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Freedom

ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

March 4th, 1950

"He alone has a right to liberty
 Who has to fight for it from day
 to day."
 GOETHE

Threepence

Win, Lose, or Doublecross?

L. LEWIS the Spell Broken?

...the power of the
 leader, John L.
 ...in and out
 ...is on the
 ...has been clear that
 ...between the
 ...of America on the
 ...owners and the
 ...the other. In the
 ...contracts with
 ...every year—and when
 ...negotiations have to be
 ...renewal—with, of
 ...trying to better its
 ...in the light of
 ...
 ...John L. began new
 ...bosses, to find them
 ...not to grant any
 ...longer prepared
 ...closed shop prin-
 ...began calling
 ...and put into
 ...to reduce coal
 ...the better to exert
 ...
 ...Lewis decided his
 ...strike and force
 ...the bosses. But also
 ...all wanted to see—
 ...taking their own
 ...taking orders from

Does Taft-Hartley Act

...on the application
 ...Department of Justice,
 ...against the
 ...they must drop the
 ...that gave them
 ...and the right to work
 ...able"; secondly,
 ...return to work while
 ...
 ...the Government applied
 ...under the Taft-
 ...on his opposition to which,
 ...had won trade unionists' votes in
 ...presidential election. But when
 ...of course, he used it.
 ...the face of this legal action by the
 ...John L. first appealed to, and then
 ...his men to go back to work. At
 ...of writing, however, the miners are
 ...their heels in and thumbing their
 ...as employers, Government and
 ...leader alike, while the American
 ...empires are faced with a coal
 ...enough for four days, the
 ...are going out in many big cities,
 ...New Yorkers are beginning to shiver
 ...central heating plants fall out of

It's the Miners who matter

...the miners have realised that they
 ...the people who matter when it comes
 ...getting coal. They are reported as
 ...
 ...Injunctions don't dig coal. Boyonets
 ...dig coal. Not even orders from
 ...Lewis will dig coal.
 ..."We're the ones who work the mines.
 ...we get hurt and killed."
 ...Unfortunately, they do not yet seem
 ...to have realised that the logical develop-
 ...ment from there is towards workers'
 ...control. They are appealing to the State
 ...to take over the mines and keep the
 ...profits for "the Nation", apparently
 ...under the illusion that the State as an
 ...employer will give them a fairer deal than
 ...the State as operator of the Taft-Hartley
 ...Act and the Federal Courts. However,
 ...they will learn. They are already to be
 ...appalled for having taken out of their
 ...noses the rings that John L. Lewis had
 ...so expertly put there.
 ...Next, instead of looking to the State
 ...for aid, let them work towards taking
 ...over the mines themselves, locking out the
 ...employers, and producing coal for the
 ...benefit of the community of which they
 ...are so useful a part, instead of for the
 ...profits of the useless.

A GENERAL ELECTION gives wonderful scope for the
 gambling spirit. There must have been thousands last week
 with no interest in politics who nevertheless sat up half the night
 listening to the results as they came through, and how many could
 resist the temptation to have a bet on the issues? The general
 spirit is not greatly different from that in which football fans
 anxiously watch the Saturday evening papers to see whether, say,
 Arsenal or the Villa are going to win the League Championship.
 This is fortunate for the political apologists who have to explain
 the results to their supporters, for the absurdity of the election
 post mortems is less apparent in the race meeting atmosphere.

Yet anarchists must also have their inquest in view of the
 enormous percentage that went to the polls. Conservatives are
 jubilant about their increased vote, Labour about their retention
 of power, while Liberals claim that the balancing Liberal
 Party is the real holder of decisive power. Most comical of
 all was the *Daily Worker* whose front page contained no headlines
 proclaiming that all the Communist candidates were defeated,
 and all the cryptos too; instead the *Worker's* headlines were
 about the lost deposits—of the Liberals!

HEAVIEST POLL EVER
 What then are we to think of the 83 per cent. poll? Of course it shows that the population as a whole still accepts the electoral method, though it seems certain that this accept-

ance is not very fervent, has not much conviction. Such fervour as was occasionally to be noted sprang more from party loyalty than from any strong conviction about the opposing programmes. And even those who seemed fervent enough required little pressure to concede that it didn't greatly matter which party got in—things would be much the same either way.

And apart from a few enthusiastic loyalists of one or other party it was quite apparent that the motive governing many voters was purely personal—"how will it affect me personally and my work?" This is a practical enough approach beyond doubt, but it does not argue any very deep-seated convictions either about the parties involved
 (Continued on page 4)

What Now in Industry? THE GROWING CONFIDENCE

FROM the result of the election, it would seem that wages are just not a subject on which the workers feel very strongly—unless it is that they are now quite confident of their own ability and strength to demand and get the wages they want.

It is, of course, impossible to tell how many of the votes cast were in fact negative in their purpose—as A.M. pointed out in our last issue, both the main parties slogganned "Keep the others out" and it may well be that many workers voted Labour to keep the Tories out, and many middle-class people voted Tory to keep Labour out, without really falling for the party programmes they actually supported with their votes.

Nevertheless, the voting was very obviously done on a class basis, and it seems, superficially at least, that the workers are solidly for Labour. This means that not only are the workers not upset by the back-sliding from socialist principles which has been a feature of the Labour Government's regime, but that the wage freeze is not held against the Labour Party either. It is significant too, that the only party seriously using wages as a plank in its election programme—the Communist Party—was ignominiously kicked right out of the picture by the voters. And the Conservatives who had some vague line on "a £6 minimum and no wage-freeze," received practically no votes from the lower income groups who would have benefited from such a minimum being established, and drew their main support from middle-class folk not affected by the wage freeze and

employers whom one would think would welcome it. The Reason for the February Election

We have, of course, yet to feel the real results of devaluation, and it may well have been a strong reason for Attlee's choice of an early election this year, that no real hardship has yet been felt from either Cripps' jugglery or the wage-freeze. He may have felt that to wait until wages really became a vital issue to the workers may have been asking for trouble. As it was, the act of devaluation had been almost forgotten, its effects not yet felt, and the recent refusal to grant increases to the higher paid (£1,500—£3,000 a year) civil servants was probably calculated to make the workers feel that "we're all in it together" anyway. (Personally we should have little objection to having our incomes frozen at £3,000 a year, although the civil servants concerned seemed able to produce heart-breaking arguments to show how poverty-stricken they really are.)

What's the Position Now?

But however that may be, what is the position now on the wages front in industry? Well, we are more or less as we were, except that the prospect of another election this year with the possibility of a Tory majority next time may lead those workers with wage claims outstanding to make extra efforts to gain increases before the Tories get in—for obviously a Tory promise of a £6 minimum, or of anything else for that matter—would be speedily forgotten if they won power.

But perhaps we should accept the suggestion in the first paragraph above—that the workers are confident in their own ability to maintain wages standards without political aid. After all, whichever party ruled the country they would have to continue with the export drive. Capitalist Britain is irrevocably wedded to that for some time yet, and however much in their hearts the Tories might wish to see a pool of unemployed as a threat to the employed, the needs of the production drive would preserve full employment whether the government wanted it or not. We have already pointed out that to-day's high employment is not due to the Labour Government's good wishes but to the over-riding circumstances of the export drive. These will continue for some time yet, whichever political leadership the country tolerates.

The workers' attitude then, may be seen as this: In the political field they support the party which offers them most. Since the Tories offer absolutely nothing, it is not difficult for Labour to do better than that, and we should be foolish to deny the material benefits of such welfare measures as the Health Scheme. Therefore the workers will take what Labour has to offer, reserving the right to take direct action if necessary to maintain their own economic standard of living, irrespective of whether in the event the Labour Government likes it or not.

Are Workers Realising Their Strength?

As Anarchists, of course, we are not prepared to sell any morsel of our freedom in return for the benefits of the welfare state, knowing that we could look after our own welfare much better without the state, nor do we get very excited about the wages struggle in any case, since we propose the abolition of the wages and money systems in favour of free production and distribution. What we are pleased to see, however, is this confidence in their own strength (which, after all, underlies every strike—especially unofficial ones). The rank and file have not accepted the wage freeze and we can look forward to some real struggles against it, but carried out not in Parliament of polling booths but where the workers' strength really exists—at the point of production.

P.S.

APPEAL TO CONSCIENCE ON BEHALF OF THOSE PERSECUTED & IMPRISONED IN SPAIN

We have received the following letter from the Delegation in Great Britain of the C.N.T. It has been circulated to the press, who have so far shown great reluctance to publish it.

HIS Holiness the Pope has recently addressed himself to the entire Christian world in condemnation of the totalitarian States and the existence of special tribunals for political offenders. Such an indictment logically includes the Franco regime. Unfortunately a representative of that regime played a conspicuous part in the celebrations in Rome, so that it would seem that the Papal denunciation was reserved for Soviet Russia and her satellites, as though crimes against human dignity, against the individual and against mankind, were less evil when perpetrated by a totalitarian despotism in the name of Christianity and the Roman Catholic Church, as in Franco's Spain.

We are well aware that many of the Spaniards who are suffering the loss of civil rights, or who are held in Franco's prisons, are faithful Catholics. Our object is to call attention to the danger inherent in permitting the Franco regime to exploit the threat from the East whilst at the same time ignoring the victims of that regime, and the threat to Western civilisation which the imitation of its methods represents. THE EXISTENCE OF THE IRON CURTAIN IN THE EAST DOES NOT JUSTIFY THE CREATION OF AN IRON CURTAIN ON THE WEST TO HIDE THE UGLY FACTS OF FRANCO'S SPAIN. And when that other iron curtain is camouflaged by the trappings of Christianity, human justice and decency demands the exposure of such a travesty of Christian doctrine.

The biggest group of Spaniards, and the one suffering the most severe persecution, in Franco's Spain, is the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.), but the persecution is directed against all Spaniards who on the name of freedom and justice oppose the regime—all democrats, socialists, liberals, syndicalists, libertarians, freemasons, even those Royalists who refuse support to the Franco dictatorship. Nor do we consider

the persecution less odious when it victimises our political adversaries, the Communists.

Thousands of democrats, of free men of all shades of liberal thinking, are prisoners in Franco's jails, their sole offence the holding of beliefs opposed to the regime. The existence of the victims of totalitarianism is an insult to the civilised world. It is an affront to all who call themselves democrats and Christians. It is a mockery of all who gave their lives in the last war fighting totalitarianism in Germany, Italy and Japan.

Peace with honour is impossible for the world whilst in the very heart of Western Europe there still exists this totalitarian State free to persecute and destroy the people who seek to build a true democracy in their country. Thousands of persecuted and imprisoned men and women in Spain cry to the conscience of the democratic world, with their tragic and bitter witness against that so-called Christianity and democracy which condemns totalitarianism of one colour and condones it of another. As their voices cannot reach the outside world, we speak on their behalf, appealing to all persons—whatever

their political ideas or religious creeds—who hold honoured positions in the cultural or political life of their democratic nations, to raise their voices to demand from Franco's government the liberation of its political prisoners, the cessation of special legislation and tribunals for these political opponents.

Under pressure the Franco regime may release its present victims but this alone is not enough. The continued existence of such a regime makes a mockery of the professed democratic ideals of the nations which tolerate it. Pressure must also be brought to bear to bring an end to the regime itself. The opportunity exists. Spain is driven by historic necessity to form part of the community of free European nations. It is the silence, the apathy, the embarrassed inactivity of the democratic states, which at present encourages the continued existence of Spanish Fascism, with all its crimes.

The political aspect of the Spanish problem—and tragedy—is beyond the radius of the private individual, but its moral aspect is not.

Whoever reads this appeal makes him or herself an accomplice of Franco by silence and indifference. Our authority for this appeal to conscience is the suffering of those thousands inside Spain who cannot believe that the free world outside remains indifferent to their sufferings or will refuse to raise a voice of protest on their behalf.

VERY HIGH PRINCIPLED...

Colonel McCormick, owner of the "Chicago Tribune", after a 70-minute interview with General Franco in Madrid, said: "Franco is very dynamic, magnetic and high-principled."
 News Chronicle, 27/2/50.

For the Delegation,
 The Secretary,
 MANUEL SALGADO,
 CHARLES DUFF,
 ARTURO BAREA,
 ILSA BAREA,
 HERBERT READ,
 SYDNEY SILVERMAN,
 ETHEL MANNIN,
 HERBERT READ,
 SYDNEY SILVERMAN,
 FREEDOM PRESS GROUP.

Functions and Dangers of THE POLITICAL MYTH

[continued from last issue]

It was some time, however, before there was any widespread use of deliberate deception in slogans. Many catch phrases came into use during the French revolutionary period, and it is possible, in the perspective of history, to say that they conveyed promises which were never fulfilled. It might be said, for instance, that in so far as actual political behaviour was concerned, the slogan "Liberty, equality, fraternity" was a mockery. Yet it did represent the main points of the theories which preceded the French Revolution, and it seems certain that most of the men of 1789, even including such authoritarians as Robespierre and Saint Just, really believed that their policy would bring about the eventual reign of liberty, equality and fraternity. It was only by Bonaparte, the first of our modern totalitarians, that the slogans and symbols of the Revolution were unquestionably used to further ends of personal power which were clearly their opposite in spirit as well as in fact.

In such slogans as the last we already see a tendency towards vagueness and abstraction which characterised the resounding catch-phrases of the nineteenth century political conflicts. Faced by such words as *liberty, equality, fraternity*, the hearer, instead of pausing to consider what their user really means, tends to apply his own definition which, in the case of large and generalised terms, can be very different from that envisaged by his neighbour. When, for instance, Winston Churchill talks of *freedom*, the chances are about a thousand to one that he means something very different from what Bakunin did when he used this word. Hence such terms are freely exploited by men of all parties, and have often led people into giving support to programmes whose results were very different from what they had expected.

Typical of the more resonant nineteenth century slogans is the celebrated exhortation which terminates the *Communist Manifesto*: "Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain." Clearly, such a phrase represents only an airy daydream unless we can relate it to something more concrete and precise. How are the workers to unite? How can a man who has his life and that of his family to consider, assume that he has only chains to lose? By what means is he to gain the world when it is already dominated by governments, capitalist enterprises, armies and police forces who are all disinclined to move out of their positions? No doubt it was all very clear to Marx and Engels; the workers should unite in disciplined Marxist parties and seek to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, in which task they would undoubtedly have the assistance of those historical forces which formed the Gods of the Marxist metaphysics. But even Marx's own theories, voluminously argued as they were, remained very vague on precise details, and the celebrated slogan itself has since been used by a remarkable variety of both parliamentary and insurrectionary parties who have been interested only in gaining a world for those of their own persuasion and who are willing to double the chains of the workers if they find it necessary to suit their own purposes.

Not all the slogans which emerged from the working-class movements were, however, abstract or imprecise. Strikes and struggles over particular issues often produced slogans which represented fairly accurately the concrete demands of the moment. "Not a minute on the day, not

a penny off the pay," speaks clearly enough, even if it does not give a picture of all the circumstances of the particular situation in which it was used.

Similarly, in recent years, as the value of repetition and suggestion in publicity have been more thoroughly understood, governments have frequently been content to express their own actual desires in striking terms which would impress their subjects. Such well posterred wartime slogans as "Work Harder" show this technique at work in its boldest form. At other times the pill is sugared with a coating of political idealism, and we get phrases like "Lend to defend the right to be free."

Such slogans of simple technique are equally subject to criticism since, once the habit of attending to them is acquired, they can be used effectively to suggest either good or bad actions, and sometimes, as in the case of the notorious Nazi slogan, "Perish Judah", both to suggest a morally evil course and to divert attention from other aspects of a party's policy.

The slogan of plain falsehood is most frequently used by a leader or party already in power, or prepared to stifle all criticisms as soon as that power is gained. Most propagandists in democratic countries are content to distort, to omit and to misrepresent rather than to lie directly. But a dictator or a potential dictator can afford to say anything that may pave his way to power, and the usual practice of totalitarian parties is to make their propaganda accord as far as possible with the desires of the people to whom it is meant to appeal. Mussolini, for instance, described Fascism as "revolutionary", because talk of revolution was then popular in Italy; Hitler tapped the two main urges of post-war Germany when he called his party "National Socialist". It would be easy to choose many examples from either Fascist or Nazi history to show the deliberate use of falsehood in slogans. But illustrations from other groups will be just as effective and will show that the blatant disregard of truth is a common characteristic of totalitarians in their use of slogans. Pilsudski realised the profound longing among vast sections of the Polish population to be done with the impositions of authority; relying on his old socialist record and using the rallying cry, "Down with dictatorship!" he established himself as dictator. Lenin and the Bolsheviks rose to power largely because they reconciled themselves to existing circumstances and to the desires of the widest sections of the people by adopting the slogan, "The land to the peasants, the factories to the workers," although their own intention, which they pursued as soon as they were sufficiently established in power, was to take both the factories and the land into the control of the state and the Communist Party.

There is little need to elaborate on slogans of this type. Their nature and their function are evident. But it must be emphasised that their difference from slogans of other types is of degree and not of kind. The intention of any slogan is to catch the imagination of the politician's audience by a technique of simplification, so that the potential supporter who is either unable or unwilling to think out an issue for himself will be stirred out a direct appeal to some image which impels him to acceptance. Like so many propaganda devices, it by-passes the faculty of judgment. Many slogans, indeed are in themselves harmless, since they do at least represent an approximation to reality. Their use is dangerous

because it creates the habit of accepting ideas and practical schemes without considering their consequences, or, at times, without even realising that they are patently inconsistent with the real intentions of those who use them.

I put these considerations forward because I think they have an important bearing on the problems of anarchists. Anarchist propaganda has in the past made free use of slogans and, while the anarchist has not the politician's need to distort the truth deliberately, he often, in aiming at simplifying an issue, achieves a result which actually blurs the truth of a situation. Moreover, by contributing to the general tendency of people to think in slogans, he does his part, in spite of himself, to render his audience less agile in their judgment and therefore more susceptible to the tricks of other, less honest propagandists. It seems to me that the time has come for us to reconsider our preconceptions of the way in which we should put forward our ideas; the use of slogans is merely one among many weak points in a method of presenting our views which certainly needs revision. The vagueness of our phraseology is another subject for attention, and

it is not unconnected with the problem of slogans. Here I am merely stating the problem that has troubled me for some time past, and I am not suggesting any ready solution. Where people are so easily conditioned into accepting the authority of the publicist in every matter, it would be impractical to expect a spell of slogans will be broken, and we may well have to wait a long time for a general public against extreme simplification of social issues. But we should not let our own way of thinking be wholly in practice, then we shall certainly help the development of judgment which is the condition of an anarchist

Free Methods in State Schools

WHAT is the significance of the advances in progressive methods to be found in State schools? As examples let us take three schools that have been considerably in the limelight since the war. Prestolee, between Manchester and Bolton, is a primary school that has been built up by the Headmaster, Mr. O'Neill. Thanks to his firm belief that what

children learn for themselves is of more value than what they are taught, and that the children are free to plan their work and proceed with their studies as their fancies suggest, the greatest problem of the school is how to get them to go home at the end of the day, or their parents at the end of the evening. Time-tables are largely done away with: activities are

guided by the moods of the group. In Birmingham Junior School development order (described in *Story of a School*) the Freedom Bookshop school is entirely windows and grass be grown, generously based on going Herbert Read, fixed in advance. Dancing has become a means of expression in geography to class drama, history is self says: "We had opportunities to ourselves. We believe which are developed tremendous importance since expression in a natural approach but also a more tackling the difficulties. If this is to teach academic have experience of

The Election Solution: PARTITION!

THE Prime Minister in common with other politicians expressed himself baffled with the General Election results. The parties almost dead-heated, the difference being such a precarious balance in the House of Commons as to make parliamentary government an unworkable procedure, since it would have to proceed on the hypothesis that all M.P.s would spend all their time at the job for which they contested so eagerly and for which they accept so high a sum, not only from their salary but from the manner in which it adds to their earning power and prestige in so many cases.

However, no difficulties would arise if one looked at the Election results from the standpoint of any reasonably incurable lunatic. A moment's glance at the map would show that the equal division of the country follows a fairly universal pattern. By looking at the shaded constituency maps shown in some newspapers, it can be seen that there is a solid block in the South which is overwhelmingly Tory; whereas South Wales and the industrial North is far and away a Labour stronghold. A solid Labour block spreads continuously on both sides of the river in London, with a Tory corridor from Hampstead to Westminster, and some fringes on the outer parts which carefully dovetail into the Conservative outer suburbs.

It can readily be seen, therefore, that the obvious solution—to our lunatic—would be the simple one of Partition. Divide the country up into Labour and Conservative blocks and let Mr. Attlee form the Government for one and Mr. Churchill form the Government for the other. All the argument as to "whether the country wants Socialism or not" are thereby overcome. Mr. Churchill's England lives by free competition and Mr. Attlee's England lives by State control.

As to the Tory voters living in areas with Socialist majorities, and Socialist voters in Tory areas, all one has to do is to drag them from their homes, burn down their dwellings, take away their possessions, and drive them willy-nilly into the other part.

Many madmen are quite logical, and our lunatic could improve upon this theme without any doubt, perhaps making provisions for the relics of Liberalism: providing an American guard for the Tower of London and other parts which are more or less devoted to U.S. tourists anyway, and nothing could prevent him from making quite a reasonable plan out of it except the forcible restraint of his keepers.

Unfortunately, this is not a joke. Substitute politics for religion and it has already been done on a mass scale; what else did the idea of Pakistan mean? The same lunatic's solution has been tried in Israel and Ireland.

The people of this country should be thinking themselves lucky that the madman's solution will not be tried out on them to the wrecking and slaughter that accompanied it in the division of the Indian sub-continent. But they bear a heavy responsibility for its being tried there. At some other time the question of national partition may come up—it has been settled by brute force in the Hitlerian conquests of lands around Germany and is being repeated by the Polish and Czech Governments against Germans. The solution was cheerfully recommended as regards Ireland and Palestine.

If the lunatic who wanted to partition this country had the reins of power, he could impose his scheme. Lunatics have had the reins of power many times. Think about it next time some lunatic in power suggests partition as a means of settling a problem in some other part of the world.

INTERNATIONALIST.

Is Communism Cracking?

THE fact that Tito has remained in power a year and a half after the publication of the Cominform resolution and the purges in many Communist parties has, in the West, brought forth a theory that Tito's affair is not only a sign of weakness of the Soviet bloc but also the beginning of its break-up. This theory is propagated by many journalists and politicians like Vernon Bartlett, who, after his visit to Eastern Europe, maintained that in two years other countries would follow Tito's example.

But this theory is false on two accounts: (1) the West was inclined to see all the purges of Communist leaders as signs of the internal break-up of Soviet Communism. It is sufficient to glance at the statements of Western journalists and politicians during the Moscow trials 1936-1938 to notice that nearly all of them agreed that the Soviet regime was in a deep crisis. Events, however, proved differently. The regime instead of breaking under the strain, was strengthened and Stalin instead of being weakened, came out of the purges stronger. The same thing is happening to-day in the satellite countries. Journalists again speak of weakening, while in reality Soviet power is being consolidated. Only if one shuts one's eyes is it possible to maintain that Soviet influence is not stronger both in Hungary and in Bulgaria after the trials which took place recently.

The fallibility of this theory is even greater when one remembers that Tito is

not only the first, but also the only and the last Communist ruler who has outlived (temporarily) a Moscow sentence. If any case repeats itself in the satellite countries, it is the case of Raki and not of Tito. Tito's case cannot repeat itself among the Communist leaders in either Western or Eastern Europe. In Eastern Europe simply because the U.S.S.R. has taken precautions to prevent it, while in

READER'S OPINION

Western Europe similar problems regarding relations between the C.P.s and Moscow will arise only after the local C.P.s get into power.

(2) When in the West one speaks of Communism, one means more often its two subsidiary elements: the satellite countries and the C.P.s, than its main: the U.S.S.R. and China. When Communism threatens the other half of Europe and endangers the whole of Asia, this is the result not of the activities of satellite states or of the C.P.s in the West but of the U.S.S.R. with its hundreds of divisions and the atom bomb and of China, which is on the point of becoming the strongest power in the Far East. In the past year we witnessed two epochal events: China has gone Communist and the U.S.S.R. has produced the atom bomb. In comparison with these two events, the fact that the Norwegian C.P. has lost its 11 seats in Parliament, that the general strike in Italy has failed, that the Greek guerrillas have been defeated and that Tito has not yet been liquidated,

becomes unimportant. There can be no dissolution of the Communist bloc as long as Stalin is alive, and it is a question if it will be possible afterwards, and there has never been a break-up of an aggressive imperialism and ideology while its strength is ascending. Soviet Communism is to-day such a case. It rules over 700 million men, that is to say, over a third of the world's population. Never has an empire in history covered such a surface nor ruled over so many people. Under these circumstances, it is more likely that Soviet Communism will press on, instead of breaking up.

ANTHONY WEAVER.

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Who IS Free?

...ational inquiry by the United Educational, Scientific and ... has shown that the ... and composers of only two ... and the Dominican ... themselves as free to ...

... are censoring letters, ... religion or both, ... of 400 intellectuals, ... Des Passos, André Gide ... nationally known writers ...

... mind, is an important ... to be hoped that one ... will be made among ... is it really necessary ... not enough, examples ... every day to convince us, ... a sub-committee of ... are not free? A few ... from the Press during ... shown only too ... little freedom that ... whistled away.

... of every German ... being investigated ... police, it was dis ... building a file on ... started by the ... Secretary of the ... National Zeitung, ... for former mem ...

... of the interview was to ... that they are ... leadership. ... everyone must ... personnel sheet truth- ... he said, "from when ... was a member of ... organisations. It is ... it is the SPD ... (Communists) CDU ...

...ROUGH THE ... THE ... PRESS ... could be made to ... world, four American ... around the bomb ... into dusts fatal for ... Express, 27/2/50.

...TRIANGLE ... breaking up to-day be ... have left God out of ... another God, above ... marriage is not all a ...

...COARITY ... Daily Express, 27/2/50. ... strike in Belfast plan to ... premises "so that workers ... go without shaves and hair- ... Daily Herald, 27/2/50.

...YOU LAZY ANARCHIST ... RASCAL! ... SHOULD be made compulsory. ... why it never has been so made. ... of a country might well depend ... vote at an election. Lazy rascals ... be made to take an interest in the ... Daily Mirror, 23/2/50.

...BOGEYMAN ... P. Buchan-Hepburn, Tory, at ... as a persistent heckler mentioning ... name of Churchill: If Mr. Churchill ... to walk into this room, a mouse ... wouldn't speak—not even you. ... Daily Express, 22/2/50.

...NOT WANTED ... Shakespeare, Dickens, and indeed, all ... British classics, except Jane Austen, ... discarded in the list of 40 books which ... University described to-day as ... "worthwhile reading for the busy man". ... Daily Express, 20/2/50.

...UP IN SMOKE ... The cyclotron used to make the atom ... was burned out at the Palmer ... Laboratory to-day. It cost ... \$18,000,000 dollars (£6,428,000). ... Daily Express, 23/2/50.

...FASHION NOTE ... "The fact that the King has had a ... tartan dinner jacket made will make a ... lot of difference to their export—especially ... to America. ... "Of course, the King has worn the ... jacket only at informal private parties. ... In public he wears formal dress. ... "Now many young men are following ... his example and ordering their own tartan ... dinner jackets." ... Daily Mirror, 23/2/50.

Christian Democrats, LDP (Liberal Democrats) or the NSDAP (Nazis).

In Argentina

The Peron Government has expropriated all newspaper now held and to be received by newspapers and importers. Informed circles estimated a total of 10,000 tons of newspapers have been thus expropriated, including about 3,000 tons each from the large independent dailies *La Prensa* and *La Nación*.

This move is the more significant in view of the repressive measures taken by the Peron government, some time ago, against these independent dailies.

In America

Dr. Ralph Bunche, former U.N. mediator for Palestine, in an article in the American magazine, writes that: "If I visit Washington I cannot buy a meal, order a drink, see a movie or, with a very few exceptions, rent a hotel room, except in the Negro section of the town."

He said that the American Negro has made gains, but is still at a heavy economic disadvantage as regards work opportunities and standard of living. "American anti-racial and anti-religious practices make a mockery of both the Constitution and the Charter of United Nations."

Some Americans are so scared by the Communist bogey that, according to the

Manchester Guardian's brilliant correspondent, Alistair Cooke, they are now less alarmed at the "wide and increasing secret authority of the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

Some weeks ago when it was revealed that the F.B.I. had been tapping the telephones of Judith Coplon and of the Russian Gubitcher long before they were arrested, there was a "reasonable outcry against the whole business of wire-tapping and many people quoted Mr. Justice Holmes's characterisation of it as 'a dirty business'."

But now the Fuchs case in England has created such a scare that the announcement by Edgar Hoover, chief of the F.B.I., that his organisation was at present "tapping only 170 telephones" has "alarmed more people than it comforted." And Alistair concludes that "there seems every chance that Mr. Hoover will get from Congress permission to increase his staff of secret agents by the three hundred he demanded."

In the Gold Coast

The Magistrate's court in Accra, last month sentenced Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, head of the Gold Coast Nationalist Convention People's Party, to a year in gaol for "inciting others to take part in an illegal strike."

Eight other leaders of the "positive action" strike, called on January 8th, to secure Dominion status for the Gold Coast, were also sentenced to a year in prison.

FRANCO REPRESENTATIVE SHOT

A UNITED Press report from Mexico City (21/2/50) states that Jose Gallostra, fifty-eight, "semi-retired" Spanish Minister to Bolivia, was shot to death in a crowded down-town street yesterday by a former Spanish Loyalist soldier described by the police as an anarchist.

[The Spanish Embassy in Washington said Mr. Gallostra had been sent to Mexico as an "observer" and was still a member of the Spanish diplomatic service at the time of his death.]

Police immediately arrested Gabriel Salvador Fleitas Rouco, thirty-eight, a Cuban of Spanish descent, who according

to the police, confessed firing two bullets into Mr. Gallostra's head from a distance of less than three feet.

Fleitas Rouco told police Mr. Gallostra had "wounded my dignity" last week when they met for the first time.

Fleitas, who fought with the Loyalists during the Spanish civil war, told police: "He told me we had sold out Spain. I did not see him again until this morning. He said something that molested me and I tried to object but he tried to pull a gun and I beat him to it."

Police said, however, that Mr. Gallostra was unarmed.

NEWS FROM JAPAN

IN spite of many difficulties the Japanese anarchists continue to publish their weekly paper, *Heimin Simbun*. The I.W.M.A. Press Service has translated extracts from recent issues from which the following items have been taken:

"Thousands of children from poor families have been sold to the textile factories in Aichi. Some agents have been arrested for their suspicious dealings. Children are being obliged to work a ten-hour day. Juvenile crime is high and increasing daily."

"The silk factories are passing through a serious crisis, but in some establishments workers have formed factory councils to take over production themselves."

"The shipping monopoly is in the hands of the firm of Seto Sundo in Hiroshima. But the island inhabitants are trying to form co-operative ship-building societies to compete with the monopolists."

"In Kasama, Asakura, there is a colony founded by anarchists, where free communism is practised. The inhabitants are engaged in agriculture and forestry."

Heimin Simbun also announces the death, through malnutrition of the well-known anarchist, Elizo Koike. He was a leading Esperantist and the translator of Kropotkin's works in Japanese.

THE GENEROSITY OF GOVERNMENTS

THE "generosity" of governments is never disinterested. To those people who look on Marshall Aid as a genuine helping hand to the war-scarred nations of Europe, this remark will appear cynical. But it is a generalisation which can easily be proved. And politicians, unlike their "fans" do not even bother to hide the real reasons for their "generosity". For instance, only last month, Mr. George McGhee, Assistant Secretary of State, urging Congress to approve a grant of \$24,450,000 to Middle East countries as a contribution to the United Nations work relief programme, designed to solve the Palestine Arab refugee problem, pointed out that "while the problem is unresolved, the refugees themselves will continue to

serve as a natural focal point for exploitation by Communist and disruptive elements, which neither we nor the Near Eastern government can afford to ignore.

"In this critical area we can ill afford to stand by in the face of any major security threat.

"The presence of 750,000 idle and destitute people, whose discontent increases with the passage of time, is the greatest threat to the security of the area which now exists."

Not one word in the report urging approval of the grant on the grounds that the Arab refugees were dying-off like flies.

Who, may we ask are the cynics? LIBERTARIAN.

WITHOUT COMMENT

Converting Africans . . .

AFTER an investigation lasting seventeen days, a Commission of the United Nations Trusteeship Council to the British Cameroons has decided that polygamy is a "type of social security" and will have to continue "UNTIL WESTERN CIVILISATION, THROUGH EDUCATION, CONVINCES THE AFRICANS THAT OTHER WAYS ARE BETTER AND PREFERABLE."

The report adds: "Plural marriage is partly a means of sustenance to the women involved; hence the practice that a chief inherits the wives of his deceased predecessors."

The report comes four days after the announcement from Lake Success that the one hundred or so wives of a Cameroons chieftain had declared that they were per-

LETTER FROM AMERICA THE MEANING OF POLITICS

ONE begins to wonder more and more what can be the meaning of politics in an age of contactlessness. Louis Quinzars said, "L'est c'est moi." Harry Truman has said, "I am the Helium Bomb." A Princeton Professor has shot himself at a game of Russian Roulette. This is the sum total of my impression of what has happened in the past 3 months in that great outer world of which America is such a glittering pretzel. For I no longer bother to read the bourgeois press. And I only read the anarchist press for the vain-glory, gossip and that old occasional feeling near the heart (please be kind).

the Helium Bomb, what the hell do we need an army for?

The sickening thought comes that the next war will be on, over and done for even before we've gotten our sugar ration.

Let us at least face this ugliness, this order of truth and then try (and first as individuals and not as shadows of ideologies) to build from there.

JACK GALLERGO

La Protesta

(ARGENTINE) ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Ordered to Close

OUR correspondent in Buenos Aires send us the following news item from a Buenos Aires paper:

"In the course of their proceedings yesterday, Deputies Visca and Decker of the Congressional Investigatory Commission, ordered the closure of the anarchist paper *La Protesta* of this city for not publishing the words 'Año del Libertador General San Martin' on its date line."

Our correspondent comments: "To elucidate this, I should explain that the phrase in question relates to the Argentine historical 'hero' to whom the year 1950 has been 'dedicated'. This is a kind of Hitler stunt, with gigantic pictures of the gentleman in public squares, pictures and slogans in the shop windows, etc. By order of Congress, every newspaper in the country must, each day of the year, print the above phrase on its date line on each page! An interesting point, by the way: the Commission was originally instituted to investigate charges of police intimidation and Gestapo methods."

"However, it was placed in the hands of an old stooge of Peron's, Visca, an ex-butcher, now Congressman and political carpet bagger, who has been far too busy closing down the press to bother about the original charges. His method of press censorship is the classic one of ordering Government control of newsprint distribution and then simply failing to deliver or restricting paper supplies to hostile or 'unreliable' publications. The anarchist paper is the latest victim."

However, we are not dismayed. *La Protesta* has a fine and long record, and we are sure it will take more than Peron and his stooges to suppress it for long!

Alex Comfort:	BARBARISM AND SEXUAL FREEDOM	Boards 3/6. Paper 2/6
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REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISTS RE-ORGANISE IN ITALY

Rebirth of the U.S.I.

A FEW weeks ago, a congress of revolutionary syndicalists was held in the small coastal town of Piombino, in Central Italy. The purpose of the congress was to lay the foundations for a re-formed Unione Sindacale Italiana (U.S.I.)

In 1902, the Italian Socialist Party founded the *Confederazione del Lavoro* (Confederation of Labour) which had as its object the affiliation of all the trade union organisations. But it was also an attempt to make the workers' organisations an instrument for the Socialist Party. But it did not succeed wholly in either, for a large part of the membership was strongly influenced by the ideas of the French syndicalists. A number of large, successful strikes gave added prestige to the advocates of direct action inside the movement, and as a result a conference called in 1912, by a number of organisations which were not in agreement with the Confederation, resulted in the creation of the Unione Sindacale Italiana. In 1914, it took up an anti-militarist position and when Italy entered the war all its most active members were arrested and imprisoned. But it once more sprang into activity at the end of hostilities with a membership of 600,000. The rise of Fascism resulted in its eventual physical suppression.

After the "liberation" of Italy, the question of rebuilding the U.S.I. was discussed at considerable length by the Italian anarchists but the general view was against. We do not propose to discuss here the arguments put forward at

the time, but the general view seemed to be that anarchists should carry on their activity within the existing Trade Union movement, and that the activities of the revolutionary syndicalists should be co-ordinated by a *Comitato di Difesa Sindacalista* (Syndicalist Defence Committee). In June, 1948, a congress of this Defence Committee was held in Leghorn and the following was one of the resolutions adopted: "The Syndicalist Defence Committee considering the possibility of an eventual scission in the C.G.I.L. (Italian General Confederation of Labour), deprecates the attitude of all the political parties which are provoking the breaking-up of working-class unity, thereby demonstrating their inability to defend the interests of the working-class, and reserves the right to examine at an opportune moment its own position in the event of such a scission taking place."

The scission took place in the summer of 1948, with the break-away of the Christian Democrats. A third of the C.G.I.L.'s funds was assigned to the new organisation, the remaining two-thirds being held by the Togliatti-de Vittorio and Nenni-Desanti factions. Many anarchist-syndicalists felt that as a scission had taken place, consideration of

"working-class unity" were no longer valid objections to the reforming of the U.S.I. And the recent congress at Piombino, which was attended by delegates from eleven groups and which had the support of a further twenty, was the result of considerable activity within the anarchist movement during the past eighteen months by the supporters of a revolutionary syndicalist movement.

So far as the congress was concerned its main purpose was to outline the objectives of the new organisation and to nominate a Committee of co-ordination, with a secretariat in Bologna, whose immediate task will be to draft a constitution. At a later date a National Congress will be called.

As to what chances of success the new U.S.I. will have, it is difficult for us to say, not being on the spot. Undoubtedly, opinion within the Italian anarchist movement itself is divided. And the fact that such men as Armando Borghi, who was the secretary of the U.S.I. after the first

world war, have opposed the idea, has obviously considerably influenced the movement. At the same time there is considerable discontent among the Italian workers at the way the political parties are using the Trade Union movement for their own ends. Just recently, for instance, a move was made to build up an anti-Communist bloc in the Labour movement by the fusion of the Socialist Labour Federation (with an estimated membership of 500,000) and the predominantly Catholic Italian Free Confederation of Labour (strength estimated at from 1 million to 1,400,000 members). They hope by the fusion to attract the support of 10,000,000 unorganised Italian workers who have so far resisted membership drives of the Communist-controlled C.G.I.L. (Italian General Confederation of Labour).

The revolutionary syndicalists need have no fear that the U.S.I. could now be accused of destroying a "working-class unity" which does not exist. But whether they will have the strength and resources to compete with the well-oiled political machines and the political vultures who at present have a stranglehold on the Italian industrial workers, is another matter.

★ Out and About ★ The Bloated Voter

ON polling day, I was in a desiccated quarter of London where Anglo-Indian widows, their secretarial colleges, and their bulletins in tea-bath murderers seek their Thursday week South Sea unusual air of expectation. The pavement artist in had drawn an idyllic poster in it: "Vote Tory old cripple who winds in the gutter was wearing a rosette, though whether a victim or expediency. Round the corner, the had been set up in a and a small crowd was. At mid-day the cause rolled up. A raggamuffin "Winnie" disturbed the decorum (the press of delighted applause of a staid supporter sprang newspaper from a The old buffoon, appeared into the spent a minute and candidate. (The choice barrister, a Liberal barrister.) Then cameras clicked, the around him, a little of flowers, and on constituency. The road-sweeper cleared and Kensington slept Battle for London, that night. I must be travelling by tube.

Next day, the military "Tories Figh... lines shouted, though counting.

On Saturday, the new Station were shouting I bought a paper; "Clo... mouth." "Aldershot's County's High Score" headlines. But this was not voters. Britain was

(or who aspire to foreigners in exploiting to which they believe potential governing composed of technicians study outside their necessary for us to try our propaganda, which students in those movement already propaganda can have amongst those colonies Europe and America (sailors and port workers whose lot is especially the organised movement study the possibility of countries where our known, comrades, or group who understand the cultures of the peoples propose to go and live and spread our ideas of authoritarian thought and action.

(To be continued)

ABC OF AUTHORITY

(Continued)

I is for Illegal Authority. People say that if there were no legal system, the world would be in a chaotic mess. Anarchists believe that the legal system, and the authorities whose ends it serves are responsible for the chaotic mess that the world is in. The authoritarians say that without law, the strong would tyrannise the weak but, in fact, the social instincts of strong people would tend to dissuade them from bullying and violence, making them the gentlest of people, except when they are compelled to use their strength for Authoritarian ends. "Prisons," said Kropotkin, "are the universities of crime," and the lawyers and police authorities are its professors. D.R.

From the International Congress—2

We continue below, publication of translations of the resolutions passed at the recent International Anarchist Congress.

Declaration on means and methods of developing throughout the world our federalist and autonomist principles.

It is fundamental for us anarchists to carry our struggle for freedom and justice into all those lands where we can seize any possibility of action from the authoritarian powers, and this we can do by spreading all around us our willingness to struggle, and our message of fraternity which will open the road to social revolution.

The means which we employ to develop our federalist principles are many and various but it always is the direct social struggle which does most to awaken active consciences to the fight for freedom. Convinced that it is not possible to realise the free society of tomorrow within the corpse of the old society, by reformist means, we seek to march with the people towards the social revolution and for this reason we make a frontal attack on the acute problems resulting from exploitation and domination, working among the people, and with them, in order to concentrate and intensify their urges towards liberation.

We invite them to join us in combating all forms of oppression and we are with them in the struggle. This is the essential. The rest—free methods in education, co-operatives and communities, etc., are complementary activities, which, with the participation of the anarchists, can reinforce our efforts, but they are not, and they cannot be the fundamental essential of our activity, given the fact that the possibilities of these means of propaganda are strictly limited and controlled by the vigilance of the authorities.

Resolution on the question: How can we spread our ideals in countries lacking an organised anarchist movement, particularly colonial countries?

THE Congress has studied the problem of imperialism, that is to say, the collective servitude of certain human groups, imposed by other groups which are considered to be more highly developed. This servitude—which is exercised not only economically (exploitation), and politically

one would expect; the Labour vote came mainly from the mining and industrial districts, while the residential, commercial, and agricultural areas voted Conservative. It is reasonable to assume furthermore that the bulk of the votes were cast from adherence to one or the other party, so that the deciding votes came from those who were too apathetic, too uninterested in politics, too young even, in 1945. The conclusion inevitably follows that the democratic electoral procedure ensures not the rule of the majority, for the deciding vote comes from the small fraction which increased the percentage poll, and which is hardly politically conscious at all.

Then there is the anomaly of relation of seats to total votes cast. The Conservatives claim that the Liberal party is defunct, and certainly their defeat (and the losses which Lloyd's sustained for them) could hardly have been more crushing. Yet the Liberal vote was, numerically, more than a fifth of the Labour Poll, while their representation in seats is less than one-thirtieth of the number of Labour members. This is not to raise the old scarecrow of proportional representation, but merely to point to one among the

many anomalies of election times, of which the total upshot is surely to discredit the whole sham apparatus.

NO RECOGNISED ALTERNATIVE

To sum up, therefore, one may say that the election was not taken as seriously as it should be if the population were as seriously concerned about how their affairs are administered as they should be. If people were seriously concerned about such matters they would throw out the whole absurd business. That they do not take it seriously on the one hand, and on the other fail to take steps to throw it out altogether, is due to the fact that there is no generally accepted alternative. Dictatorial reaction offers an alternative to the ballot box which is still fundamentally unacceptable to the British people. But anarchism provides a more practical and fruitful alternative to either, and the problem for men and women of vision is to make it acceptable to their fellows. When it is so the whole sorry election-eering business with all its thinness, insincerity, posturings and intrigues, will be relegated to the limbo of half-remembered, almost incredible superstitions of a dark age.

ALL PARTIES GAINED VOTES

In this respect the figures are interesting. All three finally represented parties increased their total vote compared with 1945: Labour gained one and a quarter million votes, the Tories two and a half million more, the Liberals nearly half a million. But in general, the picture was the same as before and just what

Meetings and Announcements

UNION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS: CENTRAL LONDON

INDOOR Lecture-Discussions every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. at the Trade Union Club, Great Newport St., W.C.2 (near Leicester Square Station).

March 5th A Debate "THAT WORKERS' CONTROL WILL BE ESTABLISHED BY INDUSTRIAL ACTION ALONE."

Proposer: Philip Sansom (London Anarchist Group). Opposer: Don Bannister (London League for Workers' Control).

March 12th A Debate "ABOLISHING WAR MEANS ABOLISHING GOVERNMENT"

Proposer: Tony Gibson (London Anarchist Group). Opposer: Sybil Morrison (Peace Pledge Union).

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP

INDOOR MEETINGS every Sunday at 7 p.m. at the CENTRAL HALLS, 25 BATH STREET, GLASGOW. Frank Leech, John Gaffney, Eddie Shaw.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP

OPEN DISCUSSION MEETINGS held fortnightly PLEASE NOTE: NEXT MEETING Sunday, March 12th, at 3.0 p.m. Meetings fortnightly thereafter. Enquiries: Ring Royal 4669

COLNE & NELSON DISTRICT

Discussion Group to be held fortnightly. Sunday, March 12th, at 7.30 p.m. at Twisters and Drawers Club, Cambridge Street, Colne (Lancs.)

HAMPSTEAD

Discussion Meetings are held every Tuesday at 8 p.m. promptly at 5, Villas-on-the-Heath, Vale of Health, Hampstead, N.W.3 Tuesday, March 7th: "THE SOCIAL BEARINGS OF REICH'S WORK" Discussion led by John Hewatson

ANARCHIST SUMMER SCHOOL 1950

It has been suggested that the Summer School be held in London this year. Will Groups and individuals send "Freedom" their views or alternative suggestions? Remember that the School has to be planned a considerable time in advance.

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