

'In almost every one, if not every one, of the greatest political controversies of the last fifty years, whether they affected religion, whether they affected the bad and abominable institution of slavery, or what subject they touched, these leisured classes, these educated classes, these titled classes have been in the wrong.'

W. E. GLADSTONE

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

JULY 1 1961 Vol 22 No 21

# The Peasants Revolt

THE acquittal of the two Breton peasant leaders last Thursday week on charges of having led the attack on the sub-prefecture of the market-town of Morlaix during the demonstrations of June 8, should probably be viewed less as a triumph for justice than as a clear indication of the respect in which the peasant demonstrations are held by the French authorities.

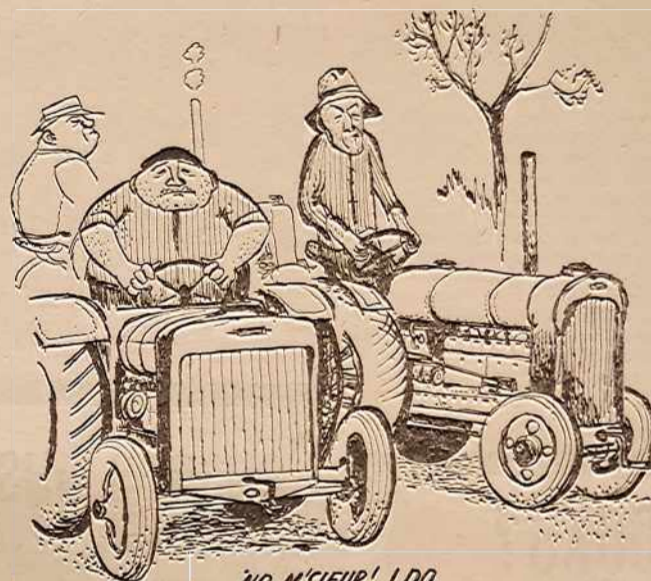
The Morlaix trial was in fact a trial of strength. For the demonstrators the arrest of their leaders was yet another example of the discrimination to which rural workers are subjected as compared with industrial workers. After all, they argued, the Morlaix demonstration was no more serious, and certainly no less frequent occurrence,

than the strikes and demonstrations in industry and the public services, yet the authorities never think of arresting their leaders. The trial of Alexis Gourvenec and Marcel Leon therefore, was one injustice more, against which the Breton farm workers and smallholders would demonstrate. But Morlaix was also loud with rumours that the Government was determined to make an example of the two men.

On the day of the trial the police closed all roads to Morlaix, ten miles from the town boundary, and 2,500 C.R.S. (Republican Security Company) were brought in to reinforce the local forces of law and order. According to reports, more than 8,000 people penetrated the police barriers on foot to join the

10,000 local inhabitants who were thronging the streets of Morlaix. Whether the rumours of strong-arm tactics by the government were ill-founded or whether faced with a demonstration of this magnitude the authorities considered it expedient to acquit the two men is difficult to know, but according to the *Guardian* correspondent it was very soon clear that "the presiding magistrate as well as everyone else in the building, was on the side of the accused". Even the prosecution "was less than enthusiastic" and in spite of having had more than two weeks to prepare its case "had not assembled any proper evidence against the two men". Even the prosecutor in his closing speech was moderation itself and "merely asked that the two men should be given a suspended prison sentence.

It is interesting to note that the acquittals, far from being the signal for a truce between government and peasant demonstrators, have sparked off large new demonstrations in the South West of France. In Aurillac roads were blocked for nearly two hours by 100 farm tractors and 600 peasants marched on the Government building and held a mass rally in which they demanded to be "treated like adults". In Royan they blocked traffic at a dozen places with their tractors; in Montauban 2,500 farmers were dispersed by police using tear gas, but markets were closed and there were no milk deliveries for two days; more than 2,000 farmers in-



NO, M'SIEUR! I DO NOT THINK THAT CASTRO WOULD MAKE AN OFFER FOR THIS LOT!



vaded Toulouse with their tractors and brought traffic to a halt; in Pau the Minister of Commerce and Industry plus two train-loads of industrial big-wigs who had come from Paris to watch him press the button to start up a £22m. chemical plant were "welcomed" by several

thousand demonstrating farmers, with hundreds of tractors, who stationed themselves outside the municipal casino where the Minister and his guests were dining and trying to make them-

Continued on page 3

# White Hopes

RHODESIA

TODAY'S news (Monday, June 26th) that the Royal Rhodesian Air Force is to have joint training exercises with the South African Air Force, is a transparent "show of strength" on the part of the Federal Defence Ministry, in spite of the silly excuse put forward for the exercise, on the eve of the British Government's announcement of the new constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia.

Considering white reaction to the riots in Southern Rhodesia last year, it would be foolish to suppose that any military alignment with South Africa is merely bluff, or that the white settlers will give up their power without a desperate struggle, whatever it may involve.

Although the changes in constitution for Southern and Northern Rhodesia cannot be described as progressive, Rhodesian whites see in them the beginnings of political freedom for Africans which is likely to end in the displacement of the privileged minority.

From the point of view of parliamentary power, the constitutional changes for Southern Rhodesia which were published two weeks ago, do not represent much of a threat to white domination. Two million Africans will be represented by 15 members in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, while about 200,000 Europeans will have 50 seats.

Moving an amendment in the House of Commons on Thursday, 22nd June to the Government's pro-

posals an opposition member pointed out:

... the declaration of human rights laid down that there was nothing in the first 12 clauses which might be held to contravene the provisions of any existing law.

That meant the Law and Order Maintenance Act—the outrageous provisions of which caused the resignation of the Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia—would remain valid; so would the Vagrancy Act under which many Africans were still in prison without trial.

In the new constitution, everything would centre on the Legislative Council; but nobody expected the Africans to have a third of the seats, which would have protected their liberties from being overridden by a white majority.

(The Chief Justice of the Central African Federation, Sir Robert Tredgold, who resigned in November of last year, described the Rhodesian Maintenance of Law and Order Bill as "savage, evil, mean and dirty".)

Since no real threat comes from the illusion of parliamentary power given to the Africans, we have to look elsewhere for the source of panic and violence evident within the white community.

In situations like this a blend of guilt and fear often give rise to violent outbreaks against the underprivileged. A corresponding release of violence pours out in hate and hysteria from the repressed section of the community. The general pattern has been similar in the struggle for equal rights whether in the Southern States of America or the African Continent.

No-one blames white colonists for feeling afraid of what might happen to life and livelihood when faced with a rising African population, but they can be condemned for their repressive policies which have enslaved millions of Africans, economically exploited and socially deprived.

After decades of white rule, the African has seen little by way of justice and fair play, despite the conviction of most Europeans that it is precisely these qualities which they would claim to have been their chief contribution to the "backward" peoples.

ANGOLA

THE World Council of Churches is "deeply disturbed" by "deliberate action involving the death and maiming of Africans" in Angola. An order from the Portuguese Overseas Minister to the Governor-General of Angola to "smash the terrorists with all the means at your disposal" has set the Churches protesting. It is surely not too cynical to wonder why?

Does the World Council of Churches protest at the nuclear strategy of the power blocs that would wipe out many more thousand people than have died in Angola if brought into operation? Did the "deliberate action involving the death and maiming" of Japanese at Hiroshima and Nagasaki stir the Church into indignant protest? When Dr. Ramsey, as the Archbishop of York, announced that "it is sometimes a Christian duty to kill" were the Portuguese settlers excluded?

A few words from a recent book by Leslie Fainlight "You are Not powerless" seem very apposite at this time of Church concern at loss of life. "During the last war", writes Fainlight "every effort was made to suppress the teachings of Christ and to prevent them being known. Persons who drew attention to the precepts of the sermon on the Mount were persecuted, while C.O's who endeavoured to act in accordance with them were abused, imprisoned and placed in solitary confinement. Meanwhile the Christian religion remained the official religion of all the belligerent countries, how can people write such nonsense? Were not the USSR and Japan fighting in the last war? and assistance of the Almighty was simultaneously invoked by all the combatants." With such a tradition of hypocrisy we notice

# THE CHURCH IS DISTURBED

the fact that the World Council of Churches is "deeply disturbed" and wonder what disturbs them.

I believe the Churches have embraced the Angolan massacres with such glee because they want a safe opportunity to jump on the bandwagon of African Nationalism; the Churches realise that the future of Africa lies in the hands of black Africans and wish to be well in with this rising tide of Black Power. The instinct of self-preservation is a very powerful one.

In general, of course, individual Christians are, I am sure, aroused by the horrors being perpetrated in Angola by the Portuguese fascists; this is certainly a very genuine feeling with most people—yet the institution of the Church is a very different thing.

The Baptist Missionary Society, and certainly Protestant missionaries in Angola, have shown tremendous courage in reporting to the world the tale of Angolan massacres. A former missionary from Angola the Rev. Clifford J. Parsons, Foreign Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, has written the best report of the Angolan revolution I have seen. It appears in the July-September number of "Africa South in Exile" and is entitled "The Torment of Angola". He begins by declaring that "Just as 5 January, 1959, the date of the Leopoldville riots, and not 30 June, 1960, the date of the formal declaration, marks the beginning of the independence for the Congolese, so 15 March, 1961, may well mark the beginning of independence for Angola. On that day the first popular African uprising against Portuguese hegemony in recent times took place."

On March 15, Rev. Parsons writes,

"Plantations, commercial centres and isolated government outposts were attacked and destroyed from the Congo frontier down to within a hundred miles of Luanda." Later, he writes: "For at least a month the situation was practically anarchic, with the government holding the reins loosely in the hope that passions would work themselves out" as the Europeans took reprisals on the African population. From the anarchist viewpoint this popular revolution is very interesting and further exemplifies that direct action precedes progress in the legislative sphere, it also seems that what Parsons describes as the "practically anarchic" situation was the government allowing Europeans to murder at will. Even so, in the true sense of the word, the anarchic side of the revolution is explicit in the destruction of commercial centres and government outposts.

With the declared intention of the Portuguese authorities to exterminate the terrorists in Angola in the dry season, which lasts until October, we must do all we can in what we consider to be the correct direction. For myself I support moves towards intervention as I did during the Congo tragedy and for the same reasons, which I believe to be still the right ones despite the arguments of the Editors. In my view first aid is needed at once and the States are the only bodies able, at this juncture, to give it through the United Nations. Plans, however, are well advanced for a World Peace Brigade. Whatever one's opinion, the Angola Action Group, 17, Lyndale Avenue, Southend-on-Sea, Essex, an organisation formed by Baptist ministers, can supply information and needs assistance.

R.J.W.

ANARCHY 5

ON SALE NOW

is devoted to SPAIN

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

# Art versus St Ives

THE Zion Congregational Church Countess of Huntington Connexion in Salubrious Place, St. Ives, lies like a stone in the heart of the Cornish cultural centre and on all sides diminishing ripples of costly studios lap onto the indifferent town, for St. Ives is a cultural centre in name only and the tourist shops full of imported pottery and reproductions, bear a sad witness to this fact. To the left of the chapel is the Fore Street Gallery wherein the local Establishment led by the Herons, the Frosts and the Lanyons set the tone for this is the start of the journey for most of those who will eventually die the death at the Waddington Gallery off Bond Street.

To the right of the chapel and behind Robin Nance's version of Heals-by-the-sea is the Sail Loft Gallery wherein Lanyon is having his own private retrospective exhibition and proving that he can work in every minor style from Wallis to Tunnard. While at the end of a narrow alley between a hardware and a sweet shop is the studio of Denis Michell and dominating its junk-strewn yard is a man-size, sun-splintered wood carving that once held the stage at the Waddington Gallery, but now rots in solitary splendour while the faithful, including myself, who have stood in silent contemplation before a paint-splattered wooden hoarding that graces the yard are in the fullness of time informed by a grinning and obnoxious child that this is where the plumbers and decorators clean their brushes.

Every twisting street holds its studio and they range from the fire-trap of bleached and blackened wood ill-named the Piazza Studios to the stone-built commercial School of Painting conducted by Leonard J. Fuller, R.O.I., R.C.A. Yet this town queened over by Barbara Hepworth and nurtured on the expanding myth of Alfred Wallis the simple seaman turned artist, has so isolated itself from the mainstream of contemporary painting that it not only has nothing to offer the young artists but holds, with its high rent studio space and its bourgeois bohemians, the threat of inevitable decay for any promising youngster.

This is the town whose publicans, with the marginal exception of the Kiddleywink public house, have openly and successfully barred every non-conformist from its bars and this without one word of protest from the art colony, this town whose shops are filled with every hack reproduction of the last fifty years, this town who pays lip service to the art of Alfred Wallis and has not one single reproduction of his work on sale, not one single photograph of

him or his abode in the local museum or one single reference to him in the local library.

The only gallery within this cultural back-water that is capable of generating any interest is the Steps Gallery in a dustbin-strewn alley ironically named Academy Place. Robert Brennan is currently showing his work but this young artist is still unsure of himself and a rough deal by one of the London galleries has given him a brittle armour that is reflected in much of his later work wherein free-flowing lines that should be executed with verve and confidence fizzle out into uncertain dribbles, noticeably so in his portrait "Adam". When he is bad he incorporates all the faults of the Cornish coterie but when he accepts his own discipline, as he must in his carved reliefs and his monotypes, he becomes a painter of promise. His "Still \*life" collage and his abstract "Ceremonial fires" in muted greys and sunned reds, though diverse in their technique have this in common that they show that Brennan will become an artist only if he remains a craftsman.

But this town that remembers Alfred

Wallis not as the seaman turned artist of the gallery handouts but as their rag and bone merchant who was pestered by the small boys, who had his bits of old canvases given to him by Mr. Armour who kept the junk shop where the Fore Street Gallery now stands and to quote a woman neighbour "didn't start painting till he turned foolish", has been unwillingly honoured with another gifted natural artist. His name is Brian Pearce and this tall, pleasant and good looking thirty-one-year-old son of the local butcher is producing truly magnificent paintings that for his sake and our pleasure demand a wider audience. One critic basing a passing judgment solely on the evidence of one of Pearce's paintings has remarked that Pearce has been influenced by Braque and Matisse and it is a justifiable error but still a false judgment, for Pearce can accept no outside influence for he is the victim of phenylketonuria. There in the silence of the studio that his mother has made for him at the top of the house that they have named Chylowen (The House of Love) Brian Pearce lives within his shuttered world and works without models, without aid and without advice.

Like Louis Vivin, Pearce breaks down every landscape or still life into a simplified pattern wherein each part is isolated by a strong black line but it is there that Pearce parts company with painters and becomes an artist in his own right by the brilliant handling and placing of his colours. His patterns

create feeling of depth even in his waveless seas and canvas after canvas sing of this untutored painter's art and it is only upon the finished canvas that he allows himself his only gimmick and that is to place his name anywhere like mood or the fancy pleases him. Yet even then the artist holds the key, for time and time again the strongly-written signature adds the final balance to the whole. Like the poet John Clare, Pearce has been singled out from among his fellow men to bear a sad burden but like Clare the sweetness of his soul has illuminated the dark corner of his mind and we must count ourselves fortunate that Pearce is able to communicate the glory of this inner light to us.

ARTHUR MOYSE

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## Censors busy in New Zealand

**L**OLITA, published in the United States in 1958 and in Britain in 1959, is too strong meat for Kiwis. That is the opinion of at least the local Grundies, and, in the all too familiar manner, the law is on their side. Lolita was held indecent in the Supreme Court, and, on appeal, this decision was upheld by a two-to-one majority.

The legal mechanism by which the book is now being kept out of impressionable Kiwi hands is an Order in Council under s.46 of the Customs Act 1913, by which indecent publications are classed as prohibited imports. The Minister of Customs, in exercise of this power, declared Lolita indecent, with the result that it can now be searched for and seized exactly as can any other prohibited import.

The background to the banning illuminates the authoritarian values built into our social system. The Customs Department, on the recommendation of an advisory committee headed by Professor I. A. Gordon, originally approved of sale on a restricted basis. No doubt this approval was conditioned by the fact that in Britain and the United States Lolita was already being freely published and sold. Then someone complained, and the Minister declared it a prohibited import. No one knows who the complaint originated from, or why the Minister should have been persuaded by it to change his mind.

That might have been the end of a sorry affair, but for the Council of Civil Liberties which challenged the authorities by importing some copies from Britain. Alas, their initiative was in vain, for the judiciary backed the Minister. It is interesting that out of the four judges involved—one in the Supreme Court, three in the Court of Appeal—only one seemed to possess any understanding of literary values. Significantly, he was the dissenting judge in the Court of Appeal.

So we cannot read Lolita. Nor can we read Lady Chatterley's Lover, for our bureaucratic machinery is functioning to keep this novel out, too. Moreover, after the Lolita decision, it is improbable that anyone will see any point in challenging the authorities on behalf of the Lawrence book (which is also being kept out of Australia). Another novel recently banned is Onstott's Mandingo, which purports to tell the story of slave breeding in the American Deep South. It was the Minister of Justice who declared this book to be indecent and proscribed. Although booksellers had copies on display, none were game to fight, and so copies were lamely withdrawn from sale.

The latest assault on our cherished belief that we are a free people is the seizing of thirty copies of the American literary magazine Evergreen Review by customs officers in Auckland. These were on their way to the Dunedin writer, John Hooker, who, under the nom-de-plume of John Williamson, has had part of a novel in progress published by

Evergreen Review—the first New Zealander to be published by them. It was his contribution which offended the customs officers.

The paradox of it is that New Zealand has many excellent bookshops, and stands at the top of a recent UNESCO list of book-importing countries. Moreover, our publishing industry, though naturally still in a fairly small way, is steadily expanding. Yet we tolerate the banning of serious books and periodicals freely available overseas. Of course the legal prohibitions do not mean that

## Tropic of Cancer

Readers of FREEDOM may remember seeing on May 13th a report of the Bookseller's report of the Publishers' Weekly's report that Henry Miller's Tropic of Cancer was to be published by the Grove Press of New York, who published the unexpurgated edition of Lady Chatterley's Lover two years ago. It may be recalled that on that occasion the distribution of Lawrence's last novel was interrupted for some time by a Post Office ban, but the Grove Press got round that by announcing in the press "The Post Office ban forbids us to tell you where you can buy a copy of Lady Chatterley's Lover, by D. H. Lawrence. GROVE PRESS."

This time they have been even cleverer. Publication date was fixed for June 24th, but tens of thousands of copies of the \$6 book were sent out to booksellers long before then, and it was being sold openly in bookshops four weeks before official publication, so that the first impression of 30,000 copies was exhausted more than two weeks before the magic day, and a second and third impression were rushed through. It remains to be seen whether the censors will try to do anything now that the book is technically available, but even if they do it will be a bit late. It looks as if the old ban on Henry Miller's first novel has been beaten at last, in his own country anyway.

The question now is whether anyone will dare to bring the book out in this country. Fifteen years ago George Orwell suggested that it would be worth it, since the publisher responsible "could recoup his losses by publishing a book entitled What I saw in Prison, or words to that effect, and meanwhile a few copies of the forbidden text would have reached the public before the entire edition was burned by the public hangman, or whoever it is that has the job of burning banned books in this country." Until that happens, as he said "Tropic of Cancer must be one of the rarest of contemporary books".

It was published in Paris in 1934, by Jack Kahane's Obelisk Press, and has been reprinted since the war by Editions du Chêne, with a preface by Anaïs Nin, in a vile paperback edition which tends

to fall to pieces at the first reading and costs about 12s. But until it is published here it is well worth buying this extraordinary book in Paris despite the exorbitant price and smuggling it into this country despite the risks. Don't be put off (or excited, as the case may be) by the idea that it is pornographic, or by the fact that it has been praised by T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Aldous Huxley, Herbert Read, and so on; a better test is that it was praised by George Orwell, who was a far more reliable judge.

You may remember that Inside the Whale, which was written more than twenty years ago, was meant to be a study of Tropic of Cancer although more than half of it turned out to be a scathing attack on "committed" writers. It is certainly the best thing on Henry Miller I have read, even if I can't quite agree that he is "the only imaginative prose-writer of the slightest value who has appeared among the English-speaking races for some years past". I wish Orwell were still alive to give evidence at a trial of Penguin Books or some other valiant publisher for bringing this book out; Lady Chatterley's Lover last year needed the puritanical integrity of Richard Hoggart, but Tropic of Cancer will be a much tougher assignment. Is it for the public good? Will it make us better citizens? Ask it:

This is not a book. This is libel, slander, defamation of character. This is not a book, in the ordinary sense of the word. No, this is a prolonged insult, a gob of spit in the face of Art, a kick in the pants to God, Man, Destiny, Time, Love, Beauty—what you will I am going to sing for you, a little off key perhaps, but I will sing. I will sing while you creak, I will dance over your dirty corpse. To sing you must first open your mouth. You have a pair of lungs, and a little knowledge of music. It is not necessary to have an accordion, or a guitar. The essential thing is to want to sing. This then is a song. I am singing.

To think that such a marvellous book, laughter and dirt, four-letter words and all, was published before I was born and has never been openly sold in this bloody country, the land of the free. And there is Cyril Connolly's Rock Pool, and Lawrence Durrell's Black Book, and . . . N.W.

## Goodness had nothing to do with it

READERS of "Guidance is Good to You", FREEDOM 15/4/61, may be interested in the following from Miss West's autobiography.

"While My Little Chickadee was in work Dr. Frank N. Buchman, founder of the Oxford Movement, came to Hollywood to put on a huge Moral Re-Armament Rally in the Hollywood Bowl. The philosophy of Moral Re-Armament—"Love Everything"—was catching on all over the world except Germany. Dr. Buchman, a pretty good salesman, came up to see me at my apartment, to interest me in the gospel of the M.R.A. "To enlist, Miss West, your support of the movement."

"My own movement doesn't need re-arming, Doc, but I am glad to help out the cause. I just happen to have a couple of press boys and photographers on hand. So let's take some pictures. We did, under an oil painting, of which I had posed, of a reclining man. "I agree, Doc, that M.R.A. is a good thing, and a naughty world could use a lot of it. Have you met Bill [W. C. Fields] yet? Splendid raw material for you." "No," he said. "But I'd love to meet him." "You should," I said. "Moral re-arming is just what he needs. If you reform Bill, I'll let him win me body and soul in the picture. Give him your message. He'll go for it if you can put it in a bottle."

Dr. Buchman, good salesman, as he was, failed with Bill Fields. "I'll take anything in a bottle," Bill said, "but I don't need re-arming. Just a stimulant. Besides, Herr Doktor, I believe in doing unto others as they do unto you—but I do it first. Care for a fruit juice cocktail—just a smidgin of gin?" J.R.

"Goodness had Nothing to do with it." Allen, 1960, 25s.

## Ghana Government's Way With Students.

Two angry demonstrations by about 450 students of the University College of Ghana marked the final academic day in the life of the college as an affiliate of London University.

The students, who were bearing placards stating: "We want an independent university" and "No Russians—No Poles," began their demonstration about 6 a.m. yesterday, within the university compound, but when they attempted to march to Accra, about six miles away, two hours later, they were stopped and turned back by four platoons of police and three armoured cars. Observer.

## Royal Facade

Woodwork equipment which the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh saw boys using in Newton Aycliffe boys' club on May 27, 1960, had been lent to the club by Durham County Council, which took it away two days later. The club is now complaining that after 13 months it still has no tools of its own. Mrs. Jessie Kell, the club leader, said yesterday:

"The county council did us a good turn by lending equipment for the royal visit, but we were in the awful position of giving the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh the impression that the shining new tools and benches belonged to the club. The Queen and the Duke were obviously impressed. I was so upset about this false show that I wanted to resign. Two days after the royal visit the council took everything away and since then all that we have been given are two benches which some school has thrown out."

# FREEDOM

July 1 1961 Vol 22 No. 21

## THE PEASANTS REVOLT

Continued from page 1  
 selves heard at speech time over the din of klaxons and other noisy instruments which were being sounded by the demonstrators in the surrounding streets. And when they entered their cars to return to the station their path was blocked, so that Minister and guests had to make their way on foot, clambering over solid barricades of tractors and carts to the accompanying jeers and shouts of the delighted farmers. In the Bordeaux area the market-gardeners' strike was so successful that there were no vegetables that day in the city market.

★  
 THE peasants' revolt, which in the *Guardian* correspondent's words is "now sweeping like a forest fire across South-west France" can be summed up in the one word 'parité', equality—that is a demand for equality with the industrial worker, in such matters as social insurance and old age-pensions as well as the all important questions of security of employment and of income. In their posters and pamphlets the farmers draw attention to the fact that they form 23 per cent. of the population yet only receive 12 per cent. of the national revenue. "We produce to sell; we sell to live; when we sell badly, we live badly". They live badly because they sell badly; they sell badly because they are the victims of a distributive organisation which is only concerned with the interests of the whole-

salers and the shop-keepers—"We sell our wine for 45 old francs a litre. How much do you pay for it?" ask the vine growers of Bordeaux; and the peasants of Brittany in 1953 were paid 5 francs for cauliflowers which were being sold to Paris housewives for 85 francs\*. They are also the victims of mass production as applied to the land. There has only to be a "glut" of artichokes, cauliflowers or new potatoes on the French market for the peasants of Brittany to "live badly". From the point of view of both consumer and producer, mass production should provide a greater abundance of goods or food in return for less effort on the part of the producer; that is if you consider the question purely as one of production and distribution according to need. But in a capitalist economy this does not follow. For instance, the Breton peasants, because of last year's "glut" of artichokes, which meant that they received starvation prices from the wholesalers (it may be recalled that as a protest a number of the producers sent lorry loads of artichokes to Paris and sold them direct to the housewife from their lorries), considerably reduced the acreage planted this year. Though the crop has not been a particularly good one, economically they have done better this year than last. This is contrary to what we understand by commonsense. It only makes "sense" if you can accept the concept that prosperity exists where demand exceeds supply.

## The Staff Work is Brilliant

JUST as one should not underestimate the social significance of the peasant demonstrations in Western France, neither should one succumb to the temptation of exaggerating their revolutionary content. Apart from the demand for "equality" with the industrial worker, the demonstrators do not link their criticism of the existing system for marketing their goods with an open criticism of capitalism, of which profit, and the laws of "supply and demand" are integral parts. *France Observateur*, the French socialist weekly, edited by Claude Bourdet, quotes the small farmer Lallouet as saying of his fellows:

The economic war is waged with men and figures and not with slogans. The drama of the industry is its inability to define its position. It is surely extraordinary that one should not declare, once for all, which economic system suits us; if it is liberalism which fits in with our requirements, then let us not complain. But it is time to choose.

M. Lallouet was of course criticising those farmers who are ardent supporters of economic liberalism but, without knowing it, by demanding a planned system of production and distribution—in order to be guaranteed a fixed income—are advocating socialism. According to him trade union leaders from Paris are much more interested in the superficial success of demonstrations than in the basic need of social education. But "cutting down telegraph poles [which is what some of the Breton demonstrators did] will never solve the problem of the equitable distribution of the goods produced".

There are, however, aspects of these demonstrations which justify the optimism of some observers. According to the *Sunday Times* correspondent "the great feature of the farm revolt is that it is being led by young men. Some are in their 20's, most under 40". The same corres-

pondent points out that:

the campaign is emphasising the disadvantages of having power concentrated in the hands of General de Gaulle, of the General's mania for silence, and the subordination of every decision not strictly routine to his personal approval.

S.I.C.A. which was created to safeguard the collective interests of farm producers in Brittany appears to be a rank-and-file organisation. According to its Secretary more than a thousand preparatory meetings of local groups were held, resulting in 80 per cent. of all producers joining the new organisation, and without any kind of pressure being exerted. And it is also the rank-and-file who not only determine if and when demonstrations should take place but also what form they will take. For instance the demonstration of June 8 in Morlaix which took place in the morning was decided upon at two o'clock of the same morning, by a Committee of sixty delegates meeting in secret. The voting on that occasion was 50 for, 2 against and 8 abstentions.

Every evening delegates, after consultation with members, meet to take decisions, on a local or cantonal level, as to the form the demonstrations will take. Once they have decided, each delegate undertakes to inform a certain number of people of the decision, who in their turn inform others and so on.

The *Sunday Times* describes the effectiveness of what most left-wing critics of anarchist methods of organisation would call "cumbersome" and "slow" in the following terms:

Their staff work is brilliant. They meet secretly in farms, spread orders across large tracts of country with swift and mysterious efficiency. The police are constantly out-manoeuvred. Hardly do they divert traffic from one blocked road than the farmers have quietly diverted it back.

ALTHOUGH it has not been clearly defined, I have felt some concern for the stand FREEDOM seems to have taken on Cuba. There appears a marked blindness among some correspondents, not only on the potential Cuba represents, but its symbolic significance in the world today, and perhaps more important, that it is an accomplished fact that has pointed up the weakness of western democracy more than any other single event. If these writers have not read Sartre on Cuba, and Mill's *Listen Yankee*, they would do well to do so. To equate land reform and industrial socialisation to totalitarian communism is as much a display of prejudice and faulty information as any other unqualified ranting. I have not found evidence that the Cuban Government is doing anything more than making a sincere and concerted effort to raise living standards, and let it be known, with remarkable speed. Certainly no one should give unquestioning support. Conditions there, and rightly so, are still fluid. But when one keeps in mind that the social attitude is culturally induced, and recalls what this 'culture' was only a few years ago, and is aware that any revolution carries with it the inevitable turning back toward re-establishment of former conditions, then one must face the fact that to call for elections at this stage would be nothing more than a gracious invitation to reaction to assume its historical role. So far as I can see, Cuba still holds the potential of becoming an example that the world could well look to with hope. I have found nothing to indicate that the men who are in control are anything but dedicated to establishing a humane social system, and I feel strongly that all those who want a better world should show their sympathy. Critical yes, but not a blind denunciation of something that has not yet fully formed.

That the USSR has been called upon, and has in some measure given aid, is not conclusive evidence of anything more than an entente cordiale with, at worst, an implied threat that if you want more of the same kind, behave yourself. It is an easy way out to voice the opinion that Russian approval and aid means all that is unjust in the Soviet system, with no thought given to the good things that have developed under its direction. Anyone who has travelled in Latin America with open eyes cannot escape the conclusion that even a slight degree of improvement demands high praise for those responsible. The conditions there are almost beyond understanding, and there is no sign of improvement. In fact, the reverse seems the natural course of things: the rich are getting richer, and the poor poorer. Basic factors being surplus crops and surplus human beings, with no known solution other than a clean sweep such as occurred in Cuba. It is estimated

now these two sections of the working community have existed in separate compartments. If the Breton demonstrations succeed in breaking down these antagonisms they will have rendered a great service to the workers' cause.

(We think the Committee of 100 could do worse than examine the methods of organisation adopted by the Breton peasants).

Yet another interesting result of the peasant movement is that last week an important public meeting was held in St. Nazaire jointly by workers and peasants. As a writer in *France Observateur* put it this was "probably the first [joint meeting] to be held in France". It seems incredible that industrial workers should not realise that their physical survival, quite apart from their chances of achieving socialism, depends on having the food produced by the peasants. Yet such has been the attitude of superiority with which the industrial worker has viewed his rural brother as well as the antagonism to his demands for better living standards (for to satisfy these demands would mean having to pay more for the food the town worker consumes) that until

\*We mention the 1953 cauliflowers—though this season's prices are also described as disastrous for the producer—because it was the collapse of the cauliflower market in Brittany in 1953 which sparked off the struggle between producer and distributors.

## Viewpoint on

# CUBA

that the present 200 million who now reside in these countries will become 300 million in 14 years. This fact alone points up the urgency if the horrors of slow starvation are to be avoided.

Cuba stands as a symbol to these unfortunate people. They are not yet fully aware of all that is implied, but it is only a question of time. The information I have points unmistakably to at least a material success for the Cuban programme; once this is fully established, there is nothing that will stop the spread of similar movements. To stand aside and condemn simply because Russia has given its blessing, is foolish to say the least. Obviously all effort should be made to direct this flood of hungry humanity towards ends that are more than material. But to forget the fact that just this is all that most people care anything about is asking for nothing, and getting it. The average income per family per month for Latin Americans is \$34.00, and the average yearly time worked is five months.

The recent failure of the US to overthrow the Castro Government, and the unanimous support the Cubans gave their government in this crisis, not only clearly indicated to what extent they were behind Castro's programme, but, in addition, amounted to a kind of high powered floodlight on the real state of things the world over. Foremost, it brought to light the existence of an unprecedented set of circumstances. The principal part of this is simply that the United States, after only a little more than three decades, is no longer the leading world power—and knows it. If one recalls that Rome lasted from 500 BC to 500 AD, England from 1774, to 1919, the periods of the glory Greece, Egypt, China, and the rest, this short-lived supremacy takes on added meaning. But the knowing it is the unparalleled aspect. The others died a natural death in their sleep. What the US will do with its own demise staring it in the face is the all-important question. And with this death will go all of western capitalism. To fully understand this current decampment, it must be borne in mind that these western countries had roughly 200 years, and an expanding market, to develop their present high living standard, and comprise hardly a third of the world's population. Recently, and vastly accelerated by the Cuban situation, large blocks of peoples have become aware of

how this one-third lives, and that much of its wealth was taken from their land and labour. Further, they now realize that with their increasing populations, it is impossible to ever catch up, or even stay still. Unless, as they are finding out everywhere, they make an all-out drive, using every available means.

Until the attempted invasion of Cuba, these under-privileged peoples either did not know there was a possible solution to their problem, or, if they did, considered it hopeless. It was a question of means, or being resisted by a 'protecting' mother country. Cuba was an alarm clock. Where they only dreamed before, they are now fully awake. Awake not only to what must be done, but that reasonable success is possible. The 'Mouse that Roared' is no longer considered a fable; the stalemate between Russia and the US is a stalemate of atomic weapons only. The facts are now clear: Those areas that have set up planned economies are edging forward, in some cases rapidly. Those who have not are going backwards into a horror of progressive deterioration. It has become well known that the sporadic attempts made by the US such as Venezuela, Greece, Laos, etc., to use half-measures won't work fast enough—if at all. Western Europe revived rapidly after the last war with the stimulus of the Marshall Plan, but here, tools and know-how were already in existence.

Cuba has blazed the trail for small nations, and the US, by trying to beat her down and failing, has called the world's attention to just how well such a country can do. It underlines that western capitalism, by its very nature, can only effect political revolutions. The sanctity of the contract, and foreign investments, will permit nothing more. Basic in all these areas is the need for land reform, and with the best of intentions, it is not possible for capitalism in an amount that would make a noticeable difference. The money to buy the land is not there, let alone all the other equipment.

All this is hardly new to readers of FREEDOM, but what some seem to have overlooked with regard to Cuba is that she is doing successfully what had been thought heretofore impossible. The will to raise out of the slush of poverty has been given new life. Castro, and similar movements, will increase rapidly in the coming years. This need not be bad even if done by armed rebellion, as it most likely will be. These people are hungry; and if they have to shoulder a gun to free themselves, it is their right. Such methods mean armies, generals, leaders, and the rest, and we all know where this might lead. But considering where they are now, I, for one, feel we have no choice but to give our sympathy, and at least moral support.

## The Andersonville Trial

Mermaid Theatre.

THIS year is the centenary of the outbreak of the American Civil War and (as we are painfully aware) there is a war-crime trial going on in Israel. So what could be more timely and speak more to our condition than a re-enactment of a Civil War crime trial? The trial of Henry Wirz (a Swiss emigrée) in 1865 was for the responsibility in the death of 15,000 Union prisoners of war in a camp in Andersonville, Georgia. The author, Saul Levitt, visited Buchenwald upon liberation and was presumably inspired in writing this play by the Nuremberg trials which raised the same issues, again appearing in the Eichmann trial.

Levitt, in a way, shirks the issue of the trial, for his Wirz is a sick man and thus, as the real Wirz did, secures some sympathy for him, which is extrinsic to the issue. The part of Wirz is excellently played by Maurice Denham with that contempt for his judges (shown by some prisoners at Nuremberg), of a man who knows he is being tried because of defeat, not for his crimes. (In 1864, General Sherman had captured Atlanta, expelled the inhabitants, destroyed the city's factories and mills, and pushed on across Georgia, laying waste the country. Sherman wrote to General Halleck, "If the people raise a howl against my barbarity and cruelty, I will answer war is war. If the enemy wants peace, they and their relatives must stop the war." In answer to the protest of the Mayor of Atlanta, Sherman said, "You cannot qualify war in harsher terms than I will. War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it.")

The President of the Court was Lew Wallace (author of *Ben Hur*) who cannot

stomach the implications of Judge Advocate Chipman (William Sylvester) that Wirz should have considered the claims of humanity and not of military command.

The Judge Advocate asks the question that many should ask themselves about Eichmann and asks himself, "Am I more of a man than he was?"

The pathetic Wirz at this point in the questioning says of his failure to disobey "I did not have that feeling of strength to do that thing. I could not disobey."

The drama of the courtroom is well-sustained at the Mermaid. A trial is always good theatre and the moral is pointed by the theatre audience being the trial audience. The acting is of a high standard, which is not always the case at the Mermaid. In addition to the fine performances of Maurice Denham and William Sylvester, William Squire as the Southern defence lawyer is excellent and Christopher Guinee in a small part is very good.

If the American Civil War does not fill the description of "the last of the gentlemen's wars" it was, as this play illustrates, the first war to pose the question: "Am I more of a man than my enemy?" Hiroshima and Dresden may not weigh the same on history's scales as Belsen and Buchenwald, but neither do Atlanta and Andersonville.

"Opportunity is a fine thing" and as one's facilities for evil increase so the greater grows the holocaust. The failure to disobey is equal. In that we are all human. And in that we are so much less than human.

"The Andersonville Trial" is a fine play for, though it has no answers, it asks the right questions. J.R.

## Ad. Censorship

DEAR COMRADES,

Readers, especially in the Hampstead area, are entitled to some explanation of why the informal public meeting announced for June 15 was called off.

The trouble was an unexpected difficulty in advertising the meeting in the local press. Our advertisement was accepted at the offices of the *Hampstead and Highgate Express* in plenty of time for publication (the girl checked with the printer to make sure there was space for it), but the following day the ten shillings insertion fee was returned to us with a compliments slip, on which was written: "regret am unable to place your advert & return your 10/-". A comrade who telephoned the office was referred to the manager, who had apparently written the note. She suggested that he should alter or delete any objectionable words (the name of the group for example) and asked him what he found objectionable. He replied that he was refusing the advertisement, and was under no obligation to say why, and that was that.

We intend to have a public meeting sometime, advertising by some other means, but not until the holiday season is over. The next meeting at 148a Fellows Road, on 20 July, will be another

## DE MORTUIS NIL NISI BONUM

ON June 4 I was entirely misquoted in the *Sunday Dispatch*, and would like through *Peace News* to give my explanation to all the friends I have made through the anti-Polaris demonstrations—who must have thought me a fine friend indeed.

I am quoted as saying about them that "they are quite ruthless and have no thought for those who help them." This statement in fact applied to the newspaper reporters who have plagued my life in the past few months and who once again have proved this statement.—**PATRICIA BROWN**, Dunailma, Strone, Nr. Dunoon, Argyllshire.

*Peace News* 16/6/61.

# DEFEAT THIS DEFICIT!

WEEKS 24 & 25

Deficit on 'Freedom'	£500
Contributions received	£457
<b>DEFICIT</b>	<b>£43</b>

June 10th to June 24th

N. Cooma: A. & P.C. £3/10/-; London: P. & G.T.\* 5/-; London: Hyde Park 1/4; London: N.J.P. 10/-; Shoreham: P.J.P. 3/6; Manchester: A.R. 10/-; Glasgow: J.H.\* 1/6; Southend: P.A.O. £1; Hyde Park: Anon. 10d.; London: P. & G.T.\* 5/-; London: L. 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; Wolverhampton: J.L. 3/6; Dereham: J.B. 10/-; Caterham: F.B.\* 10/-; Slough: E.C. 5/-; Glasgow: J.H.\* 2/-; London: K.L. 2/6; Coleman's Hatch: D.M.\* £25; London: B.N.B. 10/-; Nuneaton: D.H. 10/-; London: O.L. 5/-; S. Francisco: M.B. 7/6.

Total 34 19 8  
Previously acknowledged 422 1 6

1961 TOTAL TO DATE £457 1 2

\*Indicates regular contributor

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**FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS**

# Correspondence

ordinary off-centre discussion meeting, this time on the subject of Nature Cure and the ecological approach.

I.M.R., P.T., D.R.

## Individualists and Production

COMRADE EDITORS,

F.B. (*FREEDOM*, June 1-0) wants to know "what the individualists propose in the sphere of production?"

Well, some individualists have believed in Josiah Warren's theory of labour notes based on his principle of "cost as the limit of price"; some have believed in the theories of mutual banking and free credit put forward by Proudhon and William Greene; and some have believed, in the words of Rudolph Rocker, "that mutualism, collectivism and communism represent only different methods of economy, the practicable possibilities of which have yet to be tested, and that the first objective is to secure the personal and social freedom of men no matter upon which economic basis this is to be accomplished". This last attitude I consider the best as it admits of freedom of choice and hence rejects exclusivism. As I have written before in answer to F.B. and as Armand made clear in his article, an exclusivist approach is potentially authoritarian since it does not take into account the diversity of individual tastes and makes the despotic assumption that the wishes of some must become the wishes of all—thus denying the uniqueness of each person.

I do not propose to go over once again the ground already covered in my disputes with F.B. I would like to state, however, my belief that the crucial difference between his approach and mine lies in the question of *derivation*. He derives his view of anarchism from his economic conceptions, whereas I derive my view of economics from my anarchism. Naturally, those whose anarchism derives from an economic panacea cannot do otherwise than advocate that

panacea as the universal economic cure for all individual ills. Those whose anarchism is basic, on the other hand, see economic solutions as deriving from the activity of free individuals who will evaluate each economic arrangement in the light of whether it best serves their individual autonomy.

Finally, if F.B. desires to know more details of the theories mentioned above he will find them in such works as Elitzbacher's "Anarchism", Rudolph Rocker's "Pioneers of American Freedom", James J. Martin's "Men Against the State", and in the entry on anarchism in the "Encyclopedia Britannica" by Kropotkin.

Yours fraternally,

Bristol, June 17.

S. E. PARKER.

## Action Against Polaris

COMRADES,

The Committee of 100 is organising mass civil disobedience against Polaris at the Holy Loch and in Central London on the weekend September 16th-17th. Our object is to demonstrate in the most powerful way open to us against weapons that threaten the world with nuclear war.

We want to make the September demonstrations the largest of their kind yet seen in this country. If we are to succeed in this we need to mobilise the active support of the whole movement. To this end we are calling a supporters' meeting on Sunday, July 2nd, at St. Pancras Town Hall, starting at 2.30 p.m. All those interested are welcome.

The supporters' meeting will be followed in the evening by a public rally, starting at 7 p.m. at which well known speakers will present the case for action against Polaris.

MICHAEL RANDLE,

Secretary,

Committee of 100.

## FREEDOM NEWS

# Subs, Book Lists, SPECIAL OFFER

THE response to our appeal in the last issue of *FREEDOM* has been most disappointing and whilst we can attribute the falling off of support to the holiday season this explanation doesn't help us to pay our bills! With this issue many half-yearly subscriptions are due for renewal. May we ask readers concerned to send their renewal now and not wait until we get round to the task of sending out renewal notices.

There are still a large number of readers who have not replied to our original reminder sent out in February. They include some subscribers whose subscriptions then were considerably overdue and who were told that we should remove their names from our mailing lists until we heard from them. The response in March and April was so good that we removed no-one from our lists. But since the response to our last

appeal has been so poor we are obliged to cut down on such expenses as postages and paper and we shall make a start by weeding out all subscriptions which are a year overdue without further notice. If you do not receive *FREEDOM* next week you will understand why! (Incidentally if your subscription is current and you do not receive the paper then please let us know because a few copies do get mislaid in the mails).

IN spite of the fact that we no longer have a bookshop in the sense that we had one at Red Lion Street, a section of our premises at Maxwell Road is set-up as a bookshop and our selection of second-hand books is probably better than ever. Lists are now ready and are available to those who send us a card. Many of our Red Lion Street customers who cannot call on us now however continue to order their books through us, which of course helps to keep the paper and the magazine going. But we need more readers to use our Book Service which is functioning as efficiently as publishers will allow a bookseller to function! The only snag is that postage charges are now so high that we can no longer send orders for less than a pound sterling post free. Most of our regular customers realise this when they add for postage without being asked to do so.

THIS week we announce the publication of the 10th annual volume of Reprints from our paper *FREEDOM*. It has been given the title of *THE TRAGEDY OF AFRICA* and within its 253 pages we have managed to include more than 100 articles that appeared last year in our journal. The paper edition sells at 7/6 but is available to *FREEDOM* readers ordering direct from us for 5/6 post free. The cloth edition will be ready in a few days at 10/6 post free.

We can still supply complete sets of the 10 volumes and we advise those

## The Educational Waste Lands

The Editor of *FREEDOM*,

IN a review recently of "Growing up Absurd" in the *Guardian*, D. W. Brogan sniped at the enthusiasts of Goodman's book, he mentioned A. S. Neill and Herbert Read, as people who had "contracted-out" of society. It struck me then that Brogan could hardly have picked two less opportune examples. Neill and Read (whatever his shortcomings) have, in their lives, contracted into the real society of free people by educational activity.

It was thus good to read Alexis Fermi's moving letter in last week's *FREEDOM*, when he writes that "A. S. Neill is doing more for freedom than all the propaganda papers put together." The wisdom of the letter makes me reflect on the educational waste lands called Universities. How does one describe the average mass-produced "educated" person who has experienced the system of mental cramming known as education in this country? The words that come to mind are, shallow, synthetic, empty, lifeless, narrow and on and on. There are exceptions, "mistakes" and "failures" who have somehow emerged from school with a fragment of humanity, an iota of passion, a jot of kindness. It makes one recall the words of Penelope Hall: "Increased knowledge brings increased power and may be said to impose a greater obligation—the danger is that developments in technique may outstrip growth in spiritual and moral stature and ultimately result in disintegration instead of a more abundant life."

In a recent discussion with our philosophy lecturer who is a libertarian free-thinker he surprised me by announcing that he was now "tolerant", as he put it, of religious people, because he realised that they were not strong enough to live without their private insanity. This was his conclusion from over ten years of teaching at various Universities. People cannot face reality—it hurts too much. Yet if these people cannot throw off their shackles the madness will be reflected in their children and in society as a whole—what do I mean will be, it is now.

The root cause is that people are not educated for life, they are educated to fit into a maladjusted society. In other

words our teachers make us insane to bear an insane world, those who resist are "pathological". I used to think only some people were mentally sick, now I begin to see nearly everyone is. How does one approach these mental deformities and cripples? How do you communicate to their world? One cries out MUGS, MORONS, IDIOTS and is at once a snob. As Alexis Fermi says, "It is so difficult to know where and how to place your energy so that it will be of some avail, will accomplish something of value." How does one free the brainwashed? Can it be done? R.J.W. Hull, May 17.

## REVOLUTION IN SPAIN 1936-61

### Public Meeting

Public meeting to commemorate the Spanish workers' social revolutionary struggle against fascism and to express solidarity with the Spanish people.

Sunday July 16th at 6.30 p.m.

Speakers:

Speakers for the (CNT)  
S. GURUCHARRI Spanish Youth (FIL)  
L. BAILEY (FAS)  
PHILIP SANSON (LAG)  
KEN HAWKES (SWF)

Chairman: TOM BROWN

Film: "FURY OVER SPAIN"

DENISON HOUSE,

VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD, S.W.1.

(3 minutes from Victoria Station)

Sponsors: Spanish National Confederation of Labour (CNT), Jewish "Free Voice of Labour Group" (FAS), London Anarchist Group (LAG), Syndicalist Workers' Federation (SWF).

## LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP CENTRAL MEETINGS

L.A.G. Central London meetings are suspended for the time being pending the booking of a new meeting-place.

## Hyde Park Meetings

Every Sunday at 3.30 (if fine)  
On the Grass

## OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2.

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

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

## Freedom

### The Anarchist Weekly

*FREEDOM* appears on the first three Saturdays of each month. On the last Saturday, we publish *ANARCHY*, a 32-page journal of anarchist ideas (1/8 or 25c. post free).

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