interest and personal freedom are his aims he will look towards anarchism. And having become an anarchist the only realistic course to adopt is that of permanent protest.

A permanent protester is very dubious, to say the least, of a free society ever arising. He wants to live his anarchism here now so far as possible and not look to some theoretical future society. The way he lives his life will depend on taste, capability and opportunity. Possibilities for an individual vary between stoicism and withdrawal to desert islands. Group activities could vary between monthly discussion meetings and the establishing of rural self-supporting communities. Other possible activities are free education, child caring schemes, adventure playgrounds, communal work projects, experiments in the arts and shared living accommodation. Nor need permanent protest mean quietism and the withdrawal from social commitment. A propaganda newspaper could be produced from a rural community as well as from London if a press was installed. During the 1930's *FREEDOM* was produced from a community. And what better propaganda could there be than for people to be seen living their philosophy instead of just talking about it?

Permanent protest propaganda will take a different line from contemporary radical propaganda which is largely self-defeating. It will stress not the horrors of current society but the advantages of permanent protest. Propaganda about the horrors of society usually only aggravates them. Herbert Read writes in "Poetry and Anarchism" that he gave up writing pacifist tracts which gave realistic descriptions of trench warfare in World War I when he realised that

ANARCHISM ON BBC TV

'Let Me Speak,' with Malcolm Muggeridge, BBC2. August 22nd 10.20 p.m. (BCC willing).

Chicago

COMRADES,

I would like to make a few comments about the political situation in this country *apropos* your lead article in the July 25 FREEDOM, "Goldwater or Poverty?"

Firstly in this country one can quickly tell the age it seems of a radical by his prediction of the coming election's results. The older radicals very seriously believe that Goldwater can win; the younger, naive, largely believe that Johnson will win with resounding majorities in almost all of the large urban states, and consequently walk away with the election. Johnson, I believe, will carry the east, mid-western states like Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and maybe Ohio and Penn could go Goldwater. The west is a toss-up, but anyone who takes Calif. can negate all the other western states in terms of electoral votes.

The older radicals really fear the so-called white backlash. In my opinion the backlash does not exist; this vote is simply the white conservative vote which has always existed in especially the rural areas and in the suburbs of large cities. Those who give credence to the backlash base their view on the belief that the white working class will vote republican

★ LETTERS ★

this election because of a supposed threat he feels from the negro community. But as Chicago's Mayor Daley said recently, a voter does not change his party affiliation because of one issue, especially if this issue is not a bread and butter one. You may have heard of Mayor Daley, the last of the old-time machine-running mayors? I respect his political acumen—don't you?

It is hard to separate the problems of Goldwater and Poverty because of the control of communications by a wealthy elite which leaves the ordinary citizen living in a world of illusions. The recent "riots" in Harlem brought this concentration camp into the news, see *Time*, for the first time in all of its rottenness. Though the long shots as in *Time*, make the whole place unreal. Much better would be pictures of young children with rats and broken plaster walls. Yet the television coverage was good and some worthwhile programmes did touch the inhuman living conditions that exist in Harlem, but again Harlem can become a word for a damnable place that the ordinary citizen feels no responsibility for, and

totally alienated from. Chicago has negro ghettos as bad as Harlem. The infamous "southside", 63rd and Cottage Grove, are jazz-famous and the heart of the southside Negro ghetto where humans are living in as bad a condition as in Harlem, but this is not brought to the attention of the television viewer. Nor the fact that downtown banks own much of this property. Negroes have to battle almost alone against their landlords, without the white community aware that a fight is taking place.

The possibility of a Harlem-like riot in Chicago exists, but the chances of its occurrence are slim because the negroes in Chicago do not live in as a highly dense urban community as Harlem in New York. In Chicago the southside formed at the turn of the century the negro community. It grew larger and larger until the second world war when negroes began to move into poor housing west of the downtown area. As urban renewal pushed negroes out of the southside after the war, they began to move into the west side, so that today negroes live in Chicago's westside and southside, are beginning to move into the near north-side.

I live about one mile from the fringes of the southside ghetto. What keeps me from living within it is the back-of-the-yards organization mentioned by Swann in ANARCHY No. 41. This organisation and the large catholic community centred around visitation parish have kept the negroes from entering. Mayor Daley lives on the northern fringe of the back-of-the-yards let's say on the other side of the stock yards. And the people who are supposed to make up the backlash are his neighbours who have successfully kept out the negroes, and of course to prevent them from becoming a backlash he will do all in his power to contain the negroes and keep his neighbours free from anxiety—nice man. So you have a situation wherein a democrat to keep his "people" loyal will go to racist extremes to prevent his con-

stituency from becoming fascist. That's politics.

If Goldwater is a political sore, then Chicago a recent survey revealed that one out of six Chicagoans lives in poverty, the national average is one in five. But the line taken for the survey was \$3,000 annual income for a family; the labour department has set as \$6,500 as the annual income of a family of four to live modestly but adequately in Chicago. It cost more to live in Chicago than in any other city in the U.S. Taking the \$3,000 figure the report found that 700,000 live in poverty in Cook County, which includes all of Chicago and a few suburbs. The report showed however that fewer than half of the poor families were receiving assistance from the governmental welfare agencies. Of the 145,000 families in the poverty group, more than half are headed by women, and 37% are non-white.

These are startling figures with those who have an imagination.

The only bright spot is the fact that a small segment of our population is beginning to face reality, and trying to change their situation.

BERNARD MARSZALEK.

Eroticism Wanted

DEAR FRIENDS,

We are soon to publish a booklet of contemporary eroticism. This is to be edited by Arthur Moysie and will, beside original contributions, feature time-honoured material, of local or international reputation, previously unpublished. As far as we know this will be the only serious publication of its kind and is, in our opinion, long overdue.

Original poems, and all other suitable material, should be sent *without* the customary S.A.E. to the address below. Publication will be the only reward and no manuscripts, used or unused, will be returned.

DAVE CUNLIFFE

Screeches Publications,

11, Clematis Street, Blackburn, Lancs

Why Permanent Protest?

Continued from page 3

people were reading them just to get sado-masochistic kicks. Inadvertently he had been making propaganda FOR war. It is no coincidence that the books describing Nazi war crimes find their best markets in the kinky book shops around Leicester Square. And kinky people commit war crimes. And what is the good of talking of the horrors of H-war to a population which has a subconscious death-wish. Talking of the colour problem usually only aggravates it. And

telling the blunt truth about people and society usually makes them angry—at the propagandist. It disturbs their smug mental worlds.

The permanent protester's argument against war is to live in peace—come what may. His argument against racialism is to practice miscegenation. He will tell people not what creeps they really are but how they could live better by adopting libertarian ideas.

As well as adopting a new approach to propaganda the permanent protester will endeavour to adopt rational attitudes to people and society. He will steer midway between the rocks of facilism and irresponsibilism. Facilism is the belief that people are 'naturally good' and that if only governments could be got rid of everything would be all right. Its most extreme expression was a view I once heard that the workers are really ready for anarchism but are divided and confused by the policemen and capitalists who, disguised as workers, move among them committing anti-social acts. (Murdering children, scabbing on strikers, etc.). Irresponsibilism at the other extreme holds that although current society may have made you a thug, a murderer or a maniac, you must still be free—tomorrow. Libertarianism thereby consists of doing what authoritarianism has made you want to do.

Between facilism and irresponsibilism the permanent protester will take the happy medium—realising that some people are ready for anarchy tomorrow some never. He will endeavour to live anarchism today. Is anything else possible? To what extent is permanent protest possible in the modern world? It would be useful to have a debate.

R.J.

*Complete sets and individual copies of the back numbers of FREEDOM for most of the years between 1886 and 1927 will soon be on sale from Freedom Press.

FINGS

"Freedom" Sellers Wanted

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

Anti-Election

Anti-election campaign advancing for the last heave. If you find it all sick-making, meet for leafletting 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6, Monday, August 24th, 8 p.m.

Prisoners, Ex-Prisoners, Human Beings?

After being in prison for Committee of 100 activities it is hard enough to retain your sanity and start becoming a human being again—let alone worrying about your accumulated bills and where to get the next meal. Our "long-term" prisoners will be out soon. Pat Arrowsmith and Brian McGee are due out in October Terry Chandler—veteran of the 1963 Greek demonstration—was recently released. He needs aid now. Others already released, among them Lily Lee, also need assistance. Please help us to alleviate their financial problems. Welfare Group (Committee of 100), Ground Floor, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

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

ELECTION ANTHOLOGY—VIII

In effecting a reform by legislative methods it is necessary to go through this procedure. In the first place it is necessary to agitate in order to convince the body of the people that a great public evil exists. Public opinion being aroused—it is now necessary to convince a body of men of the existence of this evil, and of the existence of a strong desire to remove it, and of the methods to do this. After some time some representatives, or—even a party of politicians, take the matter up, and the people who have agitated for years and years ere the question entered the realms of "practical politics" are now congratulating themselves upon the success of their long agitation. But their congratulations are rather early yet.

The political party which has taken up the matter may not be strong enough to introduce a Bill: they may be in opposition. Two or three years pass, and a General Election comes which

returns the party to power. But difficulties are not over, other things "block the way" and it is a few more years before the Bill is introduced. The original agitators now getting into the "sere and yellow leaf" imagine their time of triumph has come at last. Not yet, however. The other party—the party in opposition—has to be convinced of its necessity. When convinced of its necessity, they will however, disagree upon every possible method that can be adapted. Clause by clause, line by line, the Bill is fiercely contested, until after a lapse of a few more years it becomes law, but so mutilated and patched up as to become almost unrecognizable to its originators, who, now hoary with years far beyond that usually allotted to man, drop into their graves, from agony and shame at the sight of this miserable abortion which is presented them in their old age as the child of their youth.

BLAIR SMITH.

Keep it Up!

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		1,815

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AUG. 23 Philip Sansom on: Just Speaking

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

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Irregular meetings—enquiries to c/o Martin Howells, 7 Richmond Dale, Clifton, Bristol 8. Meets Sundays (weather and circumstances permitting), 3.30 p.m. on the Downs (Blackboy Hill).

Dundee Group

Contact Rod Cameron, 6 Westfield Place, Dundee.

Edinburgh Group

Enquiries to: Douglas Trueman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3. Meetings every Monday at Rob Hainsworth, 10 Jacacia Street, Edinburgh.

Glasgow Federation

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

Manchester Group

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

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