

'For men, and not walls,
make a city.'

THUCYDIDES

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

Sex and Security

AND THE PYRAMID OF SUSPICION

as a result, observe the undermining of the Church's power and Authority).

So no Minister in a responsible position should be interested in sex, either homosexual or heterosexual. But what about drink and good living? How many good men have fallen through indulging these corporal pleasures. Can the nation run the risk of having Ministers who enjoy attending the sumptuous banquets which are a feature of political life both in the Eastern and Western blocs? You could trust a Stafford Cripps but, in retrospect, how many secrets did Churchill or Khrushchev let out of the bag as they were being wine and dined by the catering departments of MI5 and the NKV? In the interests of National Security the Opposition must next week demand that Ministers should drink nothing stronger than Coca-Cola,* and compulsorily read and inwardly digest—but not sample the recipes in—Norman Douglas' "Venus in the Kitchen".

But this is not all. After all, we know that modern Man invents all sorts of "secrets" for the sake of sex. Significantly enough top level politicians seem to enjoy shooting expeditions when they meet their opposite numbers for political discussions. Goering was an aficionado of the blood sports, with his own private hunting grounds to which he invited visiting VIPs. But

*The *Observer* describes the Russian diplomat Eugene Ivanov as "a gregarious sybarite" who amazed journalists with "a prodigious capacity for draught bitter."

PAY CLAIM BY BUILDING WORKERS

Since January of this year, the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives has been negotiating with the employers for a 1/6d. per hour pay rise.

Harry Weaver, General Secretary of the N.F.B.T.O., speaking recently at the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers' conference, said, "if the employers are not more forthcoming than they appear to be then a situation of the utmost gravity faces this industry. We may have to summon the loyalty of our members to a greater extent than we have had to do for some considerable time past."

He also spoke of the claim for a 40-hour week. "We think we have made out a first class case. We have thrown down the gauntlet on a 40-hour week and a very large wage claim of 27%."

This week the employers have made a pay offer in the form of the now familiar three year contract. In November this year, the employers offer for craftsmen a 2½d. an hour rise. Next year and 1965 they will get a rise of 1½d. per hour. The labourers will get nothing for the first year and 1d. an hour for the next two years. The employers offer also includes a cut of one hour to 41 hours in the working week in the winter months only. The summer months would remain at 42. A promise of a 40 hr. "winter only" might be offered later.

This is the result of nearly six months

think of the post-war list of political huntsmen: Tito, Eisenhower, Khrushchev, Franco, de Gaulle, Macmillan, to mention those that immediately come to mind. We can well imagine these elder statesmen sharing a hunter's yarn, or the excitement of a "kill" with the same feeling of rapport and intimacy that younger and less experienced colleagues exchange notes on a shared high-class call-girl, or a boozy party they had attended. *C'est la vie, la Dolce Vita*, "Bottoms-up" and "mud in your eye".

The Opposition and MI5 just cannot overlook the surrogates. Perhaps when the old boys go, hunting will be out, but something will be put in its place. And in this connection one trusts that the watch-

dogs of our Security will not overlook last Sunday's *Observer* feature on "Who is Harold Wilson?" for our future Premier bares his soul in a way which politicians do only when they have not yet occupied the exalted seat of Power. He is a religious man who, however, long

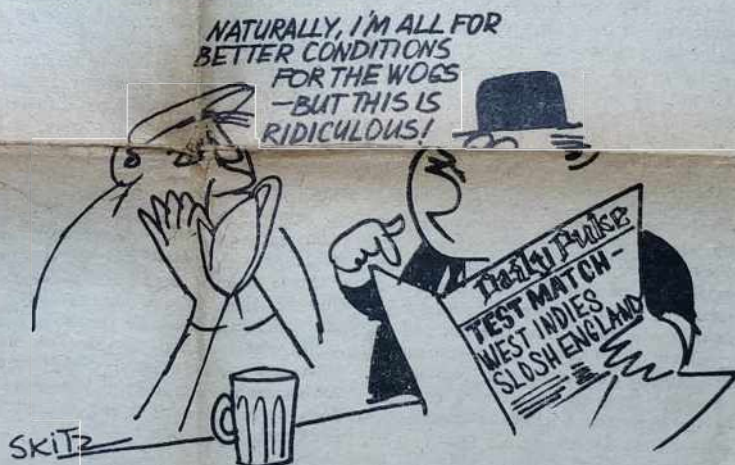
... and so to bed ...

If this spying business were a one-way traffic, it is clear that we should demand that our men in Authority—assuming we accept that our affairs can be better run by an Eton-élite than by us lesser mortals—be Saints or Computers. It so happens that spying is a two-way business. The government of this

ago considered that "the Church was too obsessed with personal vices such as drink, and not concerned enough with social evils such as unemployment and poverty". A security risk if ever there was one. And note the Wilson surrogate (which he shares with another great ex-Statesman, Ike): "I play golf, of course, have for years. I like it very much". Now there is no reason to believe that old golfers are any more teed up to resist the approaches of the enemy's golfer-spies than are their huntsman, fisherman and *bon viveur* opposite numbers.

country (Tory or Labour) spends millions a year to wheedle "secrets" out of State employees in other countries by subterfuges and temptations, from sex to surrogates. The fact that no Parliamentarian, Tory, Liberal or Labour, ever questions this ever-growing expenditure, would indicate that they consider it money well-spent. Why then do they get hot under the collar when it transpires that by the same coin foreign Powers succeed in wheedling "secrets" out of our State employees? It is only traditional, smug British hypocrisy which could presuppose that in a situation in which the Western politicians, and from Eastern-bloc, go to bed with the same woman, the former is a weak sensualist who spills the political beans, while the latter is a disciplined, ruthless agent who says nothing and gets the "secrets" for his government. Spies, no less than politicians are human, if only surely, because their choice of *métier* reveals their personal weaknesses.

Continued on page 3



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

together produce about 80% of Japan's coal.

At this time, while miners are striking for wage increases employers are trying to introduce plans to cut costs. One firm, The Mitsui Mining Company, is trying to cut miners wages by 10% as well as stopping summer and end of the year bonus payments. Other plans for the rationalisation of production give rise to the fear of unemployment in Japan's depressed coal industries. Here, as in other countries, with new and cheaper fuel replacing coal, it is the workers who bear the brunt of these changes.

Further strikes are planned if the miners' demands are not met, starting with one of 48 hours which will then lead to further stoppages of longer duration.

building workers in Scotland getting the 40 hour week in November, is the time to hit the employers, taking action to win an all-round pay increase and a 40-hour week.

MINERS STRIKE

Coal miners in Japan staged a 24-hour strike this week. They are demanding a wage increase of £5 per month. As talks over the increase are deadlocked, the Federation of Coalmine Workers' Unions have called this strike. It affected 10 of the biggest companies which

FARM WORKERS SEEK BETTER CONDITIONS

The hours of work and rates of pay of Britain's farm workers have been described by Mr. Collison, general secretary of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, as "an injustice and a disgrace."

The union is presenting a claim later this month, for a £10 minimum wage and a 40-hour week. At the moment the minimum wage is £9 3s. for a 46-hour week. With these long hours and poor pay, it is estimated that the farm employee works four hours more and takes home about £4 13s. less each week than the average industrial worker.

Since 1949, six claims have been made for a cut in hours and out of these only one has had any sort of success, when in 1960, a one hour reduction was

achieved to bring the working week down to the present 46 hours. Since then the farm worker has dropped further behind the industrial average which is now about 42 hours per week.

These conditions are certainly an injustice and a disgrace. They show that priorities are upside down for the very people producing the basic necessities for life are one of the lowest paid. The farm workers' union has made claims for higher wages and better conditions but they have only remained as claims. Nothing has been done to back these up. Some form of direct action is needed, taken by the farm workers themselves, if they are to win these demands.

P.T.

ANARCHY 28

DISCUSSES:

**ANARCHISM—
PAST, PRESENT
AND FUTURE**

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DEAR COMRADES,

If Chris Rose, as an anarchist, opposes the violence of the state, does he not realise that to counter with violence puts him as much in the wrong as those whom he is attacking? If he believes, as I do, that war is the health of the state, surely it is impossible not to see that violent instincts of the 'masses' will always be used by the state to continue its wars, and that violent revolution has not appeared so far to be at all compatible with the achievement of the free society. (Consider the Russian revolution—as Lady Bracknell said of another revolution, I presume you know what that unfortunate movement led to).

Surely one of the basic principles of anarchism (one which I think most anarchists agree with most of the time) is that the ends cannot be separated from the means. If Comrade Rose wants a violent revolution he had better start his violence now, or the society he hopes to achieve by violence will never come about. On the other hand, I agree that there is no point in violence, which is 'completely useless tactically', but I cannot understand when, in the process of anarchist education of the 'masses', violence becomes 'one of our most useful tactics'.

He says that 'we must concentrate on winning over the masses of the people. Until we do this violence is useless'. I contend that when we do this violence will be unnecessary.

Yours fraternally,
London, June 8. DIANA SHELLEY.

MY BÊTE NOIRE

VIOLENCE has been my *Bête Noire*, my chief aversion since witnessing scenes of violence, in my native town, during a strike of the spinning-mills workers who were anxious to secure the eight hours day. This was in 1891, when soldiers were sent against the strikers, with the result of people being killed or injured. I mention this event in my book *Françoise*; but therein I also quote from *The Black Jacobins* by C. L. R. James a sentence I fully endorse, to the effect that "the cruelties of property and privilege are always more ferocious than the revenges of poverty and oppression".

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More controversy on

Violence and Force

Under the influence of scenes in childhood, and of the study of history, I became an anarchist early in life (when about sixteen) Yet I never endorsed the notion that violence was the way to freedom, for in my eyes it always leads to disaster. I therefore came to believe, what some young people are more and more stating in our days (for instance John Whitfield in No. 27 of ANARCHY), that there is a correlation between a free society and a non-violent society. That, in fact, pacifism and anarchism must merge, as they long ago have done in my mentality and outlook.

I have looked forward for a synthesis of pacifism-anarchism for years; of recent times I have felt that, at last, it was taking shape. Therefore I rejoice since, for me, the anarchist who believes in violence is the black sheep of the family, no matter how brave he may be, which he always is. However, if I avoid the anarchist who believes in violence in the old-fashioned style, this type of anarchist is the one which I think is disappearing. I mean the rebel who opposed violent governments and militaristic autocracies by means of home-made bombs and political assassination. We now live in a new age of synthesis, or so I believe; so we have to be careful how we speak of the brave young people who, at present, oppose nuclear weapons and—so I hope—will soon oppose all armaments.

In marches such as this year's Aldermaston, if some of the marchers could not resist the temptation to go and have a look at an RSG establishment, I cannot blame them. It seems rather unfair to reprimand them for violence, for even the Home Secretary, who classed this event under the strong and ridiculous appellation of "storming" the site, estimates the damage done to be £2. *Peace News*, when mentioning this bill and the settlement of it, does not comment on the figure. But the same number of the paper gives us an estimate of what, for instance, the Vietman war has cost in lives and dollars in the last 8 years and still goes on. "The weekly toll of people killed runs to 500", and no damage is paid to the relatives, let alone bringing life back to the dead. What a contrast in violence and cost!

We must retain a sense of proportion. I, for one, have great admiration for modern youth who so bravely face the disorderly crowd of militaristic rulers. Nevertheless I add, try not to break even one tea-cup if you can help it. For the breakage may cost you—both financially and spiritually—more than the bill the Home Secretary sent for damage at Warren Row.

FRANÇOISE DELISLE.

Edith Ballard

EDITH ('Edie') BALLARD died in Bristol on May 24, from a recurrent illness for which she had been operated on several times during the last eighteen months. She was the widow of George Barrett, the editor of *The Anarchist* and *The Voice of Labour*, who died in 1917 from consumption.

Edie often spoke of the days when she and Barrett were in the thick of anarchist activity in Glasgow just before World War I and, although her main interest was pacifism, she kept in touch with the anarchist movement through FREEDOM and ANARCHY. One of the last things she did was to approve of a selection of the writings of her husband which is to be published this year with the title of "The First Person". This was a project very dear to her and the sadness of it all is that she did not live to see it become a reality.

I knew her as a kindly and generous old lady with a twinkling sense of humour who, together with her sister-in-law, Nell Oxley, made their home at Sea Mills, Bristol, a real 'house of hospitality'.

SIDNEY PARKER.

DEAR EDITORS,

J.W. is quite right to draw a distinction between organised political violence and personal violence used out of a sense of self-preservation. I admit that though I would, in some situations of personal danger, certainly try non-violent methods, I can imagine circumstances where I would use violence or coercion.

But J.W. exaggerates the value of his argument. He gives the example of Sharpeville when asking the question, "Is not advocacy of non-violence against the organised violence of an enemy irresponsible advocacy of martyrdom?"

At Sharpeville, less than one hundred people were killed. That is a lot of people, but it is minute when compared to the casualties in guerrilla war or civil war. It is certainly an illusion that non-violent action is safe and you don't get killed in it; but it is also an illusion to suppose that violent methods are safer. Violent methods may be more emotionally satisfying, but that is another question.

Yours sincerely,
London, N.1, June 5 ADAM ROBERTS.

Statement from Bristol

SINCE last Easter Monday the anarchists in Bristol have grouped together and formed the Bristol Federation of Anarchists and I have been asked to outline our structure and activities up till this point.

The first meeting of about 20 people, some anarchist some sympathisers, agreed to select four convenors by lot, changing one each month. The administration of the Federation to be devolved upon them for such points as the selling of FREEDOM, funds, convening meetings, etc. The convenors meet weekly in The Somerset House on Fridays at 7.30 p.m. to discuss the situation and note suggestions and co-ordinate the Federation's activities. The second meeting showed a considerable increase in attendance and was vigorously in favour of non-violence with one or two exceptions.

Since one of our main problems is finance, there have been two ways we have attempted to make ourselves financially stable. Firstly by sale of literature and secondly by a pledge system asking each anarchist to donate what he feels he can give, be it 6d. or 6/- regularly each week.

We are having considerable success in attracting people in the Committee of 100, and to some extent CND. Since most of them are, or were, anarchist in belief if not in name, the going has been not too difficult. We are thinking along more ambitious lines now and hope to speak in the parks and shopping centres, selling FREEDOM and other publications.

For the first time, as far as we know, in Bristol, the Anarchist banners marched on the May Day rally and received mention on the television. We held our own short rally in opposition to the Labour Party, who seemed to have little cogent reasoning coming from the platform. Eventually we seemed to have a more sympathetic and larger audience than the so-called organisers. We carried our credentials with us—a banner stating "On May 1st Four Anarchists Were Executed". It is probably the first time that the Labour Party found out why they were marching.

We would like to reject, on behalf of Ian Vine, the accusation that he is "self-appointed convenor of the British Federation of Anarchists". He was selected by lot in accordance with agreement and does a conscientious non-authoritarian job of it too. We are an action group and resent implications needlessly foisted on us by letter-writing inactive comrades.

We are at the moment gaining strength slowly but surely. I feel the time has come to form the English Federation of Anarchists and high time a conference was organised and above all, that an all-out attempt is made by the anarchist groups to get the resources to stage demonstrations and activities which are the mainspring of anarchism in this country and source which will attract people into active co-operation within the groups.

MICHAEL WALSH.

DEAR COMRADES,

Comrade John Henry succeeds in being extremely abusive (FREEDOM 1/6/63). First of all, I am not a "self-appointed" convenor (of the Bristol Federation of Anarchists.) Convenors are chosen by lot, and stand for periods of four months, subject to instant recall at any time. They are responsible for co-ordinating correspondence, sales of literature, arranging meetings, etc. There are at present four of us.

Secondly, I did not originate the distinction between violence and force. I came across it elsewhere and thought it an idea worthy of discussion. I suppose that the concept is open to abuse largely because of the violent connotations of "force" in most people's minds. But we do use the words separately, viz. "It takes considerable force to open a jammed door." Perhaps I was also asking too much in hoping that I could get away with the word "love"; but I still maintain that one can oppose an individual who is misguided enough to work for the State without hating his guts!

The whole tone of comrade Henry's letter is violent and cynical. No doubt there are advantages in being anti-Utopian, but one disadvantage is that it makes one negative. I am far more concerned with the constructive possibilities of the anarchist point of view than the bomb-throwing side. Perhaps he is a veteran anarchist, while as yet I am not; perhaps he is right in saying that in the ultimate resort non-violence fails; but he must at least realise that violence breeds violence, and that left-wing violent revolutions fail too (yes, even Castro's Cuba is failing now!) I would at least suggest that, before he hurls personal insults at me, he should read Albert Camus' analysis of the violent anarchist standpoint in "The Rebel"; the foreword of which was written by Herbert Read.

Yours sincerely,
Bristol 8, June 3. IAN VINE.

DEAR EDITORS,

I would like to be permitted to repeat that it is futile for anybody to use violence AS A POLICY towards the building of a peaceful world—just as it is silly to expect oneself to refrain from violence under any situation. This is, I think, the crux of the whole debate that is going on in these columns. I think that if our extreme pacifists (I used to be one) and our barricade boys (I used to be one) really think about this they can come together.

I think that J.W. is right to question the motives of extreme pacifists but what people ever "fling the rulers from their backs"—without getting another batch of rulers in their place?

Slough, June 7. ERNIE CROSSWELL.

A Sinister Game

(From our correspondent)

STOCKHOLM, May 31.

THOUSANDS of Swedish newspaper journalists have poured out articles and editorials condemning white superiority in Africa. The words "race" and "colour" have been used to put public opinion on the side of black African nationalism. The impression has been given that the problem has been dealt with and solved as each new state achieves its "independence". The white political "experts" on Africa who write and speak on the air all identify themselves with the establishment and their outlooks are one of respect for the existing political institutions.

Two Liberal journalists introduced Mr. Kenneth Kaunda (speaking at a meeting here) as a great African leader, and we were told that Mr. Kaunda's type of non-violent nationalism and idea of democracy was nearer the "Scandinavian pattern". The words "the African emergent nations" were forced down our throats by the gentlemen of the press and Swedish Foreign Office spokesmen. Here was a real leader they told us: perhaps an exception that will prove the rule.

Mr. Kaunda laid stress on the race question in South and South-West Africa—yet no mention of his counterparts in the "self governing" "free" parts of Africa were made. He carefully avoided the fact that the machinery of government and economic and political privilege have remained in fact as each new African state takes shape, and all that changes is the people who operate it.

If this "marching to freedom" line is put over with enough sentiment and theatre wearing an African toga, then it is possible to hypnotize a Swedish audience of students and middle-class intellectuals into hailing black politicians as saviours and saints struggling against Africa's evil white ones.

Mr. Kaunda praised "almighty God" that the British government had admitted their mistake concerning Northern Rhodesia's old constitution, and we were told that the newly "independent" African states were moving towards "unity".

To believe that African power politics can be played honestly and openly is the same as saying that one can swim in an empty pool without water. It is a nearly-mad maxim to distract politicians whatever their colour when they plug slogans like "freedom for my people": when the gulf which divides the African workers from their new ruling class is forming a society which is authoritarian, and as the Swedish pundits of the press glibly murmur (from the trade unionists to the extreme right) "we hope the new African states will form their democracy like ours". Politics is a sinister game.

H.

Encyclopedia of Russia

"EVERYMAN'S CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RUSSIA", by S. V. Utechin, J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 30s.

HOW to review an encyclopedia? To check up on every entry would require as much knowledge as, or rather more knowledge than the original compiler. This the present writer cannot claim. However there are some aspects of Russian history of particular interest to anarchists. The entry on *Makhno, Nestor, Ivanovich* (1889-1935) reads:

"Ukrainian anarchist leader. Imprisoned for a terrorist act in 1907, he was released after the February revolution of 1917. He organised a gang in the southern Ukraine during the civil war, composed of peasants who disliked both the Red and White sides; his raids involved great violence, and, although he condemned anti-Semitism, pogroms and great brutality. He was temporarily allied with the Red Army in 1919 and 1920 and his movement operated legally in Soviet territory, but soon discord developed between his band and the Red Army; he was defeated, and emigrated."

The facts are not in dispute, but the presentation of them gives a false impression. Makhno is made to appear a mere robber by the use of the pejorative word "gang". I love the phrase "peasants who disliked both the Red and White sides", which is a masterpiece of understatement. It is a pity about that "discord" that developed between the Makhnovists and the Red Army (it consisted of wholesale arrests and shootings of Makhnovists, but a little thing like that should be taken in the right spirit).

As for pogroms and brutality, this was the universal practice of everyone

in that time and place, whether the victims were Jews, Reds, Whites, anarchists or just non-political people who happened to be in the way. All wars are the same. There is no such thing as a "gentleman's war", unless it is merely a diplomatic manoeuvre of well-established and secure dynasties.

Kropotkin and Bakunin get brief, informative and emotionally uncoloured entries. I was interested to note in passing, while looking up Bakunin, that the status of the illegitimate child called "fatherless" was reintroduced in 1944, which is in line with the general reactionary and patriarchal trend of Russian society since Stalin came to power. (Despite those women soldiers, and an occasional woman sea captain). One hopes that things are improving now.

The Crimean Tartars are described as being "deported" to Asiatic Russia, which is putting it in a nice kind way. They were not included, we are told, in the 1957 decree on the rehabilitation of deported peoples. Perhaps because there are not enough of them left to make it worthwhile.

The Kronstadt Rising gets a line. We are told they rose but not why, though the book is in no way biased in favour of the Bolshevik or Stalinist dictatorship.

If you want to know about mines, railways, constitutions, juvenile delinquents (the treatment of) and musicians, this is a useful book. There are some good photographs. In a few more years Russia will have left the seventeenth century behind, and be ready to join the capitalist West in the glorious realm of subtopia.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

FREEDOM

June 15 Vol 24 No 19

SEX AND SECURITY

Continued from page 1

THE reason for next week's debate is not made clear by Mr. Wilson's statement last week that "we would be failing in our duty to the nation if there were not an early debate to get a confrontation on security", in view of the fact that he also declared that

for the past three months, when most of the facts were known, we have gone to great lengths to stop this matter being raised in the House at all.

Surely if security is the issue for confrontation why now and not three months ago "when most of the facts were known"? And if Mr. Wilson knew them we have no doubt that the Press knew them before him. It seems to this writer that the Profumo "scandal" has been made the excuse by the Tory hierarchy to launch a personal campaign against Mr. Macmillan, and that if this be the case, we may expect his retirement in the near future and general elections next Spring, thus giving time for the Press to create a favourable "image" for his successor. For the fact cannot be overlooked that such ultra-Tory newspapers as the *Telegraph* and *Sunday Times* pin the responsibility on the Prime Minister. "Did he not know?" is the headline to last Sunday's *Telegraph* Leader. "He" of course was Mr. Macmillan. On the other hand it would be foolish or utopian to suppose that Fleet Street's millionaires had seen the light or, unlike Mr. Wilson, had read Marx's "Kapital" and devel-

oped a social conscience and were determined to help the Labour Party win the next elections. One can therefore only conclude that the anti-Macmillan press is indicative of a revolt in the Tory hierarchy for reasons best known to them. We can only speculate.

We know, and everybody delights in pointing to the fact, that the working "masses" are weak because they are divided. The same people assume, and we do not share their assumption—that the ruling class is closely knit by common interests and purpose. The evidence, we suggest, is quite the contrary. The capitalist class is as divided by sectional interests as is the working class. (Over the Common Market issue, for instance, there were as many leading industrialists opposed to Britain's entry as in favour—both factions, needless to say, were motivated by the highest "patriotic sentiments"). This division in the capitalist camp is one which workers should do their best to exploit and widen if they can. The fact that the millionaire Press in its attack on Macmillan is prepared to lose the next elections for the Tories is indicative of the rift in the capitalist camp as well as the power struggle within the Party itself. We suggest, however that this also means that so far as these Tory "desperados" are concerned the Wilson alternative appears a lesser evil. More food for thought for those workers who pin their faith in Labour!

Who will Investigate the Investigators?

WHEN the House debates the question of Security next week we doubt whether they will include in their deliberations the position of MI5. MI5 apparently knew all about the Profumo-Keeler association long before the Minister's denial in the House last March, for to quote Mr. W. T. Rodgers, Labour MP for Stockton:

before this date the Security Services, because of the connection between Miss Keeler and the Russian attaché had investigated the whole matter. Therefore on March 22 either the Prime Minister, as head of the Security Services was aware of the facts, in which case he was guilty of deception and dishonesty, or he was unaware of the facts, in which case he was guilty of incompetence and neglect.

Everybody, including the Prime Minister, is liable to be "investigated" by MI5, and if you believe in "Security" there can surely be no objection to this. But who investigates MI5? Does the Prime Minister have a team of secret agents unknown to MI5 whose job it is to keep tabs on MI5? By definition that is impossible since the MI5 net is supposed to be all-comprehensive. Yet if it does exist how can the Prime Minister be sure that his own secret agents are themselves above suspicion? The answer is that in the authoritarian, hierarchical, society; in a world divided by nation states, and inequalities within the nations themselves, where as a consequence the political life of the country is not conducted in the full light of day by all the people for the benefit of all—nobody in the final analysis can be trusted and everybody comes under suspicion.

The army of investigators that has to be created by such a society to "protect" itself is colossal. It is not just in the sphere of national security that we have to be "protected". Every commercial and industrial enterprise has to protect itself from employees who would undermine it at all levels. The honesty of every shop assistant has to be checked periodically by all kinds of investigators; book-keepers and accountants must know that their accounting may at any moment be investigated; factory workers never know who may be watching them at work, or when they will be "frisked" as they leave the factory; customs officers search the travelling public, but also know that at any time they too may be searched. This huge pyramid of investigators, apart from the fact that it can never be proof against its worst enemy: corruption, sows the seeds of suspicion throughout the community.

The relevance of the foregoing to the task of propagating such ideas as anarchism, which are based on mutual aid, mutual trust and respect, is, in this writer's opinion, fundamental. We must demonstrate convincingly the artificial nature of the mutual suspicions which keep mankind divided and encourage people to publicly expose whenever it is possible the "investigators" in their midst. But above all we must convince them that suspicion, envy and corruption will never disappear from our midst until we destroy all authoritarian systems of government which breed them.

THREE MEN accused of causing an explosion near the *Daily Worker* office were remanded in custody at Clerkenwell. Six members of the 'Yellow Star' movement were accused of attacking two officials of the Union movement and causing damage to office equipment. It was alleged that they forced the editor to tear up copies of *Action* and seized him and beat him up, kicked him and tied him up. They gained admission by wearing Union movement badges. A British Legion speaker said that people preaching group hatred "should be put away".

FIVE DEMONSTRATORS at Marham were fined a total of £85 and were all bound over to keep the peace for twelve months. The magistrates have now dealt with 117 demonstrators arrested at the base. Plaid Cymru have devised a scheme for an area of land needed by English water authorities for the site of a reservoir to be severally owned by many of their supporters. This will entail the authorities facing objections to acquisition of the site from scores of land-owners, thus making for prolonged delay and litigation. . . .

PARENTS of pupils at Hatfield School are to construct in their week-ends a quadrangle to replace an unsightly unused cycle park. Three teenagers from Bristol worked all night replacing seats damaged by other teenagers. Two weeks ago three teenagers were caught damaging their seats. They were asked "If you enjoy ripping up our seats, why not come and put new ones in?" They have replaced 150 seats. . . .

GOVERNOR GEORGE WALLACE of Alabama is still determined to bar negroes entering the State University and has called in State troopers to assist. Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi decided not to object to the entrance of a coloured student to Oxford (Miss.) University. Ten negroes were denied entrance to a 'white' cinema at Gainesville, Florida. Six negroes were arrested in Jackson, Mississippi when picketing a store which refuses to employ negroes. . . .

AN RSG demonstration at Bolts Head, South Devon went off quietly, the *Guardian* reporting "that at one point holiday-makers joined it under the impression that the crowd was on its way to some festival event". The S.E. London Committee of 100 is planning a demonstration on Friday, June 21st, which will last precisely nine minutes. Called "Operation Scape" they will run at 7 p.m. from the House of Commons to the suspected nuclear shelters (M.P.s for the use of) in Horseferry Road. On June 29th there will be a demonstration at the Microbiological Research Establishment at Porton, near Salisbury (where the Black Death was successfully re-discovered last year). They will replace "Danger Keep Out" sign with "Porton Germ Warfare" sign. . . .

An RSG establishment in Westminster was photographed for *Sanity* from the roof of a Salvation Army hostel.

A SAILOR who has become a CND supporter intends to go absent from his ship. He has already served 90 days detention for his views. A French soldier has been imprisoned for refusing to present arms to General Massu since he believes him to be "responsible to a large extent for the systematic torture practised in Algeria". . . .

OURSELVES—and YOURSELVES

THE IMMEDIATE RESPONSE to the hundreds of subscription reminders we sent out recently has been most encouraging and this is already reflected in our Financial Statement this week. But we trust this is only the beginning of a wave of renewals of subscriptions and donations in the next few weeks which will build up our reserves to meet the costs of bringing out our two publications for the rest of the year.

MOST READERS appreciate our "unbusinesslike" way of not suspending subscriptions as soon as they expire. A few however have made this the excuse for cryptic comments, and for even suggesting that it is a trick to make people renew their overdue subscriptions. This is just nonsense. On our renewal card we ask those who do not wish to renew their subscription to notify us by return and that if we do not hear from them we assume they wish to go on receiving



THE GOVERNOR of British Guiana has banned public meetings in Georgetown and its suburbs. The country is in the grip of a six-week General Strike protesting about Dr. Jagan's labour legislation. . . .

A SPEAKER at the National Association of Head Teachers' conference said that the money spent on one nuclear submarine could be used to build more than 40 large schools or pay the salaries of more than 3,000 more teachers. It was decided to close the Whitecourt Farm Training Centre, Braintree, because the annual running costs were between £5,000 and £6,000 and this could not be guaranteed. Vacancies for prison chaplains were advertised in *The Listener* and elsewhere (C. of E. only), £1,128 stipend per annum plus free unfurnished house or flat, or rent allowance in lieu. . . .

MR. ROBERT PITMAN of the *Daily Express* asked "Why all this fuss about hanging?" and says "statistics show clearly that no one has ever committed a murder again after once being executed." He quotes three cases of men paroled, relieved and released on probation who committed murder again, as a justification for this plesantry but neglects the statistical evidence of men who have served prison sentences for murder who have not murdered again

Private and Public Madness

BOTH plays in the current programme at Unity Theatre are of some interest to anarchists. The first one, by Max Frisch entitled "The Fury of Phillip Hotz, is an insinuating bit of salesmanship for private madness. The second, by Arthur Adamov "The Scavengers", is a passionate indictment on public madness.

Max Frisch's work, consistent with another play of his, "The Fire Raisers", is enjoyable but dangerous. His people are puppets. The avant-garde playwright has given up hope. His concern is no longer the human condition, but rather the conditioned reflexes of confused people. Phillip Hotz is the cuckolded husband who for a year has kept quiet about his love affair with his best friend. Then he decides that they should separate. When the wife refuses, he locks her in a wardrobe. While comic removal men lug out the furniture, he

the paper and will send a remittance in due course. We do not say that those who cancel should pay any arrears that have accrued.

IDEALLY WE WOULD prefer to notify subscribers in advance of when their subscriptions expire, but to do this would require the kind of administration we lack, for it would mean sending our reminders every month. All we can manage at present is to send them out every six months. Readers of course could help by themselves making a note of when their subscriptions are due for renewal—and this would be a small example of decentralisation!

A FEW READERS have cancelled their subscriptions because they cannot afford to pay. Of course this is a relative term, but any reader who is in this position but would like to go on receiving the paper has only to say so and it will be sent without charge.

and (except for a snide reference to Timothy Evans) omits the statistic of those executed for murders they had not committed. 5,000 people in Leopoldville, outside the Social Centre witnessed a public hanging. . . .

ABOUT 120 PEOPLE were killed and 80 seriously wounded when two Moslem sects clashed in Lahore and Tehri, Pakistan. Eighty-six people were killed in demonstrations in Persia by Shia Muslims who have accused the Government of attacking the Moslem religion. . . .

MR. PATRICK GORDON WALKER in Washington said that Labour would honour agreements made by the present Government. Mr. R. H. S. Crossman speaking to workers at the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston said that a Labour Government would not close the Establishment immediately but there would be a gradual "tapering-off" process. He said he was certain that their facilities and knowledge could be successfully employed in other directions. *The Daily Express's* Chapman Pincher writing about Admiral Ricketts ("SEND THIS POLARIS PEDLAR PACKING") said that "Thanks to Oleg Penkovsky . . . America now knows that she has crushing superiority over Russia in nuclear arms of every kind" . . . "she has 300 ready-to-launch inter-continental missiles. Soon there will be 1,200. There are nearly 200 Polaris missiles on submarines. Soon there will be 750. In addition there are 1,200 long range H-bombers poised for action in the U.S. And there are 50,000 nuclear weapons in stockpiles in Europe". . . . "I am in no doubt that pressure behind the scheme [Admiral Ricketts'] comes from the Washington lobbyists for the U.S. arms firms". . . .

AT THE West London rent tribunal a counsel representing a landlord said "Tenants are expected to behave themselves when they take furnished rooms. They mustn't do things like committing suicide. It's not a proper thing to do".

JOHN QUIKOTE.

implores his wife to be sympathetic. She responds by smoking a cigarette in the wardrobe and while the husband is out of the room she emerges briskly in search of an ashtray. It is all very amusing, well directed and in fact both Michael Kustow as the husband and Celia Hewitt as the wife give excellent performances. But, and this may be somewhat unfair, one yearns for the approach of an Ibsen to tackle our problems with some seriousness.

None can reproach Adamov for not being serious. "The Scavengers" are the white rulers in Sud Afrika. The scene is a courtroom where a white industrialist is tried for the murder of a negro. A carefully thought out production by Heinz Bernard and competent acting go a long way to rescue an uneven propaganda play. The industrialist has a peculiar fear that negroes are amassing refuse in order to stuff his belly full of garbage. He therefore kills Tom Guinness, a negro, for depositing orange peel outside his door. The court would have acquitted him, had he not confessed to a new ambition that if he had the chance he would kill whites too. The acting of Bill Ward as the industrialist is especially fine and he is hilariously funny in a speech, so tender and pure, which Adamov has written with care and attention. Words pour out of him in an incessant discourse on refuse while he is being lathered, shaved and tumbled by an apprehensive barber. This is an honest play, yet one recalls with greater pleasure a film by Bunuel, where the same subject of racial antagonism was handled with great dignity. "Black bastard", says the white man. "White trash", replies the black man. They are equals. They look at each other unflinchingly. By all means see "The Scavengers", but also seek out "Island of Shame" as an antidote.

JOHN REY.

SIT DOWN OR PAY UP!

For the Record

TO THE EDITORS,

I should like to correct Peter Cadogan's letter and my own article in your issue of 1st June.

1. Peter Cadogan protests too much; and even then he can't really deny my charge that the East Anglian Committee of 100 failed to give any clear initiative on two occasions on 11th May—first when the police sabotaged our assembly at Marham, and second when we gathered outside the court at Shouldham.

The first he accepts, more or less, but the second he describes as "a ludicrous charge". He asks rhetorically: "Could anyone have foretold the situation in Shouldham?" And he adds equally rhetorically: "There was no question of an East Anglian initiative as such."

I would answer by saying "Yes", and "Why?" People who organise demonstrations should accept responsibility for dealing with unforeseeable situations, and they should take the necessary initiative when such a situation arises. This means not giving an order, but giving a lead. It is really absurd for Peter to claim that "all present were feeling and functioning as a more or less integrated body." It is time he learnt not to rely on his ingenuous and idealistic reactions to groups of people.

I left Shouldham at 7.30 because I saw no feeling of united resolution among the demonstrators, and because I saw leaders of the East Anglian Committee of 100 either not encouraging or even discouraging any such feeling. Now I wish I had stayed another hour, but I was too depressed and disgusted to stay another minute. As it happened, things turned out pretty well; and, as Peter says, "this was new, this was great, this is history."

2. I made a mistake about the use of the Official Secrets Act. There are in fact two Acts, one of 1911 and one of 1920. Perhaps we should all have copies or learn them off by heart or something.

The demonstrators arrested on 11th May were charged under Section One of the 1911 Act. This deals with entering and approaching a prohibited place, and carries a maximum penalty of 7

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

years, raised to 14 years by the 1920 Act. These charges were later withdrawn, and fresh charges were made under Section Three of the 1920 Act. This deals with obstructing members of the services or the police near a prohibited place, and carries a maximum penalty of 2 years (on conviction on indictment) or of 3 months and/or £50 (in summary conviction).

The demonstrators arrested in 18th May were charged with simple obstruction of the police. These charges were also later withdrawn, and fresh charges again made under Section Three of the 1920 Act. Nearly all the demonstrators were tried summarily, so the charges became relatively very light. *Hampstead*, June 6. N.W.

Against Finality

DEAR EDITORS,

There seem three kinds of issue raised in J.K.R.'s reply (*FREEDOM*, 18/5/63) to my criticisms (20/4/63) of his article (15/1/63).

First, he believes I misunderstood what he was getting at. Readers interested in that can refer back to his article and mine; I will confine myself here to making clear what I mean by "latent authoritarianism". If you believe, as J.K.R. does, that the purpose of education "should be to allow the individual to develop to the full his potentialities for good", and if you claim, as J.K.R. does, that money can ultimately be dispensed with "since all essential goods would be freely available to all", then you are introducing the notions of judgment and authority. Who will judge what is essential and good? Who will allow? (Incidentally, why can't education just aim at producing children who are literate and have some understanding of a few scholarly or scientific disciplines?)

Secondly, J.K.R. states that his proposals attempted to be "a consensus of anarchist aims and actions" which would be helpful in answering such questions as "But what is anarchism?" Of whose "aims and actions" are J.K.R.'s proposals a consensus? Certainly not of the seven anarchists Eltzbacher discusses. If the proposals really are a consensus, then the "aims and actions" they summarize are those of only a section of past and present anarchists.

However, the wish to give coherent answers to inquiries is a laudable one. All of us face the uninformed inquirer sometimes. Here is how I would go about an answer:

(1) Summarily outline some of the ideas of some of the leading anarchist thinkers, without attempting to give the impression that all the ideas are consistent with each other or with social fact.

(2) Point to anarchist societies which have actually existed. A great many primitive societies are anarchies; perhaps many "intentional communities" are too. These do show that, at least in certain circumstances, there can be viable anarchist societies. (Are the people in them happy, let alone happier than people not in them? I don't claim to know. Surely the point here is that an anarchy is a society without the state, that complex of institutionalized superordinate-subordinate relations sanctioned by legitimized force. What has happiness to do with it?)

(3) Summarily outline what those who call themselves anarchists are doing or have done, again not attempting to give the impression that all these actions are consistent.

Thirdly, J.K.R. wonders whether I will "give us" the non-futurist, etc. anarchism for which I expressed a wish. Alas! so much cannot be hoped for yet. But indications of such an anarchism are to be found in scattered sources. For instance, there are George Molnar's articles in *University Libertarian* 5 and *ANARCHY* 4; and my article in *ANARCHY* 24. Much of the material in the Sydney Libertarian Society's publications (*Broadsheet* and *Libertarian*) is relevant; and Colin Ward's article "Anarchism and Respectability" (*FREEDOM*, 2/9/61 and 9/9/61) certainly is. Max Nomad's

books will be found useful (e.g. *Apostles of Revolution*, available now as a Collier Books paperback). I would suggest, too, John Anderson's *Studies in Empirical Philosophy* (a collection of his papers published last year by Angus & Robertson). A careful and critical reading of even some of these will convince J.K.R. that there is more to anarchism than he could find place for in his "consensus".

Yours fraternally,
Auckland, N.Z. K.M.

African Anarchies

DEAR SIR,

I would like to take up a point in your article "For the Liberation of Africa". You admit to "a sense of frustration... at the failure to introduce our ideas to even a tiny minority of literate Africans". I don't think that you should feel so despondent, as, in fact, many African tribes have evolved societies without government. I would like to mention the Berbers of the Atlas Mountains, and the Nuer in the Southern Sudan. The latter, who are admirably described in Evans-Pritchard's book, are still protesting against an imposed authority. Readers could also refer to the *Freedom Selections*, Vol. 8, 1958, "Socialism in a wheel chair", pp. 273-279 and 293-295. Anarchic and communal forms of societies have genuinely existed in Africa, and I believe that there are many things that we can learn, in all humility from Africa. The Western educated African should not forget the real achievements, cultural as well as political, in his traditions.

Yours faithfully,
Brixham, June 7. D.T.H.

Scanty & Pathetic?

HOWEVER sympathetic Woodcock's "Anarchism" may be in its general treatment of the anarchist movement (Nicolas Walter, *ANARCHY* No. 28), its particular treatment of individualist anarchists is a long way from fair. Too often Woodcock prefers a sneer to accuracy.

He sets the tone by asserting that Stirner "praised crime and exalted murder" without properly showing what Stirner meant by "criminality" (e.g. questioning or acting against the sacredness of the State or legality) or giving any context for his alleged exaltation of murder. Woodcock here writes like a gutter-press journalist.

Better!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT JUNE 8th 1963	
Weeks 22 & 23	
EXPENSES: 23 weeks at £70	£1,610
INCOME:	
Sales & Sub. Renewals	£ 523
Weeks 1-21	523
Weeks 22 & 23	109
	632
New Subscriptions:	
Weeks 1-21 (177)	186
Weeks 22 & 23 (16)	21
	207
	839
DEFICIT	£771

DEFICIT FUND	
Hounslow: L.* 2/6; London: M.I.S. 5/;	
Wolverhampton: J.L.* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/;	
Bilston: J.W.P. 2/6; Birmingham: F.D. 5/;	
London: J.L. £1; E. Rutherford: A.S.* 7/;	
Youngstown: G.S. £5/4/6; London: V.T. £2/13/;	
Wolverhampton: J.L.* 3/;	
Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/6; Oxford: Anon.* 5/;	
Hounslow: L.* 2/6; Watford: J.R. 10/;	
London: A.B.F. £1/8/;	
London: R.J.D. 13/;	
London: M.S. 4/;	
Hove: H.C. 7/6; Oxford: G.H. 3/4; Hove: A.R. 3/3;	
Leeds: G.L. 2/;	
Croydon: R.P.R. 5/;	
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D.Y.C. £1/7/;	
Southend: P.O.* 4/;	
Saffron Walden: A.R. £3/8/;	
Belfast: K.G. 8/;	
Stanningley: Mr. & Mrs. B. £1/8/;	
Rickmansworth: P.J. 10/;	
Belfast: W.G. 5/;	
Pevensey: F.C. 3/;	
Northolt: E.W.P. 8/;	
London: M.I. £5; London: S.W.T. £3/8/;	
Manchester: P.H. 18/;	
E. Rutherford: A.S.* 7/;	
"Victoria" 10/;	
Falmouth: R.W. 2/;	
Hartford: M.G.A.* £2/9/;	
Stockton-on-Tees: L.F. 10/;	
Shepherds Bush: C.M. 10/;	
London: A.T. £1/8/;	
London: M.G. 8/;	
Liverpool: K.J. 5/;	
London: P.D. 8/;	
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London: J.S. 10/6; Penzance: J.G. 2/6;	
Bristol: M.H. £1; Cambridge: J.P.H. £3/8/;	
Ingatstone: C.P. 8/;	
Scarborough: C.B.W. 8/;	
Hornchurch: E.T. 9/;	
Birmingham: L.E.C. 14/;	
Bath: J.C. 8/;	
Enfield: J. & M.S. 18/;	
Surrey: F.B.* 10/;	
London: R.R. 3/.	

TOTAL 49 4 7
Previously acknowledged 348 16 11
1963 TOTAL TO DATE £398 1 6

Again, while Woodcock admits that the known facts concerning Stirner's life are "scanty and pathetic", this does not stop her from having such an intimate knowledge of Stirner's character that he can say that Stirner's sad existence was due not to "ill-luck", but to "some flaw of will." This is long-range psychological analysis with a vengeance and is a good demonstration of how pathetic one can get on the scanty.

His approach to other individualists—with the exception of the Warren-Tucker school in the U.S.A.—is equally slapdash and even more arbitrary. The individualist comes out as the villain of the piece and can hardly be mentioned without dark mutterings about "violence" and "terrorists".

In dealing with the Italian individualists, for instance, he repeats without query (at least in the American edition of his book) the story of the shooting of Malatesta by "a certain Ciancabilla" which appeared in Max Nomad's "Rebels and Renegades". This story was nailed years ago in Marcus Graham's journal *Man!* and Nomad himself admitted it to be wrong as far as Ciancabilla was concerned.

Italy itself the individualists only appear as "terrorists" embarrassing Malatesta by acts of violence. How Woodcock's law-abiding, war-supporting readers will be shocked by these terrible "egoists" who appear to have had no ideas and no activities outside of assassination!

The French individualists fare no better. He does not bother to discuss their ideas or their lives, but spends the few lines he devotes to the subject describing the illegality of the Jacob and Bonnot "gangs". Who would have thought that the individualists produced a literature, philosophies, communities? Bathe them in blood and dismiss them as terrorists!

All of this is a great pity, because Woodcock does raise some very pertinent questions regarding anarchism. But his failure to do justice to the individualists, his lack of understanding of those who reacted with violence against an oppressive milieu, only throw doubt on the integrity of his scholarship and bring into the light his tut-tutting moralism.

London, June 2. SIDNEY PARKER.

Impossible?

DEAR SIR,

'Each person selects the anarchist theory which appeals to him'. Only Arthur Uloth, being a superman, doesn't have to select 'one', he's in a position to choose them all! His anarchism is not only 'rather odd'—it's bloody impossible.

PAT PARKER.
London, S.W.11, 12th May.

Be Happy!

DEAR FRIENDS,

Pardon me but I think that you intellectual anarchists are stupid and pathetic. Even though you must realize that civil disobedience is a failure you still persist, wasting good effort in prisons, wasting money on fines. 300 at Marham out of 50 million. Hip, Hip, Hooray, bring out the flags!! Can't you see that you have failed.

You ask people to give up their families and go to prison, to defy authority, to fight—peacefully of course—to do this and do that. You are asking too much. Why? Because human beings, ordinary-working, want to live life as it should be lived. After a day's work they want to relax and enjoy life. I can never see any real working man sitting down "banning the bomb". He has more principles. Being picked up by a copper like a bundle of rags and carried to prison! That's all right for you intellectuals. Not for us mate. We will laugh.

The only time that your system would work is when you have millions with you, not hundreds. So instead of making fools of yourselves, why not get out amongst the people, give them something to grasp onto, show them what life could be like. Be happy and joyful. Ignore the 'H-Bomb'. People like colour. Give them colour. Organise an anarchist parade with bands and banners. Dance as you go down the streets, wave red and black flags—get out the red, white and blue bunting. Show people that you're human beings who don't give a fuck for the bomb. Live life as if the bomb didn't exist, and then people will see that life would be a lot happier without governments or wars. LIVE LIFE AS IT SHOULD BE LIVED. Do not fight anything. Give in to life. Is this so difficult to you "I.A.'s".

All the best,
Belvedere, June 6. D. W. G. TRUMAN.

New Meetings in Central London

Prickly Subjects will be discussed at Central London Meetings at "The Porcupine", 48 Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2 (Leicester Square tube), commencing 7.45.

JUNE 16 S. Fanaroff:
The Silent Revolution
JUNE 23 Alan Albon:
The Sussex Committee of 100 and the nth degree force.
JUNE 30 Ted Kavanagh:
e. e. cummings: The Individual IS
JULY 7 S. E. Parker:
Anarchism without Ends

Hyde Park Meetings

Sundays at 3.30 p.m., Speakers' Corner. Weather and other circumstances permitting.

Merseyside

Will those interested in forming an Anarchist Discussion Group on Merseyside please get in touch with:

VINCENT JOHNSON,
43, MILLBANK,
LIVERPOOL 13.

BRISTOL FEDERATION

Will any interested readers contact: Ian Vine, 3 Frelands Place, Hotwells, Bristol 8.

OXFORD MEETINGS

For details please contact:—Gabrielle Charing, Somerville College, Oxford.

GLASGOW FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

Meets every Thursday, 7.30, at 4 Ross Street, Glasgow, E.2 (off Gallowgate).

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

3rd Tuesday at Brian and Doris Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

3rd Wednesday of the month, at 8 p.m. at Albert Portch's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.

First Thursday of each month, Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

Last Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at George Hayes', 174 Mcleod Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2.

Second Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Sid Parker's, 202, Broomwood Road, Clapham Common, S.W.11. (Tube: Clapham South, Buses: 37, 49 and 189).

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

Notting Hill Anarchist Group (Discussion Group)

Last Friday of the month, at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Road, (near Notting Hill Station), W.11.

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