

'Under a government which imprisons any man unjustly the true place for a just man is also in prison . . . the only house in a slave state in which a free man can abide with honour.'
H. D. THOREAU

Christie & Carballo!

The Defence Committee

Still needs FUNDS!

AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d.

SEPTEMBER 12 1964 Vol 25 No 28

SINCE the last issue of FREEDOM appeared the 18-year old Scottish anarchist Stuart Christie has been found guilty by a Military Court of "terrorist activities against the Spanish Government" and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. His alleged accomplice, Spanish carpenter, 40-year old Fernando Carballo of Madrid, has received a 30-year sentence. At a trial lasting less than four hours the Court was satisfied that the accused were guilty, and a few hours later announced the price they must pay for their guilt. Both accused, according to the reports, admitted their guilt, and Mr. Neil McDermott, Q.C., M.P., who had been instructed by the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee's London solicitors and who flew to Madrid to attend the trial said at a press conference on his return that Christie had told him that he had made his confession freely; that he had made a full confession because he was caught red-handed.

Christie's alleged confession has caused consternation among a number of our comrades up and down the country who from the outset were convinced that he was the victim of a frame-up because from what they knew of him, he would not have been willing to become involved in activities connected with terrorist violence. Other comrades have expressed their fears that the considerable publicity given to the case will have done great harm to the anarchist cause in this country by reviving, or confirming, the once popular view that equated anarchism with bomb-throwing.

Since everything that could be done for Christie and Carballo, by

at least Christie's friends in this country (for we have still been unable to establish the identity of Carballo, in the vital period between his arrest and trial, has been done, we would earnestly suggest that there is not the remotest possibility that the Franco government will consider any drastic revision of the sentence or re-open the case in the immediate future, we must accept that Christie is locked-up and Carballo too, assuming he is a comrade (and not a stool-pigeon who will soon be back doing his master's bidding), and that we have therefore time to regain our breath and examine the situation as calmly as our intelligence and objectives permit.

No more Martyrs!

WE believe we interpret the feelings of the comrades whom we esteem when we say that our overriding concern is that Stuart Christie should serve as little of his prison sentence as possible. (Needless to say we link Carballo to Christie if he is, in fact, an anarchist or anti-Franco revolutionary). The anarchist movement, just as the socialists, communists and every dissident movement in a hostile regime, has had martyrs. But un-

like the movements that rely on symbolic figures, inspired leaders (and martyrs fit the bill perfectly) the anarchist approach is to ordinary individuals, working men, who they seek to influence in the direction of self-responsibility and militancy, by the validity of their arguments and the values they defend. Anarchists, if anything, are embarrassed by actions which appear a self-conscious invitation to martyrdom; by which we mean actions, or gestures which are doomed *a priori* to failure.

We have seen quite a number of examples of this during the past few years in the anti-nuclear movement. We are not referring to the original intentions of the Committee of 100 to engage in mass demonstrations of civil disobedience in which one courted mass arrest, the approach clearly being *against* individual sacrifice and martyrdom; indeed the theory was that the whole legal and penal machinery would break down. It was when that mass support was not available on a sufficient scale to even hope to prevent the police from doing just as they liked with demonstrators—selective arrests, persecution of organisers and the activists—that the "demoralisation" of the civil disobedience movement, in our opinion, set in.

Martyrdom is a bad thing, is bad propaganda for minority movements such as ours because it tends to inhibit people who are sympathetic to a cause and would be prepared to contribute what they can to it, but who do not feel able to rise to such heights nor are prepared, for various reasons, to take risks which might involve them in persecution and imprisonment. These sympathisers,

The Terrorism of Governments

IF the Stuart Christie case has done harm to our cause in this country it will be for the reasons we have outlined above and not because it has revived the "image" of anarchists as terrorists and bomb-throwers. If these were characteristics attributable only to the anarchists there would be reason to feel worried. But terrorism is, in fact, used by all governments without

faced with the militancy and martyrdom of the few, may well conclude that they have nothing to give, or that their intended contribution is derisory, and will therefore withdraw from activity of any kind. There is a parallel surely here with the party and Union rank-and-file who leave everything to their leaders because the latter have been built-up as supermen who get things done.

hesitation in certain situations. What are the Commandos, every "civilised" nation boasts of possessing as part of its armed forces, if not terrorists? Think of the number of books, films based on commando raids, think of the number of medals for valour awarded to commandos and parachutists for services rendered! We shall be told, "but this

Continued on page 3

WHAT LIES BEHIND THE Christie Terror Trial?

THE ANNUAL PRETENCE

SOME months ago the magazine *New Society* ran a series of articles on issues of social importance such as hospitals and care of old people, which were going to be ignored by mutual consent by the major parties at the forthcoming general election. With the election approaching, the range of subjects that must not be mentioned in case the poor electors images of the two parties becomes blurred, is becoming larger and the non-issues more specific.

At the T.U.C. Congress which will be in progress when this article appears efforts are being made to prevent, or hush up the subject of opposition to Polaris bases, which the A.S.L.E.F. is seeking to have reaffirmed. It is also hoped that delegates who want to discuss the question of trade union structure will obediently shut up rather than cause any unseemly disagreements.

Let us suppose for a moment that without being extreme and expecting the workers all to be anarchists, the trade union movement was inspired by a spirit of democracy and a desire to reflect and represent its members. Then the annual Congress would surely be a meeting at which the most controversial subjects would be heatedly debated, possibly leaving those on which there was substantial agreement to be dealt with by committees. After having come to a decision on these important issues, the delegates would make sure that any Council elected for the coming year reflected the views of the Congress on important matters, and that special groups would be charged with implementing the important resolutions.

What we see at the present T.U.C. is that the Council is in disagreement with the Congress decision calling for the removal of Polaris missiles and American nuclear bases

from Britain and has done nothing to implement it, and that the Congress hasn't done a thing about it. The arrangement for next week seems to be to let the reaffirmation through quietly rather than make a fuss. After all, no one is going to put it into practice!

This manoeuvre, which the T.U.C. chiefs are obviously happy to have taking place anyway, is excused by the idea that a discussion on militarism might alienate votes from Labour. The subjugation of the workers' organisation to the political needs of a parliamentary party has the effect of helping the bureaucracy to impose itself, stifling discussion, and acting as a brake on direct action. The threats to withhold the full force of strike action that the dockers could wield in their wage demands are another example.

However, it is impossible to expect change while the majority of workers are just not interested in taking action about their conditions of work or the relation of labour to social conditions. Yet ultimately the positions of the Union leaders depends on the passive support of the millions of card-holding members, and the fact that this assent, passively given, can put these leaders into some of the controlling cliques in the country, is surely a sign that if it were used intelligently and vigorously by the people, they could overthrow the present system of capitalism and militarism.

The intrigues at Blackpool, the farce that pretends to be the annual meeting of representatives of the working people of Britain, is at the same time a symbol of the stultifying effect of political socialism, and of the fact that no genuine workers' organisation can live unless the vast majority of its members are conscious, active and determined to take part in it. P.H.

General Dock Strike?

Port workers' delegates have rejected the "final" pay offer by the employers and have decided to ask the executives of the four unions to sanction strike action in order to gain demands.

The new "final" offer, once again kept secret by the unions and the employers, was 12/6d. per week for time-workers and 3 1/2% for piece-workers. The employers also offered increased "fall-back" rates from £7 16s. 9d. to £9. This is the wage received by dockers, who on reporting to work, find none available. However this offer was conditional on discussions on the decasualisation of the docks.

After hearing of this rejection, Mr. Cousins, General Secretary of the Transport & General Workers' Union, said "This is a serious situation, but we shall hope to avoid a conflict. There will be a discussion by the executive

of our union on September 21."

If the union executives agree to strike on this date, then they will follow the "disputes procedure" laid down in the national agreement. This is that 28 days' notice will be given as they intend to end the agreement and then 14 days' notice of strike action. This brings them to November 1st, and as the date now favoured for the General Election is October 15th, the threat of a national dock strike is possible during the election period.

This has been pointed out by the national press, as well as the fact that Mr. Cousins was concerned with the busmen's strike in 1956 which was supposed to have contributed to the defeat of the Labour Party at the election in the following year. Will Mr. Cousins take the chance and back strike action?

Of course there is still plenty of time to reach some sort of agreement, although going on what the employers say, they are ready to make a stand. After all the government was very quick to blame them in 1962 when they conceded and so avoided a national strike by one hour. They say: "There will be no retreat. We have made an extremely generous offer, and the force of our arguments is so overwhelming that we should only be buying off trouble if we offered more money."

In actual fact, I think the union executives agree that it is a "generous" offer, but the rank and file dockers don't think so. They have shown their opposition to this and are out for 25% for time-workers and 5% for piece-workers. The time-worker, a minority, is unable to gain higher rates through local negotiations and so these men are determined to get the 25%. They are not alone in this for they have the back-

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

ing of their piece-work mates.

Because of this opposition, the union leadership, though possibly willing to accept, are in an awkward spot. They will insist, as they have already done, on going through *all* of the procedure formalities in the hope of finding some way out. Although arbitration has already been rejected, there is always the possibility of a court of inquiry. There is still time for compromise, for I doubt very much that the unions' executives want a strike on their hands, especially during the general election period.

By using these procedure formalities, the union leaders may be able to hold off any unofficial action. They are helped in this by certain political groupings, active in industry, who, when official action is being considered, hold back workers wishing to take immediate action. These groupings, who compete amongst themselves, are another set of leaders, waiting to gain the positions, influence or control of union executives.

If these claims are to be won, then some form of industrial action will have to be taken. There is no point in delay. Employers might say that the average wage of the dockers is above that of other workers, but this is because action has been taken to make it so. They don't get this wage for nothing, and the employers prefer not to point out the vast increase in productivity and the increased profits they have reaped over the years. Added to this are the attempts of the employers to do a deal with the unions over decasualisation, seeking even bigger profits at the expense of the dockers.

The unions know that their members are against these plans of "buying the rule book" in return for decasualisation and have so far made no agreement. They also know of the determination to win these new claims. The rank and file should not wait for the leadership to make its procedure decisions, but organise now for industrial action to win the demands. P.T.

ANARCHY 43

ON SALE NOW DISCUSSES PARENTS & TEACHERS

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 2s. on the first Saturday of every month

SEVERAL meetings and demonstrations in support of Stuart Christie and Fernando Carballo have taken place during the last fortnight, the majority of them being in London.

Under the chairmanship of Jack Stevenson a public meeting held at the Conway Hall, London, on the 28th August was addressed by Donald Room, cartoonist; Sid Bristow, Labour Councillor for Hackney; Douglas Kepper, Secretary of the London Committee of 100; Augustin Roa, Secretary of the CNT in exile; Philip Sansom, Freedom Press, and Ken Hawkes, Syndicalist Workers' Federation. The meeting was not very well attended, but there was a good response to the Chairman's appeal for funds.

On Sunday the 30th August, following a meeting at Speakers' Corner, 200 people, some of them members of Hackney Y.S., C.N.T., S.W.F., and A.F.B., marched in protest to the Spanish Embassy, led by a loudspeaker van carrying a replica of a garrotte and its victim. The police, out in force as usual, prevented the marchers from approaching the Embassy, but allowed a deputation of 12 through to deliver a petition of protest to the Ambassador.

Following the return of the deputation, the march continued through the West End and back to Speakers' Corner. A large number of leaflets were handed out and approximately £10 was collected for the fund. The Christie-Carballo Defence Committee met each evening of the next week, commencing on the Tuesday and a picket was maintained outside the Embassy. After the announcement of the sentences, three comrades kept it going all night.

It had been previously decided to book Trafalgar Square, provisionally, for a meeting on the next Saturday and this turned out to be a wise decision, for on Monday it was learned that the trial was to be the following day. The meeting in the square, with about 400 people present, was addressed by Mike Callinan, S.W.F., Paul Foot, Y.S., Emrys Thomas, I.L.P., Ian Dixon, Committee of 100, A. Roa, C.N.T., Philip Sansom, L.A.G. and George Clarke, C.N.D.

The Chairman of the meeting read out the following statement: "We wish to protest at the savage sentences of 20 and 30 years passed on Stuart Christie and Fernando Carballo. We appeal to all those who value human dignity, freedom and justice to join our protest against this barbarous action of a régime which came to power by force of arms and has since maintained itself by terror and brutality."

Signed: Fenner Brockway, M.P., Julian Beck; Claud Cockburn; Dr. Alex Com-

ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF *Christie & Carballo*

fort; Ernest Davies; David Ennals; Judith Malina; Gordon Shaffer; Sidney Silverman, M.P.; and Anthony Wedgwood-Benn, M.P.

A tape-recorded message from Bertrand Russell was played.

On the plinth a blown-up photograph of Hitler and Franco inspecting Nazi troops, and a model of a man's figure crucified on a swastika emphasized the theme which was introduced by speaker after speaker: that the Franco régime had been put into power by the armed might of Hitler and Mussolini and remained in spite of a war against fascism which had cost millions of lives.

Mike Callinan opened on behalf of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation. They would continue the fight against the Franco régime. An intensified campaign against tourism in Spain would go forward from that afternoon, insults would be hurled at the Spanish Embassy and windows might be broken there. In the course of his speech he made a relevant point in reminding his hearers that in this country Brendan Behan at about Stuart Christie's age had received for a similar offence a term of 18 months' imprisonment.

Emrys Thomas spoke of his party's support of the Republic during the civil war. He supported this campaign not only for the release of Stuart Christie but in the interest of the liberty of all.

Ian Dixon metaphorically brought onto the platform "my old Dad", who on reading of the Stuart Christie case had commented: Well, if he was bringing explosives into the country... But "his old Dad" was of the generation which had fought for six years against the type of régime which Franco represents. On this basis every member of the British army would deserve a prison sentence. He further brought to mind

the recent trial of Nelson Mandela, and his statement in justification of sabotage which had favourable publicity in this country. As for explosives—this country is stiff with explosives, and the gentlemen of Aldermaston are not doing prison terms. The struggle for freedom is going on every day everywhere in the world. He urged that we should go forward from the meeting and work damned hard for Christie.

Augustin Roa, Secretary of the C.N.T. in exile, spoke in Spanish, which I do not understand and there was no translation. But the obstreperous young Spanish tourists in front of the plinth who had barracked from the commencement of the meeting, listened for the most part.

George Clarke spoke of the waste of keeping in gaol this young man who had something to contribute to society in the way of idealism, and who would learn nothing in a Spanish gaol. He did not commend Christie's action but commended his courage, and thought everything should be done short of blowing up the House of Commons to secure his release.

Paul Foot said he had known Christie as a member of the Young Socialists, which organization he had left to join the anarchists. One of their criticisms of him had been that he never did anything! It seemed that to some people the question whether or not Christie had carried explosives was crucial; he thought it almost irrelevant. He had scathing comments to make on the *New Statesman* columnist who didn't see any reason for holding a protest meeting because, just like any country, Spain was bound to be harsh on terrorists. Paul Foot cited the example of South Africa, where people admitted to terrorism and were applauded by the progressive world because the normal

processes were barred to them. And so in Spain. Accepting that Christie had carried a few sticks of dynamite, he thought the irony of 20 years' imprisonment for this would bring itself home even to a *New Statesman* columnist—how many years would the latter give for the wholesale massacre of socialists, communists, anarchists by the Franco regime? It was the duty of those present and those who supported the campaign to demand Christie's unconditional release.

Philip Sansom welcomed the Spanish visitors and, as had other speakers, impressed on them that they were taking part in an experience of freedom which they could not find at home. He was confident that millions of Spaniards would have welcomed anything that might have been done to release the grip of Franco's tyranny. Freedom stops at the Pyrenees. He castigated the impertinence of the charge against Christie and Carballo of "plotting psychological terror"—coming from a régime which for 25 years had not plotted, but executed psychological terror. Yet he did not advocate a boycott of visits to Spain thus cutting off the Spanish people from all contact with freedom. He had in fact recently returned from a holiday in Spain and hoped to be able to go there again. He wanted all national barriers everywhere to be broken down.

Going through relevant details of Christie's life—his birth under the shadow of the Hiroshima bomb, the climate of violence in which his generation had been reared, he spoke of Christie's youth, impulsiveness, generous-heartedness, the "fire in the belly", the idealism he was entitled to have at the age of 18, while not condoning what was done, he claimed it should be treated as a stupidity, which was what it was.

But galling though it might be for an anarchist to plead with a government, all we can do towards getting the release of Stuart Christie or a reduction in his sentence is to appeal, to say "please", to plead on his behalf.

After the meeting a protest petition was handed into the Spanish Embassy and there was a march to Speakers' Corner via Hyde Park Corner. A further collection was taken which realised over £50.

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AND ANOTHER APPEAL...

DEAR FRIEND,

On August 27, 1964, at Stratford Magistrates' Court, Ron Bailey, Del Foley and Des Watson were convicted of charges in connection with break-ins to Civil Defence Headquarters in the Ilford area. Fines totalling £350 were imposed, to be paid within a month. The three men are members of the Essex Committee of 100 and Ilford YCND, and have been active in asking the Ilford Civil Defence authorities awkward questions for several years.

Ron Bailey (post-graduate student) and Del Foley (trainee teacher) have to find £150 each by September 24, 1964 or go to prison for six months; Des Watson (clerk) was fined £50 and has raised a loan to cover this amount.

We regard these fines, and the alternative prison sentences, as utterly disproportionate to the offences the three were charged with. They are unable to find such a large sum within a month, and we are therefore appealing for help. They already have to pay legal costs, as the magistrate twice refused to grant them legal aid.

We are asking for outright donations, large or small.

We are also asking for loans, which Ron Bailey and Del Foley will repay at a total rate of at least £12 per month. If more than £350 is raised by these methods, some of the loans will be repaid immediately. Should more than £350 be raised in outright donations, the balance will be given to the Committee of 100 Welfare Fund.

Money should be sent to Jon Tinker, 22 Clifton Gardens, London, W.9. It is vital that enough money be received by us by Thursday, September 24. All contributions will be acknowledged, and we hold ourselves jointly responsible for the repayment of loans, and guarantee that the money will only be used to pay the three fines.

Yours sincerely,
PEGGY DENNY, TERRY CHANDLER,
IAN DIXON, PAT POTTLE,
JON TINKER, KEN WELLER.

LETTERS

... and Matters Arising

I intend no criticism of those who have worked so hard and so long organising meetings and demonstrations on behalf of Stuart Christie.

It is not their fault, but ill luck, that each time they have organised a meeting appealing for clemency, there seems to have been at least one speaker roundly challenging the Franco régime, as if in a deliberate attempt to provoke them into making a martyr of Stuart. Obviously if he is released, for whatever reason, it will appear to many naive people (and will be argued by various interested people) that the Spanish government is merciful, even a little liberal. And from the way some self-styled comrades of Stuart have leapt on the opportunity to shriek out the old anti-Franco

slogans to a new audience, one gathers that they would prefer the very death of Christie to any improvement of Franco's public image.

To argue that Franco is a Nazi, because his war against the Spanish people was used by the Luftwaffe as a "live exercise", is no more valid than to argue that Nguyen Kahn is an American-style democrat, because he was assisted into power by the Americans. There are better reasons than ideological identification, for a big military power intervening in a civil war.

In fact General Franco has more in common with General Nguyen Kahn than ever he had with Hitler. In spite of participation in Spain's coalition government by the fascist Falange (of which incidentally Franco was never a member), it is not a fascist régime so much as a simple military despotism, of the slummy, Roman Catholic, Coca-Cola type which abounds among America's dependents in S. America and S.E. Asia.

Unlovely as they are, such régimes are not necessarily deaf to appeals for clemency, especially judiciously backed, well-lubricated appeals made on behalf of foreigners. For Christie's sake let us make one.

London, Sept. 8.

D.R.

Who's Biassed?

DEAR COMRADES,

I am constantly being told that FREEDOM will not publish personal attacks on people, but I now see that this applies only to self-styled anarchists, since Jack Robinson spends a good chunk of last week's FREEDOM abusing Malcolm Muggeridge in an incredibly biased way. I hoped to read a review of the BBC TV2 programme "Let Me Speak", but instead I got a collection of incredibly elaborate metaphors and the assertion that "he (Muggeridge) believes in nothing and is, in short, the common viewer". Really, Jack, how can we criticise the capitalist press for bias when you come out with a thing like that?

I met Muggeridge on the TV programme, and I was pleasantly surprised. He was not the pompos old menace I had expected, he struck me as a kindly, principled, slightly aristocratic man with a deep belief in the desirability of a Free Society. His negative side is I think, composed entirely of a critical cynicism based on bitter experiences of his own. It is probably in refuge from this that he has become a Catholic. Jack says that his principal aim within the programme was to display himself as a 'personality'. Whilst there may be some truth in this it is not the whole story, and is therefore cruel. I talked at some length about the programme to Stanley Hyland, the producer, and I am convinced that he and Muggeridge really thought it desirable that the seven groups of young rebels (?) should be given a chance for free publicity. I believe that the entertainment aspect genuinely came second, or no more than equal first, and that the same could be said for the Muggeridge-mongering which Jack so strongly objects to.

That the programme was less favourable to the anarchist case than it might have been is entirely due to the inadequacies of the anarchists on the panel, since from the BBC itself we received nothing but help and consideration. The Stuart Christie censorship, which I was assured was motivated by concern for his welfare and his request that his appearance should be cut, deprived the programme of some of its highlights perhaps, but if it is to be criticised then please direct criticism to the rightful target—those of us who appeared on it

Yours sincerely,
Bristol 6., Sept. 6. IAN VINE

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the Papal Encyclical

THE National Secular Society regrets that the first encyclical of Pope Paul VI, while paying lip-service to Pope John's liberal *Pacem in Terris*, appears essentially to return to the Cold War politics of his old tutor, Axis sympathiser Pope Pius XII.

It is extraordinary that, in putting himself forward as an international mediator, the present pope should overlook church assets conservatively valued at £5,000m. and 1600 years of political intrigue when claiming that the Vatican is "utterly divorced from purely temporal interests and strictly political forms". Even his call for Christian and theist unity contrives to have not so much devout as political overtones. However sincere and well-intentioned Pope Paul may be personally, the world will look to Malta, Sicily, Spain, Portugal, Australia, Ceylon and Latin America to see the real results of 'mediation' by the Catholic Church.

The pope may be excused for his fear of atheism, which liberates men and women from supernatural fears and clerical interference alike, and helps them to realise their true dignity as thinking beings and democratic citizens free to enjoy responsibly the natural world, the arts and sciences.

DAVID TRIBE

MONEY URGENTLY NEEDED Financial Report of Christie-Carballo Defence Committee.

The Christie-Carballo Defence Committee has so far engaged the services of B. N. Birnberg for legal help and advice and contributed towards the expenses of Niall MacDermot, Q.C., M.P., to fly to Madrid as an observer and see what could be done for Christie.

So far £178 has been received from collections and donations at the various meetings, but this has been used up in advertising, organising demonstrations,

Anti-Election Literature

ANTI-ELECTION NEWS

The revised edition of the "Hazards of Voting" leaflet is now ready, together with a new printed leaflet, "Why Vote? It gets you Nowhere."

"Hazards of Voting" Leaflet 2/6d per 100
"Why Vote? etc." leaflet 2/9d per 100
"Anarchist Alternative" leaflet 2/d per 100

Both stickers, "Politics Out! Anarchism In!" and "Politics Equals War!" are 1/9d. per 100.

The "Circus" poster has been revised and now reads "The Greatest Show on Earth. Featuring: Home, Wilson, Grimond, Gollan, Performing Monkeys, High Wire Walkers, Aerobats and

hiring loud-speaker equipment, printing of posters and stickers, etc.

More money is urgently needed if we are to be able to carry on the campaign to shorten the sentences and also to do what we can for Christie and Carballo while they are in prison.

So far it has been mostly the same few people who have donated in the collections, but we need everyone's help.

Please send donations to:
Christie-Carballo Defence Committee,
34, Cumberland Road,
Walthamstow, E.17.

Hangers on at your Local Polling Station." These cost 3d. each.

Other posters are:—"Election, All for a X. Empty Promises, Worn Out Ideas, Pie in the Sky, But nothing Changes for You." These are 3d. each.

"Being led to the Slaughterhouse, an X on the Ballot Paper is a † on some Battlefield."

"It Means Conscription for Youth. Choosing Masters for All. It means a Double-Cross for all."

These are 4d. each.

All orders and money to:—

BILL STICKER,
17a Maxwell Road,
Fulham, S.W.6.

THE CHRISTIE TERROR TRIAL

Continued from page 1
is in time of war" and we cannot but reply except by asking: Was Britain at war with the Arabs in Palestine when they terror-bombed defenceless villages? Or with India at Amritsar, or with Egypt in 1956? or in Kenya when they engaged in public hangings, concentration camps and torture against the very people they now "recognise"? Was France at war with Algeria when they gave their "paras" free rein to torture and kill their political enemies? Did not de Gaulle come to power with the support of the very people who, once he was in power and abandoned them, directed their *plastiques* against him? Did not the Kennedy government finance and equip the Florida-Cubans to carry

A Mass of Contradictions

CHRISTIE'S guilt or innocence to the charges on which he has been found guilty should not be a moral issue, for anarchists, nor, for that matter, all that generation which seizes every opportunity to reiterate that the struggle of 1936-39 in Spain is perhaps the most significant event in their lives. If we return to the Christie case it is because in spite of the confessions, and Mr. Mc Dermott's statement that Christie had told him that he had made his confession freely, the "evidence" as reported, leaves us unconvinced, and to accept Christie's guilt without question as does the guest diarist, in last week's *New Statesman*, is to take for granted what we are not prepared to take for granted and which if Christie had been arrested in Russia or any Iron Curtain country neither the Press nor anybody else would have accepted without very serious reservations. (For example the case of the business man, Mr. Wynne whose "story" is currently being published in the *Sunday Telegraph*. Mr. Wynne "confessed" at the time of his trial yet presumably the purpose of the *S.T.* articles is to prove that he was innocent).

Because it has proved impossible to secure the transcript of the trial (and if one cannot, by law, appeal against the verdict, it follows that there is no point in a transcript being available to the victim), we are obliged to rely on the press reports. According to the *Evening Standard* (Sept. 1), Christie told the Court that

he had come to Spain at the request of two Spanish exiles he met at a summer camp in Southern France. They gave him 350 new francs (about £26) but "not in payment for bringing what I thought was propaganda against Franco into Spain—just some money to help me out on my holiday here."

A more contradictory statement it would be difficult to concoct, and more so if one accepts as a fact that Christie did not attend the summer camp in Southern France!

The *Guardian* report (Sept. 2) stated that

Christie told the five-man Court he had planned a holiday in Spain since January. He had heard so many conflicting stories about the nation and "I just wanted to see for myself."

With an introduction from a family friend in Britain, he said, he met two men in Paris, one of whom was named Germain Gracia, who gave him 350 francs in return for his help in taking a parcel to Spain for them.

Christie is quoted by the *Evening Standard* report as saying

"that he had been instructed to contact Blanco when he reached Madrid and that they were to identify each other by pre-arranged signals. He wore a band-

age, on his arm and when Blanco approached him he told the Spaniard: "I am a German." He responded, "Then you are my man", but just then the police grabbed us," Christie said.

The *Guardian* version is that Christie on arrival in Madrid went to the American Express office to ask for mail. As a letter was handed to him, police closed in and arrested him. . . . Carballo, a carpenter, said he went to a rendezvous in the Rosales district of Madrid given him from Paris but police swooped and arrested him at once.

According to the *Standard* report Christie said "he co-operated with the police and helped in the capture of Carballo".

Apart from the mass of contradictions between reports, which in the circumstances, is in itself strange, since one assumes the Press reporters at the trial in view of the language difficulties probably relied on an official, or Agency report of proceedings, there are the contradictions within each report, which make it virtually impossible to follow what is alleged to have happened.

It may be recalled that at the time of Christie's arrest, Franco's directorate of security made two statements (1) that he was arrested in Madrid after a tip-off from Spanish secret agents operating in Britain (2) that in investigating the activities of Spanish terrorist elements in foreign countries they discovered "that they were planning a campaign of violence in Madrid . . . following these investigations it was found that a highly suspicious foreigner (Christie) had entered the national territory and hitch-hiked to Madrid. He was constantly watched and was arrested by police in Madrid."

If one attempts to link these two statements in turn with the evidence given to the Court none of the evidence makes any sense at all!

Cut and Dried
CHRISTIE, we are told made a full confession of his own free will. He told the Court that "the Police were marvellous. I have not been denied anything and I have been well treated". He also is alleged to have said that he "voluntarily co-operated with the police and helped in the capture of Carballo". If everything between himself and the Spanish police had been so marvellous, why was it that he was interrogated by them after arrest for five or six days? Can one imagine the Spanish police (now or ever in the past, even in pre-Franco days) being able not to ill-treat a political arrested on suspicion of terrorism?

out terror raids in Cuba? Did not Khrushchev suppress the Hungarian uprising? . . . and in none of these "incidents" was anybody officially at war with anybody else! So let's not be afraid to declare that hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of Spaniards in exile and within Spain itself feel "at war" with the Franco regime, and that we are not surprised if against a regime which denies elementary freedoms to the people, terrorism should be among the methods used to combat it, and that compared with the examples we have given, in all of which governments used terrorism to impose their power on nations struggling to free themselves, the purpose of anti-Franco terrorism has always been to free the country from dictatorship.

Two members of the Ku Klux Klan were found not guilty of the murder of Lieut.-Colonel Lemuel Penn, a negro reserve officer. The Georgia jury was all-white. The sister of one of the accused said: "When God is on your side men cannot harm you." The accused will remain in custody charged under Federal law with violating Colonel Penn's civil rights. . . .

DENNIS HIGGS, a university lecturer, was returned by South Africa to Northern Rhodesia from where he had been kidnapped. The South African government claim that whilst they knew nothing of the kidnapping, Mr. Higgs was wanted for questioning about a bomb explosion in Johannesburg. However, they did not apply for extradition and Mr. Higgs flew to London. South African extremists have threatened murder the next time they abduct any suspect from adjoining territory. It is claimed that there have been four similar cases this year. . . .

A PSYCHIATRIST claimed at a conference that a man who had committed the murder of two children died of "conscience" in prison after confessing to the psychiatrist. Another psychiatrist explained Mr. Khrushchev's anger at the U2 incident by the fact that when Mr. Khrushchev was a boy, his mother had killed, by flinging it against a wall, a cat which she had caught licking up some milk. Soviet territory—in Mr. K's eyes represented [or so says the *Evening Standard*] the material bosom "from which milk was being stolen". . . .

THE SOVIET UNION formally announced at Geneva that it opposed for the present the creation of a special disarmament working party to study the elimination

of nuclear missiles. Mr. Tsarapkin, the Soviet delegate said, "Conditions are not yet ripe for the creation of such a working-group, but they had not given up hope that the time would come." At the T.U.C. conference a motion condemning Polaris bases was withdrawn from the agenda for the sake of a more harmonious conference in an election year. A man was found guilty in Middlesbrough of being in possession of an offensive weapon, a bow, and discharging an arrow in the street. He was fined £7 with £1 costs. . . .

THE BRITISH in conjunction with the French, are, it is stated, working on a missile that uses television to track its target. The Americans have doubled the range of one of their long-range ballistic missiles. . . .

AN APPEAL was made for financial help for the family of Peter Anthony Allen who was hanged on August 13th. The treasurer is Miss Rose Vere, c/o The Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, 1 Brunswick Square, Bristol 1. Five victims who were convicted on the evidence of former Detective-Sergeant Challenor are to claim damages from the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. Mr. Lionel King who received a free pardon after wrongful conviction by Challenor has not yet received any compensation. The enquiry into the responsibility for the continued employment of Det.-Sergeant Challenor will take place in public. A Cambridge policeman was found not guilty of assault, and causing actual bodily harm. His Superintendent said: "He is one of those officers who is completely dedicated to his job, perhaps a bit uncompromising, but nevertheless a dedicated policeman." A Grand Jury in New York cleared Thomas Gilligan, a policeman, of any criminal liability in the fatal shooting in July of James Powell (15), a negro. The boy's death touched off a series of Harlem riots. . . .

CHRISTIE-CARBALLO DEFENCE

ACTION IN BRISTOL & GLASGOW

Continued from page 2

A letter has been sent to the Embassy by the Chelsea Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, protesting over the nature of the trial, the long sentences imposed and calling for the immediate release of both Christie and Carballo.

London has not had the monopoly of protest activity. A comrade from Bristol writes: "A Committee for the Release of Stuart Christie was formed here when the news first came through. Two comrades picketed the Vice-Consulate on the Tues. 18th and a picket of 10 people took place on the following Saturday. An *ad hoc* committee was set up pending a delegate committee.

"Last Saturday (29th) we held a poster parade and were to have a meeting at the city centre, but the police were awkward, and the non-anarchist majority of the committee members present agreed to desist rather than lose the respectable co-operative image so far gained. On the Sunday appeals for money were sent to known left-wingers, councillors, etc., and a successful meeting and collection was held on the Downs. Then we heard the trial was imminent, and Monday night several of us took

place the bomb near the cars of General Franco's escort. He said that every time he got such orders he always pretended to have obeyed them—but explained to the alleged anarchists the fact that no explosions took place by saying he was not sufficiently skilled in fixing the mechanism of the bombs. "I deceived them," he said.—*Reuter*.

If one bears in mind that it is also claimed that Carballo is a member of the CNT (the former anarcho-syndicalist trade union in Spain) and not some American-style professional murderer, it is difficult to

believe that he would be taking "orders" from outside; and the idea that he would wait for them to tell him when to put a bomb under Franco's seat is too comical to be taken seriously except in Spain. It is furthermore very curious that Carballo does not appear to have named his "bosses" in France, nor that he appears to have any associates to denounce in Madrid. And enquiries have failed to discover anyone who knows or has heard of Carballo in anti-Franco circles.

Franco the Protector!
IF the whole trial was a frame-up or a plant what interest, it will be asked, had the Spanish authorities, in staging the trial which has received great publicity abroad, and the kind of publicity which the Spanish government would prefer not to have.

We believe that the government and the Security forces have an interest in Spain to keep alive the idea that the "enemies of Spain" are continually plotting acts of violence to upset the peace, and that only by continued vigilance and a regime such as Franco's can protect the "people" from these threats and outrages. In other words the terror-



ists from outside—real and imaginary—are being used by the Franco regime to resist the growing demands from all quarters—and possibly above all from the emerging well-to-do professional and technical classes—for a more liberal political set-up. It seems obvious to us that this will take place in the not too distant future in spite of Franco and his personal circle of powerful interests. But after 25 years, not of "Peace" as he claims but of dictatorial power, no one wants to give it up least of all a vain old man, and he will resist to the end, even if he has to organise "terrorist outrages from outside" himself!

APPEALS FOR CLEMENCY
The address of the Spanish ambassador is:—
24, Belgrave Square, London, W.1.
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is at The Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.

JON QUIXOTE

WAR RESISTANCE, the magazine of the W.R.I. quotes C. P. SNOW as saying, "When you think of the long and gloomy history of man, you will find more hideous crimes have been committed in the name of obedience than have ever been committed in the name of rebellion". It goes on to review the experiments of Stanley Milgram (now of Harvard) to study man's destructive obedience in laboratory conditions. The experiment consisted of ordering 'naive subjects' to administer increasingly more severe electric shocks to a victim. The victim was a confederate and the shocks were simulated, but the experimenter found that 26 out of 40 would press the button giving a 'shock' of 450 volts. All 40 pressed the button for an "intensive shock" Stanley Milgram concludes. "Gas chambers were built, death camps were guarded, daily quotas of corpses were produced with the same efficiency as the manufacture of appliances. These inhuman policies may have originated in the mind of a single person, but they could only be carried out on a massive scale if a very large number of persons obeyed orders. Obedience is the psychological mechanism that links individual action to political purpose. It is the dispositional cement that binds men to systems of authority. Facts of recent history and observation in daily life suggest that for many persons obedience may be a deeply ingrained behaviour tendency, indeed a prepotent impulse over-riding in ethics, sympathy and moral conduct".

JON QUIXOTE

Dublin Building Workers 'Out Solid'

Building workers here in Dublin have been on strike now for over three weeks, making a stand for the 40-hour week. A victory in this dispute would be a spearhead for the rest of industry.

The Federated Union of Employers are screaming to the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, that the building unions are breaking the national wages agreement which was signed seven months ago. The building unions politely point out that they abstained from voting on this issue at the delegate conference of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, and therefore are not "party" to it. The national wages agreement which was a national recommendation by the joint employers and Irish Congress, is that a 12% increase should be paid to all workers. This was last January and some workers are still not getting it.

In a statement issued by the building employers, they really hit the nail on the head when they said that they view the dispute, not as one within the building industry alone, but as one with implications for every other industry.

Regarding the actual strike itself, one could say that it is 95% effective even to the extent of picketing building suppliers. It is estimated, according to the press, that their sales are being cut by half.

The strikers' morale is high; they are confident of victory. The Central Strike Committee state that 354 building and allied contractors have agreed to operate the 40-hour week without loss of pay, these employers are not in their Federation.

Getting down to cases, this dispute is building workers versus the govern-

ment, which means a tough fight. This dispute must be viewed in the light of a 6-7% national unemployment figure, therefore it can be said that the lads who are sticking it out under these conditions are doing well. The employers' position is hardening. The Joint Consultative Committee of the Employers' Organisations is now supporting the Dublin building contractors.

Though the strikers' morale is high, the big query is: Will there be a sell-out? At the moment their hours are 42½ hours per week. The danger is a compromise of say a reduction to 42 hours this year and 40 hours by 1966. The few building workers I have managed to talk to say "40 hours now", the snag is the Irish T.U.C. is involved up to its neck, and may pressurise its constituent members to accept a compromise. As was stated earlier, the building employers see this dispute on a national basis and are prepared to fight to the death.

Outside Dublin, building workers are restless. Building workers from Dublin have taken jobs in Cork to ease the situation. When the building employers realised this, they slapped on an overtime ban in Cork. The building workers there reacted by pressing for strike action, and the employers are helping to spread the strike themselves.

As in all disputes, working class humour comes to the top. A few days ago, a couple of plumbers were having a quiet evening drink in the "local" when they heard knocking and banging in the rear. After making enquiries about the noise they were informed that reconstruction was taking place. The lads immediately reported to the A.S.W. strike committee, down came the officials and stopped the job. Within 40 minutes the employer signed up the 40-hour agreement. At one particular firm it looked as if pickets would have to be mounted on a 24 hour basis, as the employer was taking in supplies during the

night. The whole situation is rather precarious, especially as the employer has obtained an injunction for six days.

Some of the unions involved are English-based and the strike pay is very small. If the building workers are to be used as the spearhead for a 40-hour week in Ireland, then there is no earthly reason why they cannot be on full pay. The Government is backing the building employers, therefore if organised workers back the building workers, victory is assured. If the stand is not made now, it will be a hell of a time before it can be made again. Workers cannot afford to be in and out like yo-yo's, especially in the context of Irish conditions.

Although dockers have given some support by refusing to let unloaded building materials, estimated to be worth £750,000, be transported to firms involved in the strike, there isn't, at the moment, any sign of an end to the strike. It is rumoured that the employers are prepared to stick it out until Christmas. If this is the case, and the 40-hour week isn't gained very soon, sympathy action must be taken by other organised workers in Ireland to back the building operatives, for this fight today will be their fight tomorrow.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Born Types?

DEAR EDITOR,

The trouble with replying to Mr. Crump's letter (FREEDOM, 8th August) is that should FREEDOM devote me more precious space for a further letter, the issue will have dwindled to one of Crump v. Hurne. It would be unlikely that anyone else could remember the points raised. Also, I want to avoid a correspondence which keeps harping back to the original letter, stating that "what I meant was..." and "I did not in fact say..." etc., etc. However, as briefly as possible, here goes.

I may not know a great deal about anarchism—which I freely admit—but I do, as far as I personally am concerned, know something of people. If in fact, anarchy is awaiting the masses to turn towards it, then I fear the wait will be something of a long one. Crump makes no comment on my main point, i.e., "Types". He has used a lot of words to show how well read he is, yet offers no remedy on how to make a born bully into a non-bully. And this, I repeat, was my main point.

When Crump states that my (?) idea of a bourgeois anarchist seems daft, I heartily agree. I don't even know what a bourgeois anarchist is! It seems to be something Crump has invented. Perhaps he is not so well read after all if he has gathered his knowledge as well as he has read my letter. And it's no use quoting Malatesta in heavy print because I too have Malatesta's writing before me at this moment. What has Malatesta got to do with it all? I should be the last person to quarrel with anything he says.

Of course I am not anti-worker. When and where have I said this? Surely the working classes are only what they are simply because they have no choice? I

★ LETTERS ★

know from experience what some of them can be like when they do get a little money and/or power. My soul is scattered over the battlefields of Dagenham, Basildon and Hemel Hempstead, and other new-rich-working-class areas!

R. J. HURNE.

Wellington, N.Z., Aug. 18.

Birth Control and Population

DEAR EDITOR,

I have followed with great interest recent controversy about birth-control and malnutrition in your paper. I feel this subject is so important and crucial for the future of humanity that it is difficult to remain silent when you appear to be condoning the R.C. attitude on this question.

Not only have we to consider the supply of an adequate diet for the ever-increasing populations but other essential needs such as clothing, Shelter, Health Services, transport, etc., all which require large supplies of raw materials and fuel. The minerals in the earth's crust are not inexhaustible and to supply nuclear power to every region of the world will be a long process.

There are other problems such as the pollution of the air, the rivers and oceans and the disposal of waste products (some of which will be radio-active or chemically hazardous).

By all means increase food production but for heaven's sake recognise the fact that sooner or later we must face up to the problem of limiting population. Let us look forward to the day when no woman has to face the fear of an unwanted pregnancy and no mother face the drudgery and premature ageing and death due to continual child-bearing.

London, Aug. 18. JOHN HUGHES

FINGS

Film Society

Last season made a loss of £30. Creditors now pressing. Organisers would appreciate any help. Snd to Guthrie McKie, 30, Muswell Road, London, N.10.

Room Wanted

Student (male) seeks cheap room handy to New Cross, late September. Or share with comrades. Write Keell Wolfe, 90 Bath Road, Cheltenham.

North Wales

Would any readers in North Wales be willing to have their addresses given for contacts to a lonely school-boy comrade? If so, please write c/o Freedom Press.

Anti-Election

Anti-election campaign advancing for the last leave. If you find it all sick-making, meet for leafletting 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6, Monday, September 14th, 8 p.m.

Meeting

National Secular Society Debate vs. Lord's Day Observance Society, Thursday, September 24th, 7.45 p.m. at Alliance Hall, Caxton Street, S.W.1. (St. James' Park tube). Motion: "That the Sunday observance laws should be abolished".

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

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Slipping!

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		1,682
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		184
		1,866

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Anyone interested in Anarchist discussion group and folk-singing contact Sid Frisbee, 100 Bierley House Avenue, Bierley, Bradford.

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

Meetings at 58 Rainbow Street, Kingsford, Wednesdays, 8 p.m.
72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, Fridays, 8 p.m.

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.

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

London Anarchist Group

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

SEPT 13 Arthur Uloth on Subject to be announced

Notting Hill Anarchist Group

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

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

Birmingham Group

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

Bristol Federation

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.

Hayes and District

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

Manchester Group

Meetings alternate Tuesdays. Details from Graham Leigh, 5, Mere Close, Sale, Cheshire.

Merseyside Federation

Meeting, Sunday September 13th at Vincent Johnston's, 43, Millbank, Liverpool 13, at 2.30 p.m. All interested are invited to attend.

Tunbridge Wells Group

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

Plymouth

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

Tyneside Federation

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

Last Thursday in month:

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

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).
Sundays. No meeting in August.

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, Last Saturday of each month. 8 p.m. Phone WIM 2849.

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