

BUT for the impending General Elections the Frigates for Franco affair would have never assumed the proportions, nor excited the passions of our politicians, that it has. So much nonsense has been uttered by public men as well as published in the National Press that it is almost impossible to unravel the facts from the fiction.

The negotiations between the British and Spanish governments were still in the exploratory stages and private, when the *Daily Express* leaked the news, and thereby set-

## Frigates for Franco

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PATRIOTISM ALL ROUND

off the political row which promises to keep all concerned busily denouncing each other for some time to come. All parties to the row are at pains to assure the weary British public that they are motivated by the best interests of this country

and its people. None—and that includes the Labour Party leaders—are in the least concerned with the fate of the Spanish people.

The *Express* "leak" must be viewed either as an example of responsible journalism or a delib-

erate attempt to create an election issue which would favour the Tories. We reject the former because there is too much evidence to indicate that the Beaverbrook Press is unconcerned with questions of professional ethics, or the duties a newspaper owes to the public. The Anglo-Spanish negotiations were undoubtedly leaked in the full expectation that the Labour Party would react as they have (they may not have bargained for the "xenophobia" or the Chauvinism of Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, Labour's spokesman, when he came out with the argument that arms for Franco was a threat to Gibraltar "one of our major bases") and that the Spanish government would be obliged to break off negotiations, thus giving the Tories a handle to accuse their political rivals of depriving the idle shipyards and the workers there, of valuable contracts! The Beaverbrook *Evening Standard* in its editorial last Wednesday (July 1) was so obvious as to appear naïve when it suggested that.

the breakdown of negotiations of Britain's £14 million warship deal with Spain has dealt a serious blow to many sections of British industry. But it may deliver an even more destructive blast to the reputation of Mr. Harold Wilson and the Socialist Party.

So far as the facts can at this stage be ascertained it would appear that the negotiations were for British designed frigates to be constructed under licence in Spanish shipyards, and while certain military equipment would be supplied by factories in this country, it is clear that workers in British shipyards would not benefit by the successful conclusion of these negotiations. Who then was going to enjoy the lion's share of this estimated £14 million deal?

★  
WHILE it is ridiculous for the Tories to denounce as did Mr. Soames, the Minister of Agriculture, last week, the "xenophobic" attitude of the Labour Party over Spain when this country, unlike any other in Western Europe today, still subjects every foreigner wanting to land on our shores, to a personal inquisition, or when this government still applies an embargo on the sale of military equipment or "strategic" materials to, among others, the iron-curtain countries, we are not, however, impressed by the Labour

Continued on page 3

## Challenor ALARMING REASSURANCES

THE "bricks case" is exactly one year old today, 11 July.

It is by no means over; there are two enquiries, five appeals, and an undecided number of official statements and prosecutions of prosecutors yet to come. But all those accused of carrying bricks have now been exonerated (the last three by the oddly named device of "parody") and their accusers found either guilty or dotty. So the commentators have burst into print.

The most alarming feature of the commentaries is the reassurance. One of the enquiries—the first ever under the new Police Act which comes into force in August—will be into the circumstances of Detective Sergeant Challenor's paranoia. But these journalists and politicians already know enough, intuitively, to reassure us about it.

A typical example was Donald MacLachlan writing in *Sunday Telegraph*, 28 June. He admitted that there was something to worry about, but remarked that although Challenor's "complaint is not unusual; what is unusual is to find a policeman in a position of authority suffering from it."

That's a relief. Now we can all go complacently back to sleep.

Certainly Challenor's illness is not uncommon. Nor (if I understand FREEDOM's specialist correspondent 'G' correctly) is the way it has developed. Those unfortunates who have to be in a position of power, not merely because they enjoy bullying people but because they literally can't manage without it, often appear quite sane as long as they are boss over someone in real

life. Only when they lose their real power must they acquire hallucinatory importance, imagining themselves to be Napoleon, or immune from harm, or the chosen victim of some vast enemy.

Now Challenor lost his real-life power only through the most appalling bad luck; ten thousand to one would be a conservative estimate of the chances against my acquittal. If he, a teacher of detectives, had not made a mistake in planting his evidence; if a victim selected at random had not just read a book on forensic science; if his instructions about releasing a prisoner had not been misinterpreted; even if at the last moment, he had changed his story to finding the brick in my hand instead of my pocket; then undoubtedly there would have been eight convictions in the bricks cases. Those who now reassure us loudest about the rarity of dotty police would simply have sneered at protestations that he had planted evidence; they would have called for stiffer penalties and wider police powers. And Harry Challenor, "the Gangbuster", would still today be pursuing his career.

How does anyone dare to say he is unique? How can anyone know how many innocent men are in prison? Allegations that police have fabricated evidence are quite common; how many are true?

A detective's job is a hard one. Long hours without overtime pay, constant pressure to do the impossible, people guarding their tongues in his presence. And for what? The consciousness of doing a socially useful job, the fun of solving problems, the occasional word of praise. And a little power.

A lot of paranoids must apply to join the force. Of course every applicant is investigated and perhaps most paranoids are rejected. But only wishful claptrap can contend, in the absence of evidence either way that it is very rare for one to be accepted.

Some well-meaning people are now suggesting that policemen should have psychiatric tests at regular intervals. Fine; except that the word of psychiatrists can be discounted. Supposing tests were instituted and the psychiatrists reported that some significant proportion of detective sergeants—say one in twenty—were paranoid. Would the authorities retire one in twenty detective sergeants? Or would they sack the psychiatrists?

Let there be no misunderstanding; I am not saying one in twenty detective sergeants are mad. I have no idea what the proportion is. For all I know, dotty detectives are as rare as the reassurance merchants say. And for all they know, dotty detectives outnumber sane ones two to one.

I suppose they are reassuring themselves as much as anybody.

They believe, quite honestly, that unless there are people in power there can only be chaos. Ordinary people being fully responsible is beyond their imagination. So they must convince themselves, whatever the evidence to the contrary, that people in power are sane.

DONALD ROOMM.

## FACTS: ON THE BUSMEN'S 'RISE'

AFTER months of publicly-attested gestation the T.G.W. Union mountain has whelped and produced its mouse. For just over two weeks' rumour and the national press played bellman to the self-appointed midwives of this mangy rodent but even in the most sequestered of societies there comes a time when the unfortunate cuckold must be allowed to gaze upon the face of that which has been fathered on to him against his will and pleasure. And there are over thirty thousand cuckolds in the employment of the London Transport Board and all paying their weekly maintenance allowance in the form of compulsory union dues to Frank Cousin's T.G.W. Union.

Over seven months have elapsed since the London busmen forced the Tory government, by the use of a ban on voluntary overtime, to set up a committee to examine the wages and working conditions of the busmen. Year after year, the official union top brass had prated of the need for such a committee but it was left to the men themselves to force the pace with unofficial action. The Phelps-Brown Inquiry was convened by the government and its inquiries dragged on for week after week. The LTB, the TGWU, minor officials, self-important public figures and any passing odds and sods with a minute to spare appeared and publicly bled as they gave of their opinions regarding the busmen's rights, crimes, failings and future.

Eight times the Inquiry met and for fifty hours they talked and nodded but only the Girondins within the LTB knew what they were doing and what they wanted and at each and every meeting they forced the demand for payment by result, the cutting down of bus services and the reduction of staff. It was left to the mountainous TGW Union, with everything in their favour, to end up holding a dead and stinking mouse happy with the illusion that they had been handed a prize bull. The Brown Inquiry conceded everything, the need for higher wages, a shorter working week, longer holidays, less irksome

working conditions in fact, everything the rank and file had been demanding for years and then left it to the two sides to hammer out how it should be worked and the result is that the employer (LTB) has gained every single demand that they made right from the beginning, whilst the workers have lost out in almost every single instance. The original wage claim of £2 14s. 6d. increase on the basic wage has been whittled down to a promised £1 6s. 0d. for conductors and £1 11s. 0d. for drivers, and not the £20 as reported in bannered headlines in the "Daily Mirror", with most of the wage increases made up by productivity bonus. Two or three shillings per week for each five years of accident-free operation, daily schedules to stay as they are with the promise of an extra day off a month next year. Three extra days holiday for workmen with more than five years' service, again next year, and the most vicious cut of all, wages to be reviewed in March of next year and at yearly intervals but ONLY if there is an increase in the standard earnings of workers employed in the engineering industries.

For the LTB 500 buses to be taken off the roads and over 1,400 staff to be wiped off its employment book as an end result. One man buses, standee buses and dual-purpose buses are now accepted, the compulsory transfer of spare conductors to other garages when the time comes, a nightmarish web of wage patterns with everything based on a sliding scale and every route or garage wondering who is earning whose money and all won without a struggle by the employer. The extra three days holiday, the forty-hour week worked on a 160-hour month are all left over until 1965. Sick pay and pensions, all to be negotiated at some future date and this, after literally months of negotiations, yet within a matter of days the LTB will raise the fares for the whole of London turning the whole shabby business into a thieves kitchen in which the role of the busman is to collect the loot for a small percentage. If the LTB's

package deal had been taken by the TGW Union back to the rank and file to accept or reject, the matter could now be considered closed, but on the 24th June, the busmen's negotiating committee signed the acceptance of this package deal with the LTB. Without any reference back to the branches they signed away the future working conditions of thousands of men with the egoistical plea that they were satisfied that this was the best that could be achieved and the panic squeal that after seven months the men might lose a single week's pay increase if the matter was referred back to them to decide. So it is that thousands of men found themselves working an agreement that not one single one of them had seen. On July 1st, the LTB hung a gutted version of the agreement on the garage notice boards but still the local union representatives clung to the secret document demanding that the men must attend a

Continued on page 2

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# Freedom for the Boss

**A**NARCHISTS are not alone in working toward the abolition of the state. If that were all there were to anarchism it would have much in common with Taoism, the Doukhobors, Zen Buddhism and extreme *laissez-faire* capitalism all of which systems would, if they had enough support, lead to drastic reductions in state power. This point should be kept well in mind by those propagandists who talk as though the state were the only enemy. Anarchists are opposed to ALL authoritarian relationships—at work, in the home, in schools and in bed. Everywhere. A worker in a syndicate or similar co-operative enterprise who privately beats his children or kicks the cat is not libertarian.

The idea of outright *laissez-faire* capitalism (unrestricted freedom for the boss to get stinking rich at the community's expense) once thought dead and buried in the 19th century, is being vigorously propagated in America by a school of 'philosophy' which centres round the ideas and writings of the novelist Ayn Rand. An organisation called the Nathaniel Brandon Institute is active in many American cities spreading *laissez-faire* economic ideas.

Ayn Rand, the motherly looking woman (who I took at first to be Enid Blyton) whose gentle face adorns the back cover of the English summarisation of her ideas\* advocates a return to a completely unrestricted capitalism. Of course it is not so described, much is made of the need for 'freedom, dignity, integrity' and other fine-sounding words. The introductory essay begins by bemoaning the present intellectual and cultural bankruptcy of America which is seen to be partly the result of the encumbrances (social welfare legislation, factory acts, etc.) placed on business

initiative and partly the failure of American intellectuals and philosophers to teach clear moral principles applicable to modern society. Ayn Rand and her followers intend to plug this gap. Their demand is for a new class of completely unrestricted entrepreneurs and for a new intellectual who will morally justify the entrepreneurs' activities. They want society to be based on 'reason' and believe that the practical expression of 'reason' is an unrestricted market. Business men will be motivated by 'rational self-interest' a phrase many anarchist individualists will find attractive but in this case it hides a particularly nasty mess of pottage.

I have often wondered why theoreticians and practitioners of *laissez-faire* economics confine themselves to business. Why not branch out into crime? Were not America's gangsters the men who took *laissez-faire* to its logical conclusion? In reality the *laissez-faire* business man, while theoretically advocating complete freedom had to rely on the forces of law and 'order' of the state to suppress his employees. Both army and police were frequently used to quell labour agitation while some business men used to own or hire gangs of gunmen such as the Pinkerton Agency who with pistols and dynamite protected their masters' interests.

The book contains no mention of the plight that the old, weak and sick would find themselves in if they ever had the misfortune to live in Ayn Rand's society of 'reason'. All the tears are reserved for the terrible sufferings of contemporary business men. The heroes of the extracts from Miss Rand's novels which take up a large part of the book are without exception rugged, American self-made men, the sort who used to 'carve empires' out of oil, beef or railroads, but who now make their fortunes selling rocket components to the U.S. government. These heroes all have wonderful oratorical powers and in courtrooms, on the radio or in private conversation eloquently expound their ideas. They have the courage of their convictions too; one of them, an architect, dynamites a housing project he had designed after a dispute over terms; another brings doctors, surgeons and other professional men out on strike.

Ayn Rand's 'new intellectualism', isn't new at all. It is merely a re-hash, covered with high sounding philosophical

labels of an extreme form of the greed and selfishness that has always motivated capitalism. It is a tragedy that such ideas should be getting a re-airing now, when there at last seem to be faint possibilities of new approaches to world economic problems, particularly in regard to undeveloped countries.

The shape of society is changing rapidly both in America and here. The old evils of poverty, hunger and unemployment while still causing much suffering are no longer the main problems. The need today is for solutions to the problems of regimentation, social conformity, spiritual barrenness and the cultural and economic bankruptcy that Ayn Rand so rightly deplors. To seek, as she does, the remedies to the social malaises of the 1960's in the capitalism of the 1840's is futile. It is equally useless for radicals to try to solve present problems by echoing the slogans of the 1930's.

R.J.

\*For the New Intellectual, by Ayn Rand. Signet, 5s.

S. RHODESIA

(From our Correspondent)

**T**HESE are sad days in Rhodesia. Days of senseless destruction. Days full of shame, terror and tears. In the last two weeks there have been four political murders. One member of the Zimbabwe African National Union was set alight and burned to death by a gang in Highfield's African township, a youth—just yesterday—was stabbed in the neck and bled to death. Africans in their frantic fear and feeling of hopelessness are killing their fellow Africans.

A letter written by "True African" in today's (25/6/64) *Daily News* speaks for the great majority of decent Africans. "I would like," he writes, through your newspaper, to write an open letter to all African political leaders. I say to them—I condemn the killing of Mr. Batoni Manda (the man burnt to death) of Highfield. What has happened to your senses?

"Have you forgotten the 'African Unity' motto? I feel such killings and many acts of violence—stone-throwing, beating-ups and lastly cruel burnings, are unwarranted and uncalled-for and therefore cannot be allowed to continue unchecked.

"If such behaviour is what you call 'action' then I am compelled to say that you are leading us into more darkness than we have today. (Under the minority Government)."

This writer is compelled to agree. The African nationalist leaders treat

## DAYS OF DESTRUCTION

their fellow Africans with more contempt and cruelty than does the white settler Government. As every day passes I begin to agree with the Rhodesian Front Government that Joshua Nkomo is a terrorist. I cannot help feeling that when the notorious Government Minister Mr. Gaunt declares that Africans do not understand freedom of speech—I cannot ignore the fact that, as regards this country, he is right.

In African politics the opposition is the enemy and is to be crushed. I have heard Africans, from both political parties say that when they get independence with majority rule they will crush the other party. This is not only the outlook in Rhodesia—the one-party State in Africa is a totalitarian concept. The white settler politician—Mr. Field I think—who said the African one-party States were similar to the Communist State was right.

Where this anarchist differs from Gaunt, Feld, Dupont and Co. is when they come up for criticism. The man whose book recently made quite a stink—which is not surprising considering the crap within its covers—has recently written that he would not recoil in horror if the Rhodesian Front Government declared illegal independence—he is opposed to the idea generally because

he doubts whether Rhodesia would get away with it. This Welensky character's views should be enlightening to some. For here is an ex Prime Minister saying he would not be opposed to the State taking illegal action if it could get away with it.

In other words the law is useful for a State to maintain the majority of the people in a strait-jacket, but it is not to be applied to the State which can be a law unto itself. That Welensky holds such views should come as no surprise to those who have studied the failure of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The present Rhodesian Front Government agrees with Welensky as far as their right to take illegal action, it only differs in that a fair percentage of the Government think they could get away with a unilateral declaration of independence, they feel that the Africans are so confused and divided that internal troubles would soon die down, they are sure of much assistance from South Africa, a country which wants a buffer state between themselves and the "Black North" and has a good deal of investment in this country.

The Southern Rhodesian Government must be well aware of the incompetence of the African nationalists here, they know full well the African countries are

corrupt and dictatorial under African rule. They feel, that a set-back for African nationalism with its mountains of hot air about African unity and the African personality, is long over-due. They know Nkrumah as a dictator, Nyerere as a coward, Nigeria as the most corrupt country in Africa, Kaunda as an arch hypocrite and—at home—Nkomo as an oaf and Sithole as an ineffective brain divorced from the people.

These white settlers are people who know their enemy for what he is. The only trouble is that the Africans are beginning to see through all the various power-groupings as well. I maintain that most Africans know that the political talk and action of the political element is against their best interests. Africans are sick of destruction, they are sick of minority rule, but they are afraid to do anything about it—yet.

## Busmen's 'Rise'

Continued from page 1

special union meeting near each garage to have this document read to them, but, that whatever they thought about it, the deal now stood. From each garage the men went to the local committee room to listen in silence as for thirty minutes page after page of bastardized legal clap-trap and pointless reiteration was read out then to question, comment and obey. Beginning on Monday, June 29th, and each following day I asked my union representative if I could see my new working conditions, signed nearly a week previously, and each day he point-blank made refusal, telling me that I must attend in my own time at the union committee room to learn the new conditions that I was now working. On July 2nd, I refused to attend a meeting at which I could exercise no decision over my own working conditions and the following day having drawn my pay with part of the new rate added I went through the crowded LTB cashier's room to the union table to ask if I could read the agreement that I had seen lying on the union table ten minutes before. It was left to one of the union committeemen to make the point with the interjection of "Don't let the fucker see it, he had his bloody chance yesterday." I had stated to the union officials that I would not attend their meeting on a point of principle and my request the following day was merely to confirm an idle curiosity. It would be pleasant to suggest that all the men are angry but it is not the case. Officials are smiling and joking like Christmas day at a soup kitchen and the men are checking their extra pay and all past bitterness is forgotten for a few greedy weeks. My wages last week on the old rate and this week on the new rate for the record are:—

### Old Rate

Hourly rate—6/0.143 pence.  
Hours worked—48½.  
Extras—12/7d.  
Gross pay—£15 2s. 8d.  
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Actual Pay—£12 1s. 4d.

### New Rate

Hourly rate—6/4.714 pence.  
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Extras—17/-.  
Gross Pay—£15 17s. 6d.  
Tax, etc., Stoppages—£3 6s. 1d.  
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Oh, and by the way, has anyone seen a copy of the new working agreement lying about?

ARTHUR MOYSE.

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## Into the Lion's Mouth

(From a Correspondent)

Mr. Edward Martell's Freedom Group held a Policy Conference, Reception, and Meeting at the Fernley Hotel in Bath, on Saturday, June 27th. Having by some chance of fate entered the lists of his Master Index, your correspondent was invited to this gathering, and so suitably attired in best Sunday suit he mingled with the thirty ancient upper middle class high Tories who had come to discuss the means of return to true blue Conservatism, and listened with mock fascist satisfaction to the perorations of Martell and Mr. Brian Goddard, editor of the *New Daily*, as they preached the good news across the Union Jacketed table.

There was no attempt to expound the whole of the National Fellowship/Freedom Group/People's League/Anti-Socialist Front policy, since this is explicitly detailed in their publications (most of which are free from Tileyard House, Tileyard Road, London N.7, and make fascinating reading for a psychologist or psychiatrist). Martell outlined the current and future projects of the

Group, while Goddard spoke about the paper, and answered policy questions from the floor and took note of suggestions. There appears to be a divergence in Martell between public policy (which is bad enough!) and private ambition. He is clearly a very intelligent and shrewd man, with phenomenal drive and efficiency, but behind all the criticism of present politics and the talk of freedom is an insatiable thirst for personal power, which coupled with a belief in British racial superiority speaks ill for the future in view of his rapidly increasing influence.

The racial question was constantly on the lips of the speakers from the floor, and these gentlemen were even less inhibited about their attitudes than were Goddard and Martell. It was generally agreed that inter-marriage was eugenically undesirable between black and white, that South African apartheid was a worthwhile experiment to the extent that in a UN war of intervention Britain should join in on the side of the settlers, that the BBC was a vehicle for pro-black and pro-communist propaganda (!), and that no-one at the meeting had any racial prejudice. Goddard expressed agreement with these views, and advocated an eventual all-white Commonwealth—so that after an atomic war, when the concentrated societies of Russia and America were destroyed en bloc, some "vestige of the British Tradition" might survive and rejuvenate the world.

In outlining the progress of the Freedom Group's campaigns Martell revealed the astonishing professionalism and resources of these self-styled Radical Right ginger groupers. Membership is already over 160,000 and still rising rapidly. The presses of the Free Press Society

## Election Anthology-4

The ideal government of all reflective men, from Aristotle to Herbert Spencer, is one which lets the individual alone—one which barely escapes being no government at all. This ideal, I believe, will be realized in the world twenty or thirty centuries after I have passed from these scenes and taken up my home in hell.

H. L. MENCKEN.

An autocrat's a ruler that does what the people wants and takes the blame for it. A constitutional executive is a ruler that does as he damn pleases and blames the people FINLEY PETER DUNNE.

## SUPPORT THE ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN



## FRIGATES FOR FRANCO

Continued from page 1

Party spokesmen's "no frigates for fascists" line. Both are opportunistic. The Tories are convinced that the voting public are either pro-Franco, apathetic or "reds"; the Labour Leaders that they are anti-Franco, apathetic or "Tory-fascists". And each adopts the "line" that it considers rightly or wrongly will win for them more votes than it loses.

We distinguish between the Labour leadership and the Labour movement because whereas the latter here and throughout Europe has maintained an impotent but consistent hostility to the Franco regime which the leadership cannot ignore, the fact is that both during and immediately after World War II there were enough Labour governments in office in Europe, and the mood of the public in general was favourable to any political action which might have helped to dislodge the Franco regime. All they did, instead, was to isolate Spain without offering the Spanish the encouragement and material help they needed to take the initiative to overthrow the regime. From Franco's point of view such tactics must have been welcomed, whatever he may have said in public about "communist conspiracies" against Spain, for dictatorships and nationalist movements thrive on any excuse for a bout of xenophobia.

If anything "consolidated" Franco's regime it was the isolation of the Spanish people by the Labour Government in 1945. To make an issue in 1964 because a Tory government is trying to sell "technical know-how" and specialised naval equipment, and suggest that it will strengthen the Franco regime is, as the *Observer* rightly points out, difficult to see. For after 25 years in power Franco's regime has—to quote the *Guardian's* Defence Correspondent—but little military equipment, "apart from ancient guns, old trucks and rifles", for its Army. So let us not delude ourselves, or be diverted from the real issues, by a few frigates, or even the fact that "the younger staff officers are determined to re-organise and re-equip the [Spanish] army in readiness for their admission to NATO". If Franco's regime is to be overthrown the initiative must come from the Spanish people: the military equipment of the army is of secondary importance as the events of 1936 when the Military, including Franco, with all the armament as well as the initiative on their side failed to bring off a military coup d'etat; just as a large modern French army failed to subject the Algerian resistance movement; or the British forces in Africa could not halt the African nationalist movements by arms alone.

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The frigates for Franco crisis has once more raised the whole issue of commerce in arms. We need hardly say that anarchists are opposed to it because they are opposed to all commerce as such. Franco's concern with having a modern army equipped with the latest weapons is one thing; the encouragement he will undoubtedly receive from the Western Powers is another. One is political the other part and parcel of the capitalist economy. Spain is the one remaining undeveloped

market of Western Europe. To develop Spain's purchasing power one must also develop her productive capacity. Hence the financing of industry at the expense of agriculture, for workers engaged in the production of tractors in a capitalist economy have a higher living standard than those who use them to produce food. But at the same time the industrialisation of Spain without tempering the expanding production of consumer goods with a costly "Defence programme" would soon lead to a situation where Spanish manufactured goods would compete in the markets of the world with those of the established industrial nations. Such a situation arose in the case of West Germany which the Big-Four Powers had decided in the flush of victory and in order to give an ideological slant to yet another bloodbath, should remain disarmed for at least fifty years. Today West Germany's "Defence programme" runs at a higher rate than Britain's, and an important section of industry and labour has been drawn off from producing consumer goods to producing armaments which the people of Germany have to pay for in the form of taxes. Thus wages rise, as do prices and the vicious spiral is started.

Now this, it seems to us, is the process that will be taking place in Spain, and which the Common Market countries have been manoeuvring to achieve for some time. It is also in the interest of British capitalism that Spain should not enter the world's industrial markets with price advantages over her rivals whose economies are burdened down with useless "defence budgets". And for this reason the Labour leaders firm line will be in due course reversed and exposed as sentimental posturings which they are helpless to implement.

We live in a world ruled by capitalist Finance, and governments, whether they profess to be Liberal, Socialist or even Communist can do nothing through legislation to change the basic economic system. For government itself is privilege and inevitably even if a government were to sweep away the existing economy based on privilege it could only create a new privileged class to take its place. One has seen this happen in every "liberated" country of the world. In Spain a new privileged class is already arising in the midst of the Franco regime as part of the process of industrialisation.

It is significant that though political censorship still exists in Spain, frank and revealing criticism of the country's economy by the new generation of economists is made in public for all to hear. At some stage there will be a "confrontation" between the "old" and the "new" privileged classes. The question that interests us is: will the Spanish workers want to seize the opportunity that will present itself when this happens to make their revolution? And if they do what role will the workers of Western Europe play in that struggle?

No-frigates-for-Franco is a good slogan. But the Labour movement of Western Europe should now be telling the Spanish workers what support they propose to give them when the crisis, the politico-economic confrontation in Spain takes place. Not to do so would mean betraying the Spanish workers a second time.

At a world consultation on bible production and distribution Bishop Lilje of Hanover said that a simple knowledge of the bible was fast disappearing from European life. Professor Murdo McDonald of Glasgow University said that in Scotland while almost every home possessed a bible, it was little read. The one part of Scotland where the bible was still diligently read and understood was in the Islands of the Outer Hebrides. Mr. R. T. Paget, M.P. said in the House of Commons during the standing committee on the Obscene Publications Bill, "If the Home Secretary were looking afresh at books, in that one [the Bible] he would find certain notorious chapters not only pornography but a creed of race hatred and he would find mixed up in it accounts of appalling sadism, approved murder and approved human sacrifice. All this, and yet I do not suppose that even the Home Secretary in his most enthusiastic moments would seriously prescribe banning the Bible".

RALPH GOLD, bookseller, was fined £250 and his company £1,750 for publishing obscene books imported from the United States. Titles included "Strange Compulsion of Laura", "Ladder of Flesh", "Swamp Lust" and "All the Sad Young Men". The Lord Chamberlain made 25 cuts in the play "Afore Night Come" at the Aldwych theatre. The "cuts" are to be printed in the theatre programme. The Australian Customs Department refused a request from the Australian National University to import "Lolita" for students of American literature. Jonas Mekas the film critic of *Village Voice*, New York, and two others were convicted on charges of showing an obscene film, the three judges refused to allow any expert testimony on the possible artistic or socially redeeming aspects of the film or on whether or not



it was pornographic. Miss Susan Sontag, a film critic, gave as an example of what she considered pornographic she referred to posters outside Times Square cinemas that advertise war films with sadistic atrocity pictures. Jonas Mekas writes in *The Village Voice*, "Artists of all times, as well as artists of today, have been and are engaged in fighting the 'community standards' in uplifting man's soul, in pulling man upwards—even if it has to be done by pulling him up by his ears." Kingston Library, Surrey has refused to stock "Rabbit Run", by John Updike. Councillor H. Barker asked "How does the library decide that a book is unsavoury? Do the committee read them or just make up their minds from the reviews?" Councillor H. Bennett said "Just because a certain book is said to be obscene it does not mean we have to automatically ban it."

"SOVIET CULTURE" writes it has no love for James Bond whose activities are "more than liberally spread with anti-Soviet feeling" . . . "James Bond cannot

die. He is one of those gold-bearing people who nourish the commercial cinema. The *Daily Worker* drama critic comments on "Entertaining Mrs. Sloane" as an example "of how the newly-found freedom of discussion, theme and language on the modern stage can nose-dive into vulgarity and sensationalism on the level of strip-tease and simple voyeurism". Ruth Daniloff in the *Observer* writes that Soviet youth is starting to ask questions about sex and a young boy said, "Why is it that everyone else in the world knows about Freud and we don't? It's a disgrace." A supplement to *Izvestia* described the new topless fashion as "Back to Barbarity" and added, "This is the way of life that enables people to trample on morals and the public interest." A woman office worker in Moscow said, "It's a horrible idea. No Soviet woman would wear one".

ON A BEACH in Florida negro and white demonstrators clashed. Three young Civil Rights workers who disappeared in Philadelphia (City of Love) Mississippi are believed to have been lynched. A 14-year-old Negro boy was found hanged from an oak tree in the woods in Atlanta, Georgia. The US House of Representatives passed the Civil Rights Bill, as approved by the Senate. A restaurant owner at Atlanta, Georgia, forced a Negro at pistol point to leave. An English Civil Rights worker was attacked by three negro thieves, the Ku Klux Klan held a rally in St. Augustine at the site of the old Slave Market, negroes were attacked with chairs at a rally addressed by Governor Wallace and ex-Governor Ross Barnett. . . .

A PIGMENTATION cream has been invented by a German which turns brown skin white. It is going on sale in Cape Town. . . . JON QUIXOTE.

## INDUSTRIAL NOTES

## 'Finest Achievement' attacked by Building Workers

After the strike last August in the building industry, the unions settled for a three year agreement which would give a 9½d. an hour increase for craftsmen and 5d. for labourers, a 41-hour week next November and a sick pay scheme to be negotiated during this period. When this settlement was ratified by the nine major unions it was carried 5 to 4.

There was widespread disgust amongst the rank and file union members at the failure of their leaders to secure their claims of 1/6d. for craftsmen and labourers and a 40-hour week. Building workers had responded wholeheartedly to the unions' call for strike action, but when the cards were finally down, the unions were willing to settle for a mere pittance.

Now, we in the building industry, are tied to a three year contract at a time when all contractors are making huge profits out of the present boom. The employers have got it all their own way. While our wages and hours are tied, the employers can plan ahead to increase their profits even further, when it is us, as producers of this wealth, who should be receiving higher wages.

Nearly a year has past since the dispute with the employers took place and we have heard the different union leaders praise the settlement. Delegates at the recent union conferences have voiced their strong opposition and disgust at last year's so-called "good settlement". At the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers Conference they demanded that the present agreement be torn up. It was unanimously agreed that a new "really substantial increase" in wages be submitted and that negotiations for a 40-hour week should be opened. Delegates at the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers' conference have also attacked the three year agreement and unanimously called upon the executive council to gain the balance of the 1/6d. claimed last year and the 40-hour week.

Although delegate after delegate has attacked the agreement, Mr. Weaver, general secretary of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives (federations of building unions) spoke of it as "the finest achievement yet of the building trade unions". As the head of the Federation, he was chiefly responsible for the settlement. "Finest achievement" indeed! The employers must have knocked one another over in the rush to sign it, but let Mr. Weaver leave

his cosy office and visit a few building sites to ask the lads what they think of the "finest achievement".

Mr. Weaver is far too busy for this, for he was off to Torquay to reassure the employers at their conference that "we will honour the wage pact". Although the A.U.B.T.U. had thrown out this wage pact at their conference, Mr. Weaver says that this would mean a cut in wages (the loss of the increase received last November) "unions could not face their members with a situation like this". Mr. Weaver either doesn't know or more likely doesn't want to, that it is the membership of the A.U.B.T.W. that is demanding this, not the leadership. The membership's decision is now policy, but should be implemented by the executive, not that there is much chance of this.

At the recent N.F.B.T.O. conference, new powers have been gained for the Federation. The central council will be made up of the executives of the 20 affiliated unions. Decisions reached at their quarterly meetings, will now be binding on the unions, while previously they were only recommendations. The Federation was defeated on the motion that the union executives should appoint delegates to the annual conference, instead of being elected by the rank and file.

These moves by the union executives and Mr. Weaver will strengthen further their control over the membership. More power control is being concentrated in fewer hands instead of being held by the rank and file. They see the unions and Federation as organisations to bargain wage and conditions improvements, but only within a limited framework. For how many of us really thought that the union leadership would win the 1/6d. an hour increase and the 40-hour week last August? Surely only the naive.

We did go on strike, but this was mainly because of pressure from the membership, not from any willingness of the leadership. The whole role of our leadership has been one of conciliation. Mr. Weaver opened his speech at the employers conference, and no doubt he said it with pride, as follows:—"The National Joint Council has had over 40 years of existence and has so far managed the affairs of our industry, in respect of wages and working conditions, so efficiently that there has been no major strike or lock-out during that long period". The result being that our

basic wage rates are low and we still have not got a 40-hour week. Obviously the employers are not just going to hand over a large wage increase, it must be forced from them. The willingness to do this was shown, not by our union leaders or Mr. Weaver, but the men on the sites and in the joinery shops.

Mr. Weaver also told the employers, "The conciliation machinery has withstood the strain imposed upon it during those 40 years and has never failed to find solutions to the most intractable problems, and thus cushioned the industry against the possibility of relatively minor, but irritating, difficulties being inflated to proportions that might damage relationships between our two Federations."

No doubt the employers would agree with this wholeheartedly. Of course they do not want damaged relationships "between our two Federations" (my italics). Everything has gone very smoothly because Mr. Weaver and the Federation have cushioned the demands of the rank and file from the employers. Occasionally unions win big demands, but in the main they only pick up mere crumbs from the negotiation table.

What the employers fear, and this goes for the union leadership as well, is unofficial action. Here it is the rank and file who make the decisions and it is on this basis that we should organise. After all it was the rank and file that really ran the strike last year. They formed the strike committees, saw to the picketing, and organised marches. In London, the unofficial Joint Sites Committee was actually asked by the union executives to do this. Let's face it, we have been let down time and time again by both the left and right-wing political leadership. Isn't it about time we relied on ourselves?

Rank and file grouping of stewards and militants which existed in the past, should be reformed and efforts made to extend these groupings to all parts of the country. This can be done, as has been shown by the strength which has been achieved on certain building sites, the Paternoster site being a good example. The union leaders cannot solve our problems, we must do this for ourselves. It is the workers on the sites, in the joinery shops and in every branch of the building industry that must make the decisions. Do we want higher basic wages and better conditions now? Then it is up to us to organise from the bottom up, making our own decisions, instead of having decisions and settlements imposed upon us from above.

P.T.



## Revolutionary Bum

DEAR COMRADES,

Comrade King tells us that we must work and fight for the society we want; I am far from clear as to the methods he means us to employ. Could we be enlightened? By work, perhaps he wishes us to engage in slanging matches with those whose ideas of anarchy differ from our own. By fight, I can only imagine that we are to talk on street corners—or are we to raise the barricades?

I cannot foresee success for any of these methods in the present situation. There are as many interpretations of anarchy as there are anarchists. I believe that it is possible for all these ideas to be welded into one workable

### REPORT FROM NEW YORK

There are so many discount stamp firms that they have run out of colours and have started on tartans.

An advertising agent is paying housewives to introduce a commercial into their telephone chats with neighbours. . . . On a poster of a Jane Mansfield movie a man can have his name printed as co-star, with a picture of his head superimposed on that of the actor Miss Mansfield is caressing.

On the sidewalk in Greenwich Village, haunt of so many would-be artists, a girl [demonstrates] a do-it-yourself device for making your own abstract paintings. . . . working in a television studio, and looking out of the window I noticed a skyscraper with no windows. The sound mixer told me it needed no daylight because there were no human beings inside—just floor after floor of machines, clattering and chattering in total darkness. It was an eerie thought; I needed a cigarette. My disposable gas lighter, no flint or wick to change, no re-fuelling, \$1.19, was not working. The sound mixer passed me his matches. The label bore the message: "Patronise our vending machines, enjoy living mechanically." —WILFRED THOMAS describes a recent visit in the B.B.C. Home Service programme "Midweek".

From *The Listener* 26/3/64, page 519.

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## Letters

whole, and that toleration of all ideas which do not threaten the freedom of others is the basis of anarchy. Street corner oratory will never alter fundamental attitudes to society. Bloody revolution can succeed only when the end result is desired by the majority—and no-one can pretend that this happy attitude towards anarchy exists in Britain today.

We are told that we must not retire to individual funk-holes. By this, perhaps only the beatnik's escapism is intended. Or are we to conform in all respects—to live in the suburban villa and to "work" and "fight" from the comfort of its easy chairs?

Anarchy is not merely a philosophic ideal to be absorbed from the writings of others. It represents a way of life, and, whilst we cannot achieve freedom from all aspects of the authoritarian state, nor from responsibility, whilst others remain enslaved, we can best advocate our ideals by exercising the surprising degree of freedom which is permitted us. Whilst smoking pot is not in itself anarchistic, living life as one wishes, is. I may not wish to smoke; I do not consider this a reason why others should not. Collecting N.A.B. is not in itself productive, but it is possible to envisage individuals who use this comparative economic freedom to work towards an ideal, in whatever way is best suited to their temperament and capabilities. It is possible to be a wage slave and still perform work which would be valuable in any society.

We cannot, we are told, contract out of this twisted, sick society. By cannot, presumably we read "should not", since we obviously can contract out by either refusing to live, or by living in a wholly drug-governed private world.

I understand the article to imply that our choice lies between the life of the beatnik, or the complete conformist, and of the dedicated politician—call it Communist, Tory or anarchist. To each his own solution—I do not dictate to my fellow-men. But for many, the most satisfactory solution has been none of these. We are free to choose our own way of life, and, provided it is not at the expense of our neighbours, or that we do not too blatantly infringe the laws of the land, the State will not interfere. By paying us to do work which we would perform without wages in a free society, it will even assist.

Actions will always prove more effective than words. Great thinkers and great writers can clarify our fundamental attitudes and can point the way to fulfilment; they have a major part to play in resolving the practical problems of a new society. But only the most intellectual will be converted by words, and intellectual conversion does not bring about any fundamental change in personality or attitudes. The authoritarian may intellectually believe that anarchism is right; in any society he will remain authoritarian.

A way of life can show the practical application of anarchy; to talk only when necessary can explain the principles by which we live and convert the sympathetic. **FREEDOM** sellers are necessary, but they will only attract those

whose attitudes are already fundamentally non-authoritarian. All that individual anarchists can really achieve will be the result of living anarchy, and not of merely advocating it. If we can show that a number of people can live together in harmony, without rules, without complex "democratic" proceedings, without imposed organization—just by doing the work that needs doing—then we are evidence that anarchism can work. And if we are too busy living to read the combined works of Bakunin and Malatesta—or Marx, Hegel or Deutscher for that matter—we can always turn to **FREEDOM** for someone to tell us what we should be doing.

Somerset. M. KING.

### By which means?

DEAR EDITORS,

Your contributor, G. King, makes the odd statement that 'to attempt to contract out of society—is a cruel illusion and a pathetic fallacy'.

Surely, however, in fact, a person who becomes an anarchist will try to contract out of social norms to some extent. He may try to achieve freer and fuller sexual relationships, he may strive for greater expression in work and play, cultivate an appreciation of music and poetry, educate his children by libertarian methods and generally endeavour to rid himself of and rise above the herd values and trashy ideas which surround him.

According to G. King such activities are futile because 'no one can gain any freedom that is worth having while others remain enslaved'. So logically if my neighbours are frustrated bigots leading narrow meaningless lives then I ought to do so too because any attempt to free myself, to raise myself up by my own bootstraps, is useless.

While all anarchists try, one hopes, to broaden their lives there are always a few sturdy individualists who try to liberate themselves completely, here and now. Such people have formed get-away-from-it-all rural communities or like Thoreau have lived rugged, independent lives. I recently saw a film about some Australian "bums" who live near a ghost town in the Northern Territory. They had all undergone revolutions with society and lived quite happily as near-hermits. One of them, a fine violinist, refused to be interviewed and they was a wonderful, creepy, long-shot of a great wild terrain with a small lone hut from which came beautiful music.

G. King tells me that these community founders, Australian individualists and people like Thoreau and Warren have all lived under delusions. While it may be impossible to live completely free lives in, or on the fringes of current society surely one should make the effort wherever possible. Half a loaf is better than no bread. The idea of G. King and of many other propagandists is that anarchists should submerge themselves among the masses and then endeavour to push the whole mass forward on a libertarian path. (Altogether and in step). A better idea is for today's libertarians to strive to live their philosophy here and now, to set up as far as possible, an anar-

chist society around the framework of authoritarian society with (communities, schools, workshops, whole bootleg economies) and hope by their example to jerk the masses out of their torpor.

Fraternally,  
Kensington. MARTIN WARDON.

P.S.—I agreed with most of G. King's comments on beats. There is a lot of conformism among them—dress, language, meeting places, literary tastes, travel circuits. But he says that all beats are conformists which just is not true. Generalisations are very dangerous things and cause the kind of sloppy thinking whereby whole nations, races, classes, groups, etc., are either wholly good or wholly bad. Beats are not all conformists, neither are all bosses wicked money grubbers, all advocates of corporal punishment are not demented sadists and neither do all anarchist writers exhibit a sensible, tolerant libertarianism.

## Lead the Anarchist Life

DEAR EDITORS OF "FREEDOM",

I thought your recent editorial statement of policy admirable—so good indeed that it is not surprising if you get less comment than is usual. My only criticism would be a warning not to bother so much about political party chances, virtuous of otherwise. Let us get clear on the possibility of leading—to what possible extent—an anarchist life. The success, the difficulties, of the individuals attract my interest at 85, as they did at 25—indeed always. It is, I think, the extent to which individuals succeed in living anarchistically which is the measure of our movement—not the number of groups (that is of only second importance) but the number and quality of individuals. Christianity died with the founding of a church and Anarchism is jeopardised by every group that is formed unless it be for practical, daily life, purposes. Some day Peter's (Kropotkin) notion that the Co-op movement will eventually be the basis of an Anarchist economic society may come true—not in my day—I'm very tired and won't bother you with my laboured thoughts.

Congratulations,  
KARL WALTER.

### PROPOSED GROUPS

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John Wheeler, C.S.T.C., Nr. Stafford, Staffs.

#### HEREFORD

Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close, Hereford

#### SHEFFIELD

Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.

#### Tyneside Federation

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

### OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

First Tuesday in each month at 8 p.m. at Jean and Tony Smythe's Ground Floor Flat, 88, Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21, Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

### Freedom weekly

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### ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

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### LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

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

### Notting Hill Anarchist Group

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

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#### Birmingham Group

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

#### Birmingham (University)

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

#### Birmingham College of Commerce Anarchist Society

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

#### Bristol Federation

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

#### Cambridge Group

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

#### Dundee Group

Contact Rod Cameron, 6 Westfield Place, Dundee.

#### Edinburgh Group

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

#### Glasgow Federation

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

#### Manchester Group

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

#### Hayes and District

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

#### Tunbridge Wells Group

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

#### Plymouth

8 p.m., Fred Spiers, 35 Ridge Park Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.

#### Last Thursday in month:

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

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

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

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

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## Keep it up!

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JULY 4th 1964

Weeks 26 & 27

EXPENSES: 27 weeks at £70 £1,890

Sales & Sub. Renewals: £ £

Weeks 1-25 1,380

Weeks 26 & 27 78

1,458

New Subscriptions:

Weeks 1-25 (125) 132

Weeks 26 & 27 (16) 23

155

1,613

DEFICIT £267

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TOTAL 19 17 2

Previously acknowledged 425 15 11

1964 TOTAL TO DATE £445 13 1

\*Denotes Regular Contributors.

### FINGS

#### Painting, anybody?

Comrade wanted to share painting studio in West Wales for Summer, contact immediately Peter Raymond, 300 Whitechurch Road, Gabalfa, Cardiff.

#### Anti-Election

Anti-election campaign advancing to Baron's Court boarder. Please help overthrow futile system. Meet for leafletting corner Lillie Road and Fulham Palace Road, Monday, July 13th, 8 p.m.

#### Summer School

The Glasgow Anarchist Group are attempting to organize transport to attend the projected English Summer School. Dormobile hire considered. Offers of cars needed. Contact R. Lynn, 66 Bain Street, Glasgow, S.E.

#### International Anarchist Camp

1st to 31st August, Cévenne, S.W. France. River-bathing, Caves, etc. Second week devoted to discussion of modern anarchism.

#### Anglo-French Peace work

Committee of 100

Offers of accommodation for French volunteers needed July 11th & 12th in London (some speak English). Phone AMB 5988.

#### If you think

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