

FREEDOM

'Wealth is acquired by over-reaching our neighbours, and is spent in insulting them.'

WILLIAM GODWIN

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

Unemployment again

IN November 544,451 people were out of work and all but 47,000 are wholly unemployed. The figure is the highest November figure since 1940 when, as a *New Statesman* writer succinctly put it "war, the super-Keynesian, solved the problem of the Thirties". We do not believe that the situation has been reached where war will again be used to solve the problem... of the sixties, though since the Korean war proved to be an effective, even if temporary, tonic or pick-me-up for certain sections of the American economy, it will be interesting to observe how the American and British governments react to the local war between China and India, the prolongation of which will depend on the extent of Western intervention with military and other "aid". But we were saying, that in spite of growing unemployment, the problem today is not identical with that of the thirties. Apart from the pockets of high unemployment in Scotland, Northern Ireland and the North of England, the national average of 2.4 per cent. is still within the kinds of limits which Beveridge and other advisers to the ruling class on "full employment" considered necessary to keep the working people on their toes and prevent them from "slacking" or changing their jobs every few months for their money. To paraphrase Orwell, full employment is good, not quite-full-employment is better! But mass production needs mass markets: finance companies need workers in jobs if their instalments are to be paid, and if they are to extend their tentacles to those schoolleavers who join the labour-force. The uneven distribution of unemployment is against their interests. It does not achieve the

desired ends where it is virtually non-existent; and where it is particularly acute it affects the "prosperity" of the community as a whole by a kind of chain reaction, for the simple reason that nearly half the working community today are engaged in providing "services". Acute local unemployment results in less spending on food and services which, if it shows no signs of improvement, inevitably results in unemployment in the distributive trades and in the entertainment and other services, thus setting in motion a snowball of unemployment and financial depression. The *Financial Times* had this in mind when in an analysis of the present situation it concluded that it was only in the North, North-East and in Scotland that "unemployment needs careful watching, to stop its possible economic benefits from being more than offset by social loss". (Our italics).

We invite every reader to re-read the foregoing italicised passage, not that we believe most of our readers have anything but a healthy contempt for the capitalist system and its defenders are concerned, but in order that they should savour to the full the hypocrisy contained in the references to "economic benefits" and "social loss". We would rewrite these conclusions in less euphemistic terms: "Up to 3 per cent. unemployment evenly spread over the whole country gives employers the weapon they need to control their operatives, and to

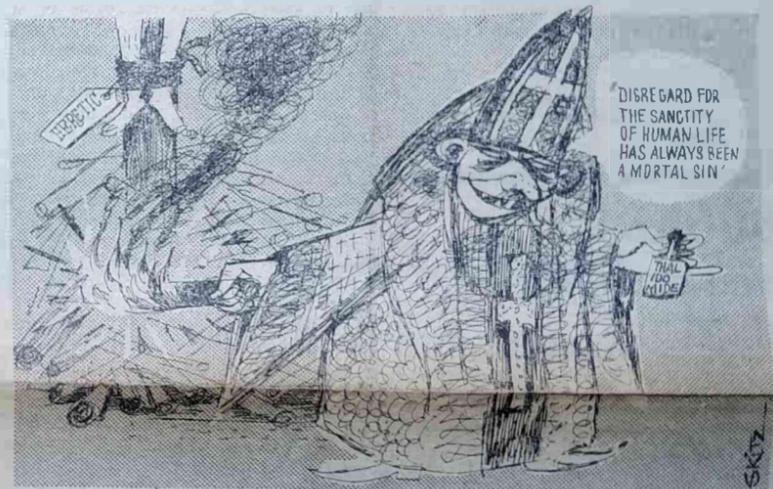
black-list the 'agitators' and the 'inefficient'. Uneven unemployment means that increased productivity and increased production potential will be nullified in areas of high unemployment by an all-round decrease in 'spending power', whereas in the areas of 'high spending power' productivity, etc. will not be increased because labour demand exceeds supply".

IF "social loss" refers to the interests of society, it must take into account the needs of every member of the community. And even if one applies the sanction that "he who does not work neither shall he eat" or the collectivist concept that "to each according to his deeds", both presuppose that every individual has the right and possibility of working to live. The fact that the capitalist system does not in principle recognise either these rights or possibilities, condemns it for what it is: a system which exists to perpetuate the privileged status of a minority irrespective of the needs and aspirations of the majority. Without minimising the achievements of the revolutionaries as well as the sincere reformists and pioneers of the Trades Union movement of the 19th

century it would be unrealistic, and for anarchists foolish, to attribute the improvement of working and living conditions in the "West" to the revolutionary agitations and the pressures of the reformists and the bourgeois do-gooders without taking into account the potentials, so far as the common good was concerned, of the Industrial Revolution itself. Clearly, what we are arguing is that

the defeat of the anarchists and revolutionary socialists by the parliamentary socialists in the late 19th century and the subsequent improvement of the lot of the workers, viewed from this age of (Western) affluence, cannot be either attributed to irresistible forces of progress or ignore that in pursuing its narrow material interests a section of the

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CHINESE STRATEGY

ONLY an envious politician or a Nehru could deny that the Chinese cease fire and voluntary withdrawal to the line they occupied in 1959, was a brilliant tactical move and beautifully timed. It has caused consternation in Indian circles and made the horde of American and British advisers, who descended on Indian soil to see how they could keep the military pot boiling, look more than a little foolish.

It was obvious that Nehru should express all kinds of doubts as to the genuineness of the Chinese

move, and yet one cannot help feeling that after all the blustering he will have to accept the *fait accompli*. What alternative has he?

As to the Chinese attack itself, the Chinese have made it clear that the action they took was forced on them not only by military provocation by Indian troops on the frontier, but also by Nehru's refusal to settle the frontier dispute. Their attack was an example of "politics by other means", and Mr. Nehru should understand this language, since it is exactly what he himself did over the problem of Goa. For years he had sought to solve the problem with the Portuguese by diplomatic means without response from the Portuguese. So without asking anybody's permission he sent in his army and solved the problem that way. The Chinese it could be said were rather more subtle in the way they went about it. Having negotiated the most difficult, and mountainous, terrain, and having open before them the Assam plain they halt their advance and withdraw their troops from the occupied territory, so that discussions can start. Obviously Nehru finds himself in a position of inferiority, but still, what's all the fuss about? A few mountain-ranges, which as the Chinese have shown are not impregnable defences. So why not get the business settled and get on with the much more important business of feeding India's hungry millions!

Hennessy rides again

THE Chairman of Fords, Sir Patrick Hennessy, has re-opened his campaign against unofficial stoppages. His attack this time is levelled against the workers who are employed on the building of the new Fords' factory at Halewood, near Liverpool. According to Hennessy, the work on the factory is six months behind schedule, the cause of this being the loss of 81,000 days of work due to the number of disputes on the site.

The Liverpool area has for a long time been hit by unemployment and in order to relieve this situation, the Board of Trade, by devious methods, persuaded several of the large firms, Fords included, to open new factories on Merseyside. This was some time ago, but so far, however, the Fords' factory has not produced a single car.

In his attack on these building workers, Hennessy laid emphasis on the fact that he considered it heartbreaking that, with so many thousands out of work in the Liverpool area, the factory was unable to get production started. We all know, or should know, that these are only crocodile tears, for Fords are always

ready to sack men when it suits them. Of course, the real reason that Hennessy and the rest of his co-directors are so worried about the situation, is because the delay is estimated to be costing the Company in the region of £70,000 per week.

Hennessy even went so far as to say that they were reconsidering the question of further expansion in the area, a warning of this having been given by Mr. Kuiper, the Ford Manager at Halewood, last September. At that time, the Building and Engineering Unions offered to discuss the problem of the hold-ups in the work with Mr. Kuiper and to arrange talks between the unions and contractors. These offers were turned down and Mr. Kuiper, according to the unions, stated quite firmly that he wanted no publicity over the hold-ups as it would be bad for the firm. Obviously Hennessy had conveniently forgotten that this warning had been given and that the unions had been given a flat refusal to their offer to discuss the situation in an attempt to solve the problem.

The Union officials in reply to Hennessy's statements denied that the job was six months behind because of the disputes. Two years ago it had been four months behind owing to subsoil trouble, but since then, the job had been kept well up to schedule. They also stated that his estimate of 81,000 man days must have included delays due to the weather and the two weeks' annual holiday. Mr. Kuiper, being a loyal servant, countered that if the weather and other difficulties were taken into consideration, it could be said that the job was a lot more than six months behind schedule. One union official said that the number of stoppages at the Ford site was not excessive considering the size of the job. However, due probably to the stand taken by Fords of Dagenham, labour relations had been deliberately worsened by many of the contractors.

According to reports, Hennessy was

astonished that the number of stoppages was not considered excessive. In reply to the accusation by the unions, that his warning was provocative and irresponsible, he said that the threat to reconsider the building of an extension to the £30 million factory was used only in the hope of putting an end to the disputes and delays. This extension is estimated to cost another £9 million and to employ an additional 2,500 men, but who knows, this may be no idle threat. With the probable entry of this country into the Common Market, it may be more profitable for Fords to have this extension added to one of their plants on the Continent.

It is a well known fact amongst building workers that delays are part and parcel of their jobs. A building site isn't a factory where materials are fed in at one end and a shiny new building comes out at the other. There are many problems and difficulties to contend with, both for men and management. The weather, which usually isn't very good can play havoc with the schedule, and if the men are unable to work they are

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ANARCHIST PROTEST

LAST Saturday the London Federation of Anarchists held a demonstration outside the Spanish Embassy in Belgrave Square, to protest against prison sentences given recently to comrades in Madrid.

About twenty comrades carried banners and posters demanding freedom for our Spanish comrades of the C.N.T. and P.I.U. Details of the demonstration were given to several Sunday newspapers, but only one of them mentioned it in a few lines in its front page.

As comrades are continually being imprisoned in Spain, we are planning further demonstrations.

ANARCHY 22

presents a conversation between MARX & BAKUNIN and other features

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 1/6 on the last Saturday of every month.

This Year's

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will be held next year. On January 25th at Fulham Town Hall with Mick Mulligan & his Band and George Melly. Guest Artists will include Sidney Carter, Bob Davenport, Red Nerk, Redd Sullivan, Wally Whyton.

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And no voice heard?

The Executive Coloring Book. Jonathan Cape, 7s. 6d.
The rising gorge, by S. J. Perelman. Heinemann, 18s.
YEAH 4, edited by Tuli Kupferberg. Birth Press.
screeches for sounding, edited by dave cunliffe (33a grove road, London, W.4.)

THE funniest thing about the *Executive Coloring Book* is its price, for after that all else becomes a series of diminishing anti-climaxes. Its format is that of the child's sixpenny colouring book and Jonathan Cape are vainly trying to sell this pretentious rubbish for seven shillings and sixpence a copy. I say vainly for the copies that appear in the bookshops in the Charing Cross Road made but a brief appearance before they were tossed off the shelves. It took three to play midwife to the birth of this mouse and its humour is of the pseudo-intellectual type of "This is a customer. He smells bad. He has money to spend. I like him". It is for those in-group characters who feel that they have succeeded in crawling sufficiently with those in authority to be able to hand them this sycophantic giggle book of us-and-them.

And on to S. J. Perelman's *The Rising Gorge* at 18s. One goes through a phase of Perelman as one does with Runyan, Wodehouse and the rest of the humorists who rightly torture the language for their effects. Yet this sad little man always had to address us in the third person as the voice behind the voice. He was the man who wrote the zany dialogue for that unlovely man Groucho Marx to bark out and only a swiftly-passing film credit marked him for us. In small doses he found an ever-ready ear but in the mass he tends to pall and page after page of his collage of clichés

proves just a little too much even for the willing reader for his juxtaposition of hackneyed phrases as "The night the old nostalgia burned down" must of necessity stub a conversation but not fill a book. Yet we are in his debt for past favours.

Again to the Americas and Tuli Kupferberg of NY 9 NY. Tuli Kupferberg the Greenwich Village Beat poet who prowls through his parish with the happy and abandoned air of an unfrocked rabbi, darkly bearded and gently smiling, dispensing poetry and pamphlets to the spewing stream of New York's unheeding Squares and Phillistines. For he and he alone is the Birth Press that pours out duplicated magazines that can be good and bad but never unacceptable, for Tuli takes the printed agony of the world and creates his own montage of protest and binds it with its own inky tears. When he is bad as with his "the RUB YA OUT of omore diem" one must grit the teeth or play the infidel to his protest against atomic annihilation. One can nod sagely with his SEX & WAR and its conclusion that "We are seeing a world-wide breakdown in old impossible sexual moiality and have yet to see clearly the better forms of sex and child-rearing which will emerge. This will be a time of great mistakes and great joy. we are close to death and liberation. Let us choose joy!"

Accept Kupferberg at his true worth with his raggedy arse magazine *YEAH* that ranges from the tame revolutionary diatribes of Yevgeni Yevtusheko, the bitter sweetness of Alex Comfort's "The young CND", local boy Royston Ellis's short plea for heterosexual tolerance and America's female McGonigal Mrs. Sara L. Williams of Alpaugh, California and "Our Utah Deer Hunt of 1959". Tuli has interposed these poems with his collected gleanings from the barren harvest of the American press that can offer "Anarchist bombs" guaranteed to stink like limburger cheese, a 15 dollar watch "looks and feels like a real skull", "Kosher tours to Mexico", "Uncommon vice detection equipment" 25 cents, plastic vomit to live up the party for only a dollar, or a life size model of a woman's breast" warmly tinted in nature's own colors" and mounted on a maple plaque and all for only six dollars for the "man who has everything". Kupferberg has enclosed in *YEAH* 4 a reduced re-

dedicated as it claims to its own crazy conceived enemies of the White People. For Tuli has collected the graffiti of a society that daily lives in fear of death yet knows not how to live.

David Cunliffe with his magazine "screeches for sounding" volume the first and last realises that what was a universal and timeless cry has for our generation become a scream of a world at bay helplessly watching fools play death with the prize the calculated annihilation of races merely to fulfil a thesis and prove a point. Ignoring the personal claims made for and by the six contributors to *s and s*, the deliberate contempt for orthodox spelling and their debt for so much of their imagery to the Plastic Gothic school of poetry one is still left with the undeniable fact that

there has formed around Cunliffe a group of young poets who could form the vanguard of a needed poetic renaissance within these islands for they are hymning the agony of the day and not the legends of the recent past. That their love of words and the glittering phrase may divert them from their central theme must be accepted for they are young and the toys are new but their songs have the beauty and the honesty of the folk ballads cast in a modern image. For many weeks the pedants filled the columns of the *Spectator* magazine alibing the betrayal of the new left for they rightly called it an inquest but all their dusty and learned prose becomes as nothing when placed against the poet's lines and if a generation from now they ask did it matter that the new left died and its meeting place was given over to the smooth palmed restaurateur, don't thumb the yellow index of the quasi liberal weeklies for an answer but quote one of the drifting pocket empty poets who sat and argued at its now barred tables. For Cunliffe production of the hate magazine *KILL* with no place left has written the

requiem for the shell that was once a dream made manifest. He has written

They closed the Peace Café.
They shut down the Partisan.
Scattering chessboards and poets
into the bleak stools of the French.
Reflecting sausage rolls on eternity
and hemp and opium into dust.
Children laughing over cold beer.
Under panarama of torn posters
and lurid postcard prints.
Luxenburg blareing frothily
in the Duke of York.
Books-furtive-stolen
under old leather jackets.
Frayed and splashed
with protesting coffee
spirited from Zwemmers
flying up Charing Cross
to London bound tourists
finding Nirvana in the
squalid stones underfoot
Poet is shit.
And no voice heard
my cordroys on
the chill stone bench
crying for a kiss.

David Cunliffe.
ARTHUR MOYSE.

ATOMS FOR PEACE

VIENNA.

AFTER the comfortable size and ready charms of Geneva, it's like leaving a little dark-eyed sweetheart for a big blond stranger, to come to Vienna; and the strangeness is emphasized when you find she has taken you beyond transistor reach of England or French broadcasting. Having further discovered that there are no concerts at all here in September and that opera seats are as hard to get as cup-tie tickets, I didn't expect to find much of interest beyond echoes of my grandfather's years here early in the last century and the memorial rooms of Beethoven, Mozart and Schubert.

Least of all did I expect to find anything in the nature of pacifist and voluntary enterprise comparable with the happy discovery of CIRA in Geneva. Yet, among the various international bodies having references here in these days, there is one in purpose and operation is guided by just those principles, and in this is comparable with the Centre for International Research on Anarchism. Those who cling to the exclusionist dogma of our earlier days and abhor the national health system and all social services connected with the state, might not even allow it similarity; but a wiser generation than mine has learned to value a body according to its function rather than its origin; and

by that criterion IAEA will pass.

Pacifist in purpose and voluntary in operation, there is nothing exciting about the atoms of the International Atomic Energy Agency; there is little news value in its atoms for peace. Thus comparatively few people know of its existence, and fewer still would ever suppose that it may be the most consistent and consequential pacifist operator in the world. It is dedicated to the slogan: "Atoms for Peace", and its safeguards against any attempts to divert its activity to military ends are endorsed by 75 nations. It took a long time for it to emerge from our troubled consciences after Hiroshima; it was not until 1953 that Eisenhower's moved him to suggest the need of an international organisation "to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind" in the field of atomic energy—and to protect the world from some of the now appreciated dangers of its own folly. The Agency took shape in 1957 after its creation had been approved by 81 countries. Its members are states, but its operational budget is financed out of voluntary contributions. Its annual conference is sitting here these two weeks. In a world which has not yet dared to believe that the production of peaceful atomic energy is going to be much more closely related to our daily lives than its wicked military abortion, it is not surprising that little

attention is being paid to this conference in the English papers being received here. And in fact much of its proceedings are too technical to be reduced easily to public fodder. But one aspect of its activities can be appreciated at sight.

Who has not heard of the "new men"—the scientists with a conscience who will not lend themselves to bomb-making? Must there be no nuclear physicists in the world except those who serve Satan? The Agency provides an outlet for the conscientious. A programme of nuclear science fellowships was initiated four years ago; already more than 1,500 fellowships have been granted. This means that 1,500 young scientists, otherwise tempted to serve the bomb, have been enabled to prepare themselves for rewarding jobs to which the Agency can also guide them. The Agency also has its own growing crops of nuclear experts; last year 30 of them were serving in 16 different countries; today there are more than a hundred in the field. Their scope is wide; it includes isotope applications in medicine material and production of fuel, establishing standards and measures for radiation protection, nuclear and electronic engineering, reactor design, radiobiology and related branches of physics and physiology. In most countries the Agency experts help to plan and initiate research programmes, to train local personnel and advise on the selection and use of equipment and materials. Throughout the world also a check is kept on the variations of atomic radiation and, while

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"MAY MAN PREVAIL?" by Erich Fromm (George and Unwin Ltd.) 21s.

WE have here a really good and important book on nuclear war and allied subjects; one might think a reading of such material would be difficult or depressing—yet the contrary is the case. Whilst a working knowledge of psychology and modern world affairs is necessary, "May Man Prevail?" is a very readable book that fills one with reasoned hope.

To begin with we have some general premises concerning the prevalent attitude towards world politics in both America and the U.S.S.R.; the most searching part of which concerns paranoid thinking. "Most Americans," Fromm writes, "think about Russia in a paranoid fashion, they ask what is possible rather than what is probable." Mixed with paranoid thinking is projection—the enemy is all bad, you are innocent, whilst in fact you are the hostile one. "Our attitudes towards communism, the Soviet Union, and Communist China" writes Fromm to his American audience, "are, to a considerable extent demonstrations of projective thinking." Along with these two pathological traits comes fanaticism: "a passion which at the same time has no warmth." Fromm distinguishes here between the "cold fire" of the fanatic and the deep faith of the man of authentic feeling.

"Paranoid, projective and fanatical thinking are all truly pathological forms of the thought process, different from pathology in the conventional sense only by the fact that political thoughts are shared by a larger group of people and not restricted to one or two individuals," writes the author and in his opinion "pathological thinking and double-think are not only sick and inhuman, but they endanger our very survival." There is a lack of realism and objectivity. "We must penetrate the net of rationalisa-

TO BE FILLED WITH REASONABLE HOPE?

tions, self-delusions, and double-think."

In the rest of the book Erich Fromm set out to do this. He examines the nature of the Soviet system, and attempts to substantiate that it is non-socialist and non-revolutionary and that since Stalin's rise the Soviet rulers have not aimed at Communist revolutions in the West. Next he asks if the aim of the Soviet Union is world domination Fromm answers in the negative, he sees it as a state managerialist society: "The cliché of the Soviet offensive against the United States in Berlin, Laos, the Congo, and Cuba is not based on reality but is rather a convenient formula to support further armament and the continuation of the cold war."

Fromm tries to show that "Russia, since 1923, has not been a revolutionary system, has not attempted to bring about revolutions in the Western countries, and, in fact, has tried to contain them." In a chapter "The Meaning and Function of Communist Ideology" he seeks to explain the paradox whereby the above holds while Russians speak of "the final victory of communism in the world."

In this chapter we are given a thorough explanation of ideology as such. In the first bloom of new religious people experience what they think whilst an ideology is a cerebrally, alienated thought—instead of authentic experience. "The words remain the same, yet they have become rituals and are no longer living words." Ideologies are thus administered by bureaucracies. Christ becomes Church, Marx becomes C.P. "Stalin or Khrushchev, using the words of Marx use them ideologically, just as most of us use the words of the Bible, of Jefferson, of Emerson, ideologically."

To conclude his analysis of the Soviet Union is a conservative state managerialism using Communist-revolutionary ideology." And "Khrushchev neither be-

lieves in the possibilities for revolution in the West, nor does he want it; nor does he need it for the development of his system."

All these contentions are backed by a mountain of historical observation and with sound factual argument which obviously cannot be contained in a review. Suffice to say that they have an attractive plausibility for this reader. The implications of his arguments certainly make you think.

Next we have chapters providing useful insights into the Chinese and German problems. Finally we come to Fromm's suggestions for peace. Firstly he examines the deterrent doctrine critically, this is first-rate stuff—with a really excellent destruction of Kahn's sick views. He states that he believes that the reasoning "Kahn and many others accept is, indeed, understandable only on the basis of personal despair."

To me the most essential issue Fromm brings out is stated thus: "Even in the unlikely case that the continuation of the arms race, controlled or not, could prevent a nuclear war within the next twenty-five years, what is the likely future of the social character of man in a bilateral or multilateral armed world, where, no matter how complex the biggest and most persuasive reality in any man's life is the poised missile, the humming data processor connected to it, the waiting radiation counters and seismographs, the over-all technocratic impotent fear of its imperfection) of the mechanism of holocaust?" Fromm sums up his opinion on disarmament thus: "It is true that the aim of universal controlled disarmament is exceedingly difficult to reach; maybe it is unrealistic, as its opponents say. But to believe that a strategy of mutual threats with ever-more destructive weapons can, in the long run, prevent a nuclear war, and that a society following this road

could preserve its democratic character, is a great deal more unrealistic."

Although Fromm states that "The situation in which humanity finds itself is exceedingly grave", his proposals for modern positive neutralism make one groan. He wants universal controlled disarmament—but he wants nothing of revolution. After all Fromm has written exposing both East and West and showing them to be much the same—he declares for "a mutual recognition of the status quo, the mutual agreement not to change the existing political balance of power between the two blocs." Together with this "freeze" he calls for support for democratic socialism in the so-called under-developed countries more accurately described as (less-developed countries) along the lines of Yugoslavia and India. As Fromm admits, his policy "requires the acceptance of the neutral bloc by both the East and the West and the strengthening of the UN as a supernational organisation charged with the administration of disarmament and economic aid."

Even if one ignores the question as to whether the statesmen of the world will follow Fromm's advice, it cannot be denied that his appeal is directed to the rulers and not to the people. Yet it is those rulers who need both armaments and poverty. The whole nature of society in all States must be hierarchical, some people in a minority holding privileges defended by force or the threat of force. These ruling élites would rather risk the nuclear holocaust than risk their own positions. Indeed for them social revolution is worse than nuclear terror. And this applies to ruling élites in the East, the West and in neutralist countries. We shall only get disarmament by disarming the State, there will be universal disarmament when there is no State left on the earth. The answer to the bomb is anarchy. J.W.

UNEMPLOYMENT AGAIN

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community realises that these interests cannot be satisfied without the uncritical acquiescence of the majority both as producer and consumer.

How successful the ruling class have been and how unsuccessful the Trades Unions and the reformists is surely shown by the fact that on the one hand we now have the know-how to satisfy the needs of mankind, and on the other at least half mankind is living on starvation rations. Again, we have the possibility in the industrialised countries of applying the principle of "to each according to his needs" and yet the reality is that besides economic and status distinctions we have in this country more than half a million people who are not allowed to work and thereby earn the currency without which they and their dependents cannot live as normal human beings.

IN the interests of peace, apart from the fact that every worker is in any case obliged to contribute a part of his earnings every day that he works for the day he does not, the ruling class are prepared to give a part of their profits to provide the bare necessities for those workers who cannot find employment. Last Sunday's *Observer* glaringly demonstrates that in spite of the "affluent society" the dole today as a percentage of the average weekly earnings (for single men) is much lower than it was in the "hungry thirties". Taking 1935 as our index, "unemployment benefits" for a single man were 27 per cent of the average earnings; today they are only 19 per cent.

The least, therefore, that unem-

ployed workers should demand is that unemployment benefit be relatively as high as it was in the depressed thirties, that is, 83/ for a single man as opposed to the present 57/6. But if the unemployed workers were also revolutionary in their outlook they would argue that so long as they were prepared to work they had a right to a job or 100 per cent. compensation for so long as they were denied one.

To say that there was no work available presupposes that there are no jobs in the speciality for which the applicant is trained, or that he is not suitable for the work available. In neither case is it the individual's "fault". In both cases, it seems to us, society must accept its responsibility. Either the individual voluntarily makes his way through individual, family or group associations, in which case he assumes the responsibility for his own future (and this is the anarchist way) or he emerges in a society which is authoritarian and seeks to oblige the individual to conform to a pattern of behaviour, in which case those who have the power, must, to maintain it either provide surrogates (reformism) or attempt to rule with a rod of iron (dictatorship). But in both cases the dominant concern of the ruling class is to retain its power. No privileged class has ever voluntarily renounced its power. Even the concessions it is prepared to make in certain circumstances are dictated by self interest.

There is no reason to believe that the Labour Party and the Trade Union leadership view the social problem in terms other than that of the power of an elite which directs the actions of the majority.

Why no education by the TUC?

WHAT does the T.U.C. General Council offer as the solution to growing unemployment? In a letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer it takes the view that the growth of unemployment — of "wholly unemployed" — has taken place in spite of government measures to "stimulate activity" and in spite of the fact that "industrial production has been rising in recent months". In simple language it could be summarised in last week's *Tribune* headline "Poverty amid Plenty is Back in Britain". But is this so. Is there ever in fact "plenty" under capitalism?

There is only one solution to the problem of unemployment, and we repeat it for the *n*th time, and it is that once production is geared to the needs of the community, and once the community can satisfy its needs, the term unemployment, as well as hunger disappear from our vocabulary. For then unemployment is a maldistribution of the tasks by which society satisfies its needs; and hunger would be the result of calamity of nature, or an administrative mistake. Today, unemployment (which means penury in spite of the individual's willingness to work), shortages, and surpluses, are artificial, man-made situations which have meaning only in relation to an artificial economy which penalises the producers and favours a minority of parasites.

The T.U.C. points out that unemployment has increased "in spite of the fact that industrial production has been rising in recent months". If we were the government we would reply that the number of unemployed must be viewed in the light of the ever-increasing labour force, in part the result of the abolition of conscription and the drastic reduction of personnel in the armed

forces. Curiously enough or significantly neither the Government nor the Labour Party opposition have referred to the relation between unemployment among school-leavers and the abandonment of conscription. Do neither side want us to point to the relation between the cold-war and full-employment in the cold-war economy and full-employment in the capitalist society now that they are meeting for the 850th time in Geneva to discuss disarmament?

THERE are in this country, in spite of their wishes, half a million people who are unemployed, that is, people who are denied the possibility of offering their labour in return for a wage, which in turn will give them access to the means of life for themselves and their dependents. What should they do? Firstly they should agitate for unemployment benefits no less than the national average wage. On this being refused by the government Tory, Liberal or Labour they should refuse to pay their landlord more than the percentage of their wage that they themselves receive as dole, and should be prepared to resist, with the aid of their friends the tough boys that the landlord will employ to evict them for non-payment of rent. Parallel with this direct action those of us who still retain our jobs or our well-paid emoluments should contribute "more than we can afford" to establish a fund to provide the necessities for those who have the opportunity, but can ill-afford, to challenge the *status quo*. For instance the families that resist eviction by the thugs employed by landlords (referred to in the Commons last week) should know that supporting them is a body of their fellows who will

Dr. CYRIL BIBBY president of Kingston-upon-Hull Training College said that sex prejudice was a root cause of race hatred and that when 'Oxford and Cambridge were struggling in the 13th and 14th centuries, the University of Timbuctoo was flourishing and had been for centuries'. A Mr. B.K. (no relation) Nehru was reported in the *Seattle Times* as saying that the Mississippi crisis "could never happen in our country, very strictly. Nobody would dare stop an untouchable from going to school in India. In fact we have special seats reserved for them." The director of the Internal Affairs Department of the World Jewish Congress claimed in Leeds that anti-semitism was becoming an international conspiracy. A branch leader of the National Socialist Movement resigned after nearly being hit by a brick thrown through his bedroom window, he said, "I never realized public opinion was so much against the party". Mrs. Meredith, speaking of the recent situation in Oxford, Mississippi said, "I don't see why they just use tear gas. With all the new things they've got pouring out of Cape Canaveral they must have something better." She suggested that they could envelop Mississippi with a non-lethal, but very permanent black dye. A Negro girl has applied for admission to the all-white University of Alabama. The University's only other Negro student was expelled in 1956 after three days for accusing officials of conspiracy. Over 100 white students left the University of Mississippi because of James Meredith's enrolment. A Southern Rhodesian Bishop objected to an election advertisement against 'enforced integration' showing white and brown schoolgirls' legs walking together as "insulting to any human being and to the Guide movement." The American Academy of Arts and Letters has ceased giving literary fellowships to the American Academy in Rome because the American Academy accused them of refusing to ratify a fellowship to John Williams, a negro novelist, this was denied by the Rome Academy. Centre for Research in Marketing of Peekskill, N.Y. polled 3,016 Negro families and found that Negroes like "to buy where they can work". 42% indicated that they patronised stores which had "positive" attitudes to negroes. A third said they will specifically select brands of companies which they believe have favourable policies towards Negroes. More than a quarter said they would not buy the products of a company that they thought had a "poor" attitude toward Negroes. Indeed, many Negroes considered their purchasing power a weapon in the battle for rights. The report concludes: "Such findings are becoming increasingly important to businessmen trying to make a sale". As William Capitan, president of C.R.M. summed up, "Understanding will open the way to more effective advertising, promotion, and distribution policies for those manufacturers who want to take advantage of the growing market". The Citizens' Council of Jackson, Mississippi has issued a pamphlet suggesting that

automatically assume responsibility for their dependents, and will support them morally and materially in their resistance to eviction. They must not feel that it is a question of "Brown versus the State", but of the "Community versus the Ruling Class". When individuals feel that their actions are not only acclaimed but nurtured by their fellow beings it is surprising what you and all of us are capable of in the way of imprisonment persecution and unemployment!

THE age of automation should also be an age of education. We need more school blocks and fewer office blocks; more teachers and fewer shorthand typists; more further education and less 11-plus.

We need more houses and fewer slums. In the Liverpool area which has an above the average unemployment rate, as well as slum rate why isn't there a massive demand for work to be intensified on housing? Why do ship-building workers insist on building ships when the world is cluttered with idle ships, instead of insisting on building houses. As it is there are more than 70,000 construction workers on the dole, of whom 4,000 are in Liverpool alone.

The *Sunday Citizen* to our mind makes a good point when it suggests that idle plant and labour should be used to produce rolling stock and other industrial goods to



any school or university that the government "seizes by force" should be closed and reopened as a "private institution". John Frazier, aged 21, a Negro, announced he would apply for enrolment at the University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg. Mr. Barney Desai, a Coloured, was elected a city councillor in Capetown but was warned by the chief of the Western Security Branch that if he took his seat he might be committing an offence. The Reverend P. E. Blagden Gamblen of St. Bartholomew's, Derby, writing in his parish magazine said, "Christ died for all, black, white, and yellow, and we must love them as individuals, but that does not mean that there must be inter-mingling... Am I a Fascist because I think... that the will of God is that He made some white, and some black, and that He meant it that way, and not willed a coffee-coloured humanity?" In the same copy of *Combat* which quotes the Reverend subscriber's words with approval, they quote the statement of the physician in charge of the Department of Venereal diseases at two London hospitals that 50% of the men attending V.D. clinics in England and Wales were born abroad and men from the West Indies contributed 25% of this figure. The Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health confirms this increase, and immigration as it reason but adds, "But most infections among immigrants were contracted in Britain, many from prostitutes." Incidentally, in figures for 1960, half the cases treated were from the "normal population", one quarter West Indians, and one quarter infected abroad. 32 Filipino sailors on leave in South West Africa have been granted "full European rights". The Philippines are South Africa's biggest customers for canned fish. South Africa sold £2,500,000 of maize to Communist China last month. South Africa House concluded its series advertising column in the British press with a homely dialogue Q. "But does this conviction that you are right justify your treatment of some of your opponents? House arrest, for instance, appears to be an inhuman and unjust way of silencing your critics". A. "I do not think our measures against Communism call for an apology"—Q. "Surely you do not expect me to believe that every one who radically opposes your policy is a Communist?" A. "No, I don't. Those who oppose us

are certainly not all Communists. But more of them are than you might think... Thus many true Communists in South Africa have become accepted by many people abroad merely as good 'liberal democrats'. The dialogue finishes. "We insist, quite simply that self-determination is indivisible. If all African peoples are entitled to self-determination then we are too!" This space was not paid for by South Africa House...

AN ACCOUNT of an artillery officer's imprisonment under Stalin was authorized by Krushchev's government and described by the Soviet Armed Forces *Red Star* as one of the most outstanding works of Soviet literature. The profit motive reared its ugly head in *Pravda* where it was considered as a possible method of increasing production. The Moldavian Supreme Court sentenced four men to death and imprisoned four others for a total of 62 years for currency speculation. Moscow's first Jazz Festival was held at the Ice-Cream Café on Gorky Street. The new British Ambassador in Moscow, Sir Humphrey Trevelyan, loaded most of the 100 seats in the RAF Britannia taking him there, with his eight tons of baggage, including a great deal of frozen food. News of the West in *Izvestia* is headed "Behind the Iron Curtain"... *Pravda* complained that "amateur" footballers from a collective farm named "The Road to Communism" were, in reality, professionals paid £20 a week for their football skill, plus fringe benefits. The Sunday supplement of *Izvestia* complained of the laundry services and the writer said, "The leading comrades are men. They don't know what a sink is and they should be compelled to do the washing once or twice—and the problem will be solved." It was approved at the recent plenum of the Soviet Communist Party that greater influence should be given to the "workers' production committees" in factories to confer with management on planning, work norms, and organizational questions. However, emphasis was laid on the purely consultative nature of these bodies. Factory directors retained the final word. Confirmation was lacking of a Washington report that riots took place last summer in a southern Soviet industrial city of Novochevchinsk in protest against price increases in meat and butter, food shortages and work speed-up...

THE ADVISORY County Cricket Committee, meeting at Lords decided to abandon the distinction between amateur and professional status in English cricket thus abolishing the appellation "Gentlemen"; The scruple will be abolished with a new bill before Parliament; The Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court suggested the development of the profession of counsellors in ethics who would prove helpful to other professionals "who wish to discern the right". He said the law was sometimes unable to solve problems of ethics. "Not everything which is wrong can be outlawed".

JON QUIXOTE.

Hennessy rides again

Continued from page 1
sent home with a resulting wage loss. A fairly common occurrence is an alteration to the architect's plans due to a client suddenly changing his mind. This hardly makes for good relations when work which was erected a few days previously, has to be pulled down. The nature of the Building Industry, is such that the struggle to obtain good working conditions is made more difficult than normal, for the work is casual and a man may work for a number of employers in each year.

It has been reported in several papers that men working on the Halewood site have been earning high wages. The craftsmen have been getting £24-£27 per week and the labourers about £19-£21 per week, but it must be borne in mind that this is not the flat rate and it includes overtime and bonus. The basic union rates are very low and it is hard, especially for a man with a wife and family, to manage on a wage without overtime.

An outcome of all this has been the announcement that the Minister of Labour, Mr. Hare, is to instigate a probe into strikes in the Building Industry. He feels that there have been too many stoppages and in an effort to overcome these disputes he plans to have talks with employers and union leaders from all sections of the industry, concentrating on the problems of the big sites.

Of course there have been disputes and strikes, for this is the only weapon the workers have and the right to withdraw their labour must never be lost. On the whole it can be said that it pays workers to strike, for a well-planned, well-timed strike wins demands.

Kaunda & Authority

ONE tires of Europeans who have blind spots in connection with the activities of African politicians; it embarrasses the observer to see Fenner Brockway say that he is sure Nkrumah cannot be responsible for arrests due to the fact that he is such a nice man. There is an obvious difference between the African who has become "bourgeois" and the African who has a sense of pride in his history and African customs—the African villager romantically described as the noble savage is not so much a myth as the cynics of the world might think.

John Papworth in his letter (FREEDOM, 1/12/62), reveals his own blind spot; he has already received a substantial reply from the editors but I should like to further underline the nature of Kaunda's betrayal of his people in recent weeks and to document his progress in his graduation towards the status of Rat.

If my language is "extreme" it is due to my past respect for Kenneth Kaunda. It is always those with the closest affinities who receive the hardest rebuke when they are seen to turn to the enemy—and that is what Kaunda has done. John Papworth has no illusions about Nkumbula whom he has described in the following terms: "His role is cast to be another Tshombe in Central Africa if his European masters have their way" (Peace News, 9/11/62).

Now we read in a report from Tom Stacey in the *Sunday Times* (2/11/62) that "They (Nkumbula and Kaunda) are determined to form a government", the report speaks of a coalition "into which Mr. Kaunda has entered into with Mr. Nkumbula." The article continues: "Mr. Nkumbula and his party, the ANC, have had the support of Mr. Tshombe, with whose followers they have strong ethnic links. These tribal affinities exist also among supporters of Mr. Kaunda's UNIP; and the not wholly unwilling bargain struck by Mr. Kaunda in exchange for Mr. Nkumbula's support is that he shall end his hostilities to Mr. Tshombe". *The Observer* (2/12/62) speaks of Moise Tshombe "wooing Mr. Kaunda and the Pafmeecsa (Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central,

and Southern Africa) leaders." And the report continues: "He (Tshombe) offered to use his influence with Mr. Nkumbula to get a coalition—provided he was reassured about Mr. Kaunda's intentions towards Katanga." Mr. Kaunda, we learn, has rejected any talk of Katanga joining Northern Rhodesia but Colin Legum points out that "The danger for Mr. Kaunda is that Mr. Tshombe may use financial and other pressures on Mr. Nkumbula to wreck the coalition." He might also wreck Kaunda or at least reduce his party to moderate acquiescence.

Are we to forget that Tshombe is the tool of financiers who have vital interests in the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia? Are we to forget that Tshombe, and his European friends were almost certainly responsible for Lumumba's death? The link between European financial interests, the Katanga lobby here, Tshombe and Nkumbula is not doubted, yet John Papworth claims that I was not justified in speaking of Kaunda's about-face! Kaunda will never receive support from such quarters without sacrificing his principles. He won't see their hard cash without selling his soul. The very direction of Kaunda's attention is to power not to his people. This is not just unrealistic, it is immoral; and about-face.

In ANARCHY 3 I wrote: "In so far as the struggle for independence in Kenya, Rhodesia and Nyassaland gains my enthusiasm, it is because I recognise that the assertion of African independence must come before the possibility of turning the struggle for independence into a revolutionary struggle is being ignored by African politicians like Mboya in Kenya and Kaunda in Rhodesia because they only desire a political change of black for white rule". Yet it seems that Rhodesia is presenting an opportunity for the struggle for independence and the struggle for a revolution to combine in not only ending white settler rule and European financial exploitation but in making fundamental changes in social organisation the like of which have not been experienced since the Spanish revolution.

If Kaunda has not seen this it seems possible that some of UNIP's supporters have. *The Times* (24/11/62) carries a report that mass arrests are alleged to have been made in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia of both officials and supporters of UNIP. Mr. Mundis, a UNIP 'director of elections' claimed that "people were being imprisoned on charges of refusing to pay taxes and identity card contraventions." *The Times* report says that the Government had no information on mass arrests in the Northern Province: "However, the collection of taxes was a normal activity at this time of year. The spokesman understood that Northern Province tax payments had been poor. Normal action had been taken to encourage people to pay." One wonders how the people were filched of their hard-earned savings in the time-honoured "normal" way. Another report in the *Times* (28/11/62) reports: "Twenty arrests have been made in Northern Province, near Tanganyika border, after clashes between UNIP and ANC followers during the past few days. Huts have been burnt and several people injured. Police reinforcements have been sent to the area." This speaks of a somewhat different attitude among the UNIP rank and file to the power lusts of Kaunda.

The editorial of the *Sunday Times* (2/12/62) speaking of this month's second round of elections in Northern Rhodesia writes: "The return of an African majority would not only vitalise African constitutionalism, now dangerously depressed; it would also mean that in the discussion of the federal future two of the three constituent governments could claim to speak for the majority of their people." But the plain fact is that UNIP can already claim a majority in N. Rhodesia. Numerically UNIP received some 75,000 votes in the recent elections, ANC received about 20,000 as did the United Federal Party with the Liberals receiving less than 5,000 votes. UNIP thus has a numerical overall majority now, but such is the electoral set-up that they have fewer seats than the UFP of Sir Roy Welensky.

It is interesting to see that the *Sunday Times* notices that constitutionalism is dangerously depressed in Northern Rhodesia—it is also significant that they wish to see an African majority. Is it possible that they believe a real change in Africa would thus be averted? Do they realise that if Kaunda is linked with Nkumbula and Tshombe that he is trapped, and that he will then be unable to seek for revolutionary changes that will effect the economic structure

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

of Rhodesia? One asks these questions As to John Papworth's final point that

Last word on the Common Market

DEAR COMRADES,

I had hoped that the inevitable 'last word' of the editors on our Common Market discussion would finally make it apparent that little could be gained from pursuing the subject, and would save me from replying further. Unfortunately, I find I am a little sensitive to the allegation that I have resorted to methods which one expects from politicians and the gutter press' in condensing two paragraphs of your articles; and that an explanation is necessary.

In my attempt to discover a hard core to the arguments you put forward I found I was continually following statements which led nowhere, which switched direction in mid-paragraph and which avoided the conclusions that anyone reading the articles had every right to expect. It was therefore necessary to indulge in some pretty ruthless surgery. In the two examples of such surgery which you quote, I did not fol-

To Readers and Subscribers—Urgent!

With only three weeks to go, it is, alas, obvious that we are not going to get our 750 new subscribers this year. But a special effort could bring us to the respectable figure of 500. This means 30 new subscriptions a week. What about a 3-month or 6-month gift subscription to FREEDOM and/or ANARCHY instead of a more conventional present for your friends? We can arrange to notify the recipients when we send the first number.

There are still a number of subscribers who have not replied to our subscription reminders. Those who do not respond this month will be sent a further reminder in the new year, when we send out the 1963 cards, but theirs will probably coincide with the removal of their names from our mailing list until we hear from them. So if you received a card in October asking you to settle the arrears of subscription and have not done so please deal with the matter now.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT NOVEMBER 30, 1962

Week 48	EXPENSES: 48 weeks at £70	£3,360
	INCOME:	
	Sales & Sub. Renewals:	£ 1,516
	Weeks 1-47	1,516
	Week 48	30
	New Subscriptions:	1,546
	Weeks 1-47 (380)	410
	Week 48 (13)	12
		422
		1,958
	DEFICIT	£1,392

DEFICIT FUND

Todmorden: G.B. 5/-; Hounslow: L.* 2/6;	
E. Rutherford: A.S. 7/-; London: A.J.H. 8/-;	
Wolverhampton: J.L.* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; London: D.W. 2/6;	
Bordighera: K.W. 1/19/-; Southend: P.O.* 10/-;	
Comrades of Prescott, Tuscon & Phoenix: per [A. de T.] 15/5/-; Nottingham: A.J.S. 3/-; Philadelphia: L.G. 5/3; Shoreham: M. & D.* 2/6; Glasgow: J.H.* 10/-;	
London: H.J.W. 10/-; London: N.W. 10/-;	
Surrey: E.B.* 5/-;	
TOTAL	11 9 3
Previously acknowledged	1,082 18 8
1962 TOTAL TO DATE	£1,094 7 11

*Denotes regular contributors.

there is no alternative in my name of a practicable nature, in which the problem of mass parties and leadership is concerned. I would refer him to ANARCHY 21 where I wrote: "Anarchism envisages the development of small fluid groupings, with delegated authority only in the hands of a single person or a group for a certain specified time, no privilege being attached to such responsibility other than the natural goodwill that will be attached to the delegate. Our groupings will be co-ordinated by personal links forged by the groups' delegates." I would maintain the practicability of the above, especially as the problem of bureaucracy is solved. It could be that even if Kaunda has no interest in such revolutionary organisation, some of his supporters have.

J.W.

low editorial practice and leave them 'hanging in the air' but was using them to illustrate how you were avoiding the implications of such statements. This led me to protest with the words:

But when it comes to the 'crunch' and one asks what is the alternative, we are given one more general condemnation of the concentration of 'wealth and productive resources . . .'

To quote one of the instances where I descended to the level of the gutter press, the following paragraph can be divided neatly into two completely separate parts (the first in italics):

The writer does not share the views of those anarchists who consider that for this country to go in or keep out is a choice between two evils, since on the one hand it means 'greater exploitation', while on the other 'starvation'. It is our opinion that the concentration of the wealth and productive resources of these countries in ever fewer hands increases the overwhelming power that the class of managers, financiers and technicians already possess, thus making it ever more difficult to put over, and convince workers, of the practicability of decentralised control, and the part they must play in achieving it.

I really cannot feel guilty at not sharing the Editorial view of what constitutes the logical development of a point, particularly since we are agreed that the second part of the paragraph refers equally to Britain and the Continent. Only the Pope, I imagine, could deprecate that both parts had to be quoted together.

I cannot conclude, however, without mentioning my disappointment that nowhere in this last Editorial fling is their a readiness to concede that it is immaterial to the anarchist (as an anarchist!) whether Britain joins or not. That is the least that your many articles on the subject would seem to demand.

Yours,

London, Nov. 17. C.H.
[C.H. is welcome to the last word.—EDITOR.]

Atoms for Peace

Continued from page 2
the nations continue to rage together, on the growing dangers from fall out.

And this is not the only way in which the Agency acts as a shield against the bomb-throwers. Their greed for fuel to destroy adds to the difficulties of constructive progress. Sources of fuel are limited. So another of the Agency's important functions is to arrange for supplies (for peaceful purposes only) for its member states. This obliges the Agency to enter also the economic field of nuclear energy.

One other critical problem that can easily be envisaged is the disposal of the by-products and radio-active wastes of the increasing numbers of atomic energy piles. A panel of specialists keeps check on their dumping in nature's garbage pool, the sea. In his forecast for the year 2060 in "Further Outlook", Grey Walter foretells the result of filling the ocean's greatest depths with all the radiating and explosive wastes and by-products of the world's atomic energy system (unlimited supply for all for an annual subscription of ten shillings), but let us hope that the Agency will discover some way of avoiding the magnificent cataclysm described when earth's internal fires trigger off humanity's satanic cesspool. K.W.

Sit Down or Pay Up

Those having difficulty with their lines might like to get in touch with Freedom Bookshop.

Anyone for Costa Rica?

Your red-faced editors would like to know the address of Hudson and Madge Kinball of New York.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

CENTRAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at The Two Brewers, 40 Monmouth Street, WC2 (Leicester Square Tube) Sundays at 7.30 p.m.

DEC 9 Arthur Uloth: The Origin of Christmas

DEC 16 Max Patrick: The Far East Situation

DEC 23 An Anarchist Anthology

DEC 30 Sid Parker: Anarchism and Egoism

JAN 6 Oonagh Lahr: Is Non-Violence Against Human Nature?

JAN 13 Tony Smythe: Revolutionary Pacifism

JAN 20 Jack Robinson: Were the Luddites Ideologically Correct?

OFF-CENTRE

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.

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 Lelie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

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

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. Tom Barnes, Albion Cottage, Fortia Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

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

Please note that the meetings at Fellows Road, N.W.3 are now on the third Friday, not the third Wednesday as hitherto.

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

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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(gown, town and district)

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4 Old Library, Oxford (term-time).

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