

Let no one pretend that our system of justice is a search for truth. It is nothing of the kind. It is a contest between two sides played according to certain rules and if the truth happens to emerge as the result of the contest, then that is pure windfall.

LUDOVIC KENNEDY
(The Trial of Stephen Ward)

Censorship & Hypocrisy

IN RHODESIA & AUSTRALIA

Take the Initiative!

A CORRESPONDENT in last week's FREEDOM in commenting on the editorial "Contented Cows" could not see of what use was our suggestion that anarchists should urge workers to demand wage increases and improved conditions if, as we also suggested, modern capitalism in its own interests would be obliged to encourage prosperity among the workers anyway. Apart from the fact that we were attempting to observe long term trends, which does not blind us however, to the present situation, which is that basic wage rates for most workers are sufficient only to provide the bare necessities of life, we

do not believe that it is either the function or in the interests of wage earners ever to leave the initiative to the boss, and therefore however willing he may be to increase the workers' purchasing power, their demands should always be for more than he is prepared to concede.

There can be no permanent *modus vivendi* between labour and capital if only for the reason that the relationship is one-sided, because power is one-sided. Trade Union leaders and politicians have a vested interest in inequality among men, and it is not surprising that while they agitate for equality of opportunity they also fervently believe in

the maintenance of differentials. Everybody, they declare, "should have the same opportunity of getting to the top." But as everyone knows it is not possible for everybody to get to the top, and therefore the "equality of opportunity" which they champion means, at most, that ability and not wealth or nepotism, should be the criterion in determining who shall be the new privileged class. But every privileged class seeks to perpetuate itself, and so even if we succeeded in having a ruling hierarchy of brains one can only assume that they would be even worse tyrants than their predecessors since they would use their brains as well as brute force (police, laws, armed forces) to consolidate their power!

not end privilege, and the present power of the employers would be transferred to that of the State. There is enough evidence around us to convince any thinking person that the State as an employer can be a harder task master than the individual employer.

If wage earners are not to jump out of the frying-pan of free-for-all

capitalism into the fire of State capitalism or, which is just as bad, resign themselves to spending a working lifetime in the frying pan, they must be convinced, in their own minds, that a practical alternative exists which will make their lives richer, freer, more meaningful and satisfying in all respects. Anarchism is the alternative; we have no doubt about that. Our doubts, and most of the discussion, even between anarchists, is how to put over our propaganda so that it convinces an even larger number of people more than intellectually, of

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INDUSTRIAL NOTES

SPANISH MINERS STRIKE

Once again strike action and protest has started in the Oviedo region of Northern Spain. Coal-miners and metallurgical workers totaling 40,000 men have either withdrawn their labour or are now on strike.

The strikers are demanding a number of claims including higher wages and their own trade unions. But the grievance that has really brought the whole thing to a head has been the rejection by the managements of better protection against silicosis, the occupational disease of miners.

A translation from a leaflet published by the National Confederation of Labour, in exile in France, called "Explosive situation in Asturias" says:—"In the Camocha-Gichon, the problem raised by those suffering from silicosis is still latent and it is the workers concerned who are keeping up the initiative. There is a ministerial order which obliges the company to find for those

suffering from silicosis, jobs outside the pits so that their condition does not deteriorate, and establishes a scale of pensions for the seriously affected. The company alleges that there are too many affected by silicosis and refuses to fulfil the legal provisos. In spite of the refusal and the threats of the company, these unfortunate workers, faced by the dangers of their position, go every day to collect their lamps and go down to their destination, but once there they go to the wash-rooms and stay there for the whole day and finally go home. This has been going on for a fortnight."

It seems that the strikes that are now taking place are in actual fact a climax to what has been building up for some time. The leaflet refers to the Nalon and Caudal valleys and says, "The basic problems in these zones are identical to those which are arising in various parts of the region. A wage increase deman-

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Martell's Election Policy

A PRIVATE and confidential report issued by Martell makes interesting reading. It was sent to all supporters on the Master Index.

It mentions his declared intentions on the Power and Postal dispute and his plans to sabotage the respective union's intentions. The report then states that negotiations are in an advanced stage for the printing of a "well known and well established weekly periodical". It would give Freedom Group's printing concern a contract turnover exceeding £2,100 per week. Such a publication would be a highly profitable proposition.

Any statement from the Martell organisation would not be complete without a progress report on "the attack on the unions". 150 Conservative M.P.s have supported the motion for a Royal Commission on trade unions, which in fact is half the "back benchers". On the question of support for the Martell organisation they estimate to double the number on the Master Index by the end of the year.

Finance is well catered for, the point is stressed that in the early days people stinted themselves to help Martell but now this is not necessary, the Loan Scheme outlined below is offered to people who can comfortably afford it.

- Loans should not be less than £10 or more than £2,000.
- Loans shall carry an interest of 4% gross per annum.
- Immediately on receipt of a loan a cheque will be sent to you, inclusive of interest dated either 1, 2, 3, or 6 months ahead as you wish.
- If earlier repayment is required at any time it can be arranged by 14 days' notice.
- I will of course give my personal guarantee of repayment.

If you have any problems you can

reach Mr. Martell on his personal line NOR 4484 and I am assured that this line doesn't go through the switchboard, therefore you can have a heart-to-heart talk with the 'master mind' himself.

Martell and his entourage have been touring the country attending public meetings, with a view to discussing their election programme. They have also sent out referendum forms on the same subject and in the *New Daily* on April 24, the revised policy statement was printed in full. They say 'revised policy statement' although I find very little different from the statement printed in the *Guardian* on January 1, 1962.

The watchword is Britain proud and strong controlling her own nuclear deterrent, never subservient to Russia, U.S.A. or the Afro-Asian countries, not even to that beloved of all organisations the 'United Nations'. The paragraph on Government spending is interesting. It prattles on about the excesses of the welfare state, subsidies, etc., it suggests that taxation could be reduced if these excesses were cut out. No mention is made of the arms programme so one must assume that we must have bigger and better gunboats.

On Crime and Delinquency the Government is asked to cut out their psychiatric attitude to crime. But of course this paragraph was written in the middle ages and has been included for 'Kicks' for the ex military types who make up the Martell organisation.

A Royal Commission is called for to enquire into the status and activities of associations and unions, with particular effect of closed shop, right to strike and picketing, etc. Basically this is what the Martell organisation is all about, smash union organisations and the rest is easy.

The first advertisement in 'Keep the Socialists Out Campaign', appeared in *The Times* on Monday, 4 May. Martell's organisation is a self-declared strike-breaking outfit with a firm foothold in the printing industry. As printworkers, do we have to cut our own throats by assisting in advertising this crowd? I suggest WE DON'T.

Freedom Group's sympathisers are beginning to crawl from under their various stones. *The Yorkshire Post* on April 30, stated "If the activities of Mr. Martell's group can help to make the public aware that a Labour Government would strip Britain of her independent deterrent and would plague her industry with nationalisation, the Group will have served a useful purpose" (my italics).

When Martell spoke at Wimbledon Sir Cyril Black, the M.P. for the constituency and a former Mayor of Wimbledon, was on the platform. Sir Cyril holds a record 61 directorships. There is power in these sources of sympathy. And this may be only the beginning.

BILL CHRISTOPHER

IF then, equality of opportunity is to be more than just a means for creating a new privileged class, a new inequality, or a meaningless slogan, it must involve not only a revolution in the educational system but also a revolutionary assault on the present ownership and distribution of wealth of every kind. The nationalisation of the land, mineral wealth and the means of production with full compensation, which is the socialists' alternative to individual ownership as at present, could lead to a planned production in which considerations of need, and not profits, are paramount, but it would

Direct Action and the Election

A TYPICAL objection to anarchist attitudes to politics and elections is that they mean doing nothing, while choosing the least available evil and supporting or voting for it is at least doing something, even if admittedly not very much. A letter in this vein appears in *Peace News* 1/5/1964 from Judith Cook, who also complains about being circularised with duplicated literature from disputing factions in the movement, and asks: "Given that some members of C.N.D. will actively campaign against the Labour Party, what plans have they to deal with some of the subjects that Labour has promised to deal with—an arms embargo to South Africa, no British involvement in the multilateral nuclear force, disengagement in Europe and more money for the social services."

Mrs. Cook must have scanned Mr. Wilson's speeches more thoroughly than the writer if she has firm evidence on the last two points, although it is doubtful how the British government itself would achieve disengagement in Europe. It is also hard to believe at this stage that an arms embargo will seriously reduce South Africa's military strength or the precise deployment of the Western forces in the cold war make much difference to its total effect.

What is more important to get across is that questions such as those posed in the *Peace News* letter just do not admit of the neat answers that politicians like to talk in, "This is our policy, what's yours?" On

the South African issue, there have been efforts to incite direct action among dockers to refuse South African cargoes. These have not met with much quantitative success, but it can hardly be doubted that if all the money and effort that has been put by sincere people into electing fools and crooks to "represent" them in parliament had been devoted to persuading people to take direct action in matters where they were directly involved, there would be far fewer British arms in South Africa now.

However, although at times some anarchists may have been guilty of simplifying social affairs too much by suggesting that everything could be put right on a day of revolution, they have never suggested that they could be put right on a day of election, either by voting or by abstaining. What a socially active person hopes to see on election day does however condition what he or she does for the rest of the five years. Anarchists regard the influences of the Labour and Communist parties in the socialist movements as corrupting ones not because they produce a pile of crosses every five years, but because they have resulted in the energy that has been put into social protest and attempts to create a freer and more egalitarian society, and eliminate specific evils, being channeled into unfruitful directions such as signing petitions, trying to get laws passed or repealed, and supporting the candidates of this or that party.

It is quite relevant in this con-

text to refer to the present disintegration of the C.N.D. movement because it illustrates perfectly the effect of politics on a social movement. The splitting activities have not been the work of libertarian groups but of the professional labour and communist supporters among its bureaucracy who are prepared in a moment when they have to choose between the movement and the party, to sabotage the CND to prevent its voice being a threat to the ambitions of the Labour Party.

Six years of Labour government after the war did not produce socialism or anything like it. The fact that Toryism has reigned for 13 years is just as much a condemnation of what went before it and the labour movement that co-operated with it while it was in power, as it is of the Tories.

It has been made as clear as space permitted, both in the anarchist anti-election literature and the East Anglian Committee of 100 leaflet, that direct actionists don't make the kind of promises that politicians do, and that they only suggest abstention as a start to continuous social activity and concern, while the vote is a start to five years of irresponsibility.

In trying to reply to the challenge of Labour supporters, we also have the right to ask what they propose to do if the government they elect introduces conscription, anti-union legislation or takes part in imperialist adventures. Sit back and appeal for unity?

P.H.

ANARCHY 39 IS ON HOMER LANE

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 2s. on the first Saturday of every month

Censorship & Hypocrisy

IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA . . .

IN FREEDOM (26/4/64) I reported that after a declaration of independence the Government here was intending, among other things, to censor the press and radio and to increase the franchise qualifications. It now seems evident that the Government is already censoring the radio and the press and, if one can judge by Mr. Smith's remark that there will not be an African Government in his lifetime, it follows that an increase in the franchise is intended as the present constitution ensures an African Government in about ten years.

Radio censorship was revealed when the Southern Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation withdrew an invitation to Mr. Harwicke Holderness to appear on television. Mr. Holderness was due to leave for London to join Mr. Garfield Todd in order to discuss Southern Rhodesian affairs and he was about to appear on television when, at the last minute, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice, Mr. Van der Byl "suggested" to the SRBC that Mr. Holderness's views should not be given prominence. The Rhodesian TV then withdrew the invitation to Mr. Holderness. The president of the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists commented that "it is obvious to the guild that political considerations dictated this act of censorship" and added that it was thought that this was the "first overt act in a carefully planned campaign to muzzle the press." The settler paper the "Rhodesia Herald" spoke of a "ham-handed decision" by the "shadowy figure of Mr. Van der Byl" and the African directed "Daily News" asked: "Is this the beginning of censorship of news and speech?"

This observer found the reaction of the "Rhodesia Herald" interesting as it has itself recently accepted Government "advice" on a matter, and has censored

news. This involved the printing by the "Rhodesia Herald" of a police statement claiming that a European teacher at Highfield Community School had "staged" an incident with some cameramen to make it look as if children at the school were being ill-treated by the police. The "Rhodesia Herald" censored a refutation by the European teacher of any such "staged" incident after being "advised" to do so by the police. In fact, one wonders whether the Holderness episode is not bound up in this supposed incident at Highfield Community School. The lawyers who are

suing Mr. Dupont for defamation of character as regards the European teacher are a firm of which Mr. Holderness is the joint director. It could be that Mr. Holderness was censored purely out of spite for assisting a person in suing the Minister of Law and Order.

Another rather alarming factor of the present day scene here was emphasised by a writer in the "Daily News" who reported that at a political meeting recently the Rhodesian Front cheer-leaders struck him as being determined to kill freedom of speech and expression. The rise of the Nazis in Germany and of totalitarian movements elsewhere was compared with the behaviour of these Rhodesian Front cheer-leaders. There

. . . AND IN AUSTRALIA

A storm has been raging in Victoria over the mysterious "disappearance", early last month, of Mary McCarthy's latest novel "The Group". Several questions remain unanswered concerning this curious affair. The known facts are these:

"The Group" had been on open sale in Victoria (and throughout Australia) for almost 6 months. It had passed the Federal Government's Literary Censorship Board.

Early in March, however, "The Group" was found to have somehow "disappeared" from the bookshops. Enquirers were told that the book had become "unavailable". There was (and is) no legal court ban on "The Group". Overnight, however, the public learned, it had, in fact, become a criminal offence in Victoria for: booksellers to display "The Group", retailers and distributors to retain copies of "The Group" on their premises, persons owning copies of "The Group" to loan them (even to friends). Thousands of Victorians had, at some still-undetermined date, unknowingly become criminals facing a possible 12 months' imprisonment. They learned of their precarious situation only through a still-unexplained news leak to the Melbourne press!

Throughout the rest of Australia the book was freely available. This remarkable state of affairs had been achieved by means of secret agreement (collusion) between Her Majesty's Customs, the Vice Squad and the Australian publishers of "The Group" (Messrs. Hutchinson).

The latter, warned by the vice squad that "several complaints" had been received concerning the book had, without protest and merely to oblige the authorities, ordered its immediate withdrawal. It was this "arrangement" that brought forth the following protest from even the Melbourne "Age" (18/3/64): "By personal decision, not by submission to law, a Victorian politician and a policeman have been able to deprive 3 million Australians of the opportunity to read

a book which the properly constituted Federal body of literary experts has passed for general consumption."

When the public learned of this situation, of course, several thousand previously available copies of "The Group" had already been despatched across the border to New South Wales and it had become a criminal offence to purchase a copy anywhere in the State (and still is). This was something new for even the wowsy-ridden administration of Victoria.

THE MYSTERY OF MARY MCCARTHY.

But who, exactly, had complained about "The Group"? One such person introduced herself to a now outraged public via the pages of the Melbourne "Age". This was Lady Olive Allison, of Kew, wife of business magnate Sir John Allison. After informing the "Age" readers that she had already complained [unsuccessfully—F.W.] to the Federal authorities about the book, Lady Allison declared (18/3/64): "This kind of literature is quite useless as reading matter and would not add to the cultural knowledge of anybody. . . . Had there been one normal character in the book, or one useful sentiment expressed, as it is a Book Society Choice, perhaps I could have accepted it, but this is not so."

She suggested, in closing, that the unsold copies of "The Group" should be burned and the person responsible for the "blurb" on the book's dust jacket be gaoled.

Another person to complain about "The Group"—for entirely different reasons—was Victoria's Chief Secretary and Minister of the Crown, Mr. Arthur Rylah, the politician referred to in the "Age" editorial.

Rylah, who last distinguished himself in his efforts to hang Robert Peter

*Kew a suburb of Melbourne.

"VICTIMS OF OUR FEAR", edited by Tina Morris, A SCREECHES publication, 2s. 6d. plus 6d. post.

THE Scottish novelist James Leslie Mitchell wrote a science fiction novel many years ago, in which he described the way of life of the remote ancestors of the entire race of *homo sapiens*. They were a golden-brown skinned people, who contained within themselves the potentialities of the Negro, the Caucasian, the Mongol and all the rest. The races had not yet become differentiated. At times one wishes this was still the case, and looks forward to the day when extensive intermarriage will have restored the original conditions.

Actually however this is the wrong approach, for the real issue in the matter of racial prejudice is not the physical differences between people but their social status. The Negro is regarded in the way he is by the Caucasian because most Negroes occupy a low social position. If this were not the case the prejudice with which "Victims of our Fear" deals would diminish almost to vanishing point. In South Africa today Japanese are accepted as equals in law and custom, just as they were regarded as "Aryans" by the Nazis, for the simple reason that Japan is an up-to-date commercial and industrial country, with which it is advantageous to trade. Anti-Semitism has greatly diminished since the Jews established Israel* and if the Africans succeed in

is a movement afoot to abuse anyone with a white skin who is in any way liberal. Abusive phone calls, accostings in the street, insulting letters are the order of the day. Anyone who disagrees with the Rhodesian Front is practically regarded as a traitor.

IN an informed and succinct collection of essays entitled "The Price of Freedom", nine Rhodesians, mostly liberals, discuss the situation here. One of them, Mr. Garfield Todd, in the best contribution to my mind, writes: "If the Government today repealed the Law and Order Maintenance Act and similar legislation it would be out of office in a week, for it faces a people in rebellion of mind and spirit, only kept in check by the physical fear of dogs, tear gas, rifle fire and imprisonment." This is amply confirmed as over 150 Africans (including two women and a baby) are restricted without trial in what are regarded as concentration camps and 100 women are locked in jail for three months for demonstrating against the

arrest of Mr. Nkomo and the Chinamanos.

Now it seems the fear of imprisonment has been cast aside by some Africans and they are incarcerated in camps of enforced boredom and mental torture—for being agin' the Government. Outside the camps their relatives, wives and children suffer. Children of one restricted are said to be starving—one gathers that there are 20 children and five wives, and now the bread-winner is absent!

In a country forever sniping at Ghana for its totalitarianism and immaturity it smacks of the grossest hypocrisy when you see the "civilised" Europeans censoring news, incarcerating political opponents and furthering a group of supporters who adhere to fascist tactics. I am no apologist for Ghana, but the severest critics of Nkrumah here follow in his footsteps. Ironically white supremacists in Salisbury copy the methods of the main African nationalist figure in attempting to suppress African nationalism.

Tait in 1962, is also from Kew. He is in fact, Lady Allison's and Kew's 30,000 other citizens' personal representative in Parliament. Rylah would scarcely claim to be a discriminating reader himself. He was, in fact, responsible for the most ludicrous episode (so far) in the entire Mary McCarthy affair.

In order to justify himself before posterity, as it were, Rylah—a lawyer like his father before him—had marched into the Legislative Assembly (18/3/64) well briefed on what he described as "all this type of art from photography ('good clean dirt') to pornography which was supposedly covered by some literary merit, usually hard to find."

After brandishing such carefully chosen publications as "Figure", "Pleasure", "House of Lust", "Convention Girl", etc., the Chief Secretary proceeded (after sanctimoniously requesting the removal, from the public gallery of a party of visiting schoolgirls), to quote various passages from "The Group", which he claimed to have found personally objectionable. These were read into the official Hansard report. In this way Rylah ensured that the "forbidden" extracts from the proscribed novel (price 22/6) would be available to the public (including the visiting schoolgirls) for 4d. (the price of Hansard from the Government printer).

At the height of the storm over "The Group's" "disappearance" Rylah also told the Melbourne "Sun" in a special statement (18/3/64): "I was in Canberra when the Press first asked me about the book. I was asked two questions. (1) Had the book been banned? I said no, it had been voluntarily withdrawn from sale. (2) Had I read the book and what did I think of it? I said I had read it and I would not like it to be in the hands of my teen-age son and daughter." [This alleged concern over hypothetical teen-agers led one critic here to remark wryly: "Those teen-agers must be like their old man—they never group up!" Rylah, of course, has no teen-age son or daughter].

The Chief Secretary then made the following statement which many people have come to see as the key to the

entire Mary McCarthy mystery: "I firmly believe," he said, "that we should not, under any circumstances, give away the provisions of our own legislation [on censorship]."

The Victorian Government has been a reluctant partner to the 1962 "agreement" between Federal and State Governments. ("We have certain standards of law in Victoria and we are going to maintain them" is how Mr. Rylah put it. 13/3/64). This agreement finally awarded supreme censorship powers on all imported literature to the Federal Government's Literary Censorship Board. [Although now accused of being 'too liberal' this authority itself banned last year, among others, a medical handbook on natural childbirth also an account of the Court proceedings in the overseas Lady Chatterly trial].

The Victorian Government is also pledged under the agreement to consult with the Federal authorities before acting against any publication already passed by Canberra (as was "The Group").

The method used to suppress "The Group" successfully "short circuited" this delicate communications system between the rival authorities. There could be no appeal against the banning of "The Group". (There was no ban). There could be no accusations of treachery from Canberra. (There was no ban). There could, of course, be no complaints from Lady Allison. (There was no Mary McCarthy).

Even the conservative "Sydney Bulletin's" Melbourne correspondent recognised (28/3/64): "This sort of thing may betoken a certain conflict in Arthur Rylah between his private self and the ambitious politician. After all he has to keep a close eye on the ladies of the Kew electorate. . . . Both Mr. Bolte [the Prime Minister] and Arthur Rylah are conscious of the women's vote and of female influence in the Liberal and Country Party. It affects their policy on hanging as much as on obscenity allegations." So the machine remains stalled. No-one of authority in Victoria apparently, desires to see it re-functioning. A request by the Australian pub-

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Prejudice and Power

constructing a powerful industrialised empire on their continent colour prejudice will become increasingly unfashionable.

(A nation of Amazons, equipped with all the modern paraphernalia of rockets and bombs and mass production, would bring to an end all those tedious jokes about mothers-in-law, women drivers, etc).

In other words, race prejudice and class-prejudice are basically the same thing. The only thing which authoritarian society respects is power. The man without power is hated and (odd as it may seem) feared. Presumably because those who hold power always feel afraid of losing it. The intensity of class feeling in Britain is well known, yet both bourgeois and worker are Caucasians. The real crime of Lady Chatterly was not adultery. This is socially permitted to a woman whose husband is impotent, provided all is discreetly hidden. Her crime lay in sleeping with a man of low caste. It is

*At least the open, unashamed expression of it. Though of course prejudices can linger on for centuries in a sort of underground world of their own. I have met Yorkshiremen who still did not like Lancashire people and vice-versa.

not surprising this book has been banned so long.

"Victims of our Fear" is an anthology, published by Screeches Publications, which also publishes the quarterly magazine "Poetmeat", a "magazine of literary and social revolt". It contains articles, newspaper cuttings and poems dealing mainly with the prejudice against Negroes, but occasionally it widens its range to mention other victims, such as the Gypsies. Arthur Moysie contributes two articles one on the Negro Fascists led by Malcolm X (why has he kept the Scottish name?), and one on the British Caucasian version of the same thing. He succeeded in extracting a statement of principles from John Tyndall, but the others were too wise to give themselves away.

John Tyndall believes that civilisation has achieved its highest level among Northern Europeans, who must therefore be biologically superior and should therefore refrain from intermarriage. In order to prevent intermarriage the races must be kept apart by force. Race, he believes, is the key to human progress. Evidently two terrible wars, begun and largely waged by Northern Europeans on each other, and the concentration camps, do not count as examples of "low civilisation". One can imagine what

would have been said if Belsen had been a Negro enterprise. As it was the Mau-Mau was used as a justification for believing in black inferiority. The crimes of the various European peoples between 1914 and 1918 and again between 1939 and 1945, let alone minor things, like the Sacco and Vanzetti murder, that went on in between wars, are not apparently marks of inferiority at all.

Tina Morris, who edits the anthology, contributes a piece describing the relationship between black girl and white boy. In this the racial question, perhaps without the authoress' intention, is swamped by the much older conflict of the sexes. The man is brutal, the woman is sensitive. The man means well. He is brutal without intending to be, and so on. This conflict will endure longer than the racial issue, which seems of recent growth, since the days of the slave trade only. Antiquity did not know it, or not in its modern form. When the Negro states have their heavy industry and their spaceships, and when White and Black are happily marrying each other's sisters, the men of both races will continue to treat "their womenfolk" as inferiors, and the women will continue their infuriating masochistic revelling in humiliation.

There are many excellent poems and quotable bits and pieces. There are illustrations, representing West Indian workers, by Cecily Ben-Tovim.

A.W.U.

FREEDOM

May 16 1964 Vol 25 No 15

TAKE THE INITIATIVE!

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the need for a revolutionary upheaval of established values; and equally important, that anarchist means would, in the event, be adequate to have a reasonable chance of succeeding.

In trying to discover the best means to propagate anarchist ideas we anarchists would be more effective if we learned to relate the importance of anarchism as a guide to our ways of life as convinced anarchists; to the preoccupation of most people with the symbols of status, security and success.

(The fact that the initiative for structuralising the anarchist movement comes from the newcomers who are also young in years, and not from the old hands in activity and years proves our point—as well as suggesting others, less libertarian, less anarchist!).

Our correspondent whose letter we referred to earlier having argued that our suggestion that anarchists should urge workers to demand more would be "playing into the capitalists' hands" offers his alternative which is that

Perhaps the only realistic programme for anarchists is that of 'contracting out' of capitalism. For 'contented cows' (your vision) do not make revolutions. Individuals (with values other than the materialism of the herd), can however make their own private ones.

Apart from disagreeing with the contention that his programme is "realistic" we must also point out that in the editorial on "Contented Cows" we were concerned with seeing how the limited resources of anarchist propaganda could be most effectively harnessed in view of capitalist trends, determined, we hastened to add, not by the capitalists' love of mankind but by the current problems of production which are of their own making, the result of their disunity and greed. The probable "only realistic programme" offered by our correspondent is a programme for anarchists whereas our concern as an anarchist propaganda paper is not to advise anarchists how to run their lives, because we assume that they can deal with this problem for themselves, but to communicate anarchist ideas to non-anarchists.

If we are told that our propaganda should be linked to our personal experience our reply would be that if we believed it were possible for everybody to live as anarchists in the existing set-up then it would be dishonest of us to oppose it, and our propaganda should be directed to making people aware of its potentialities. We oppose authoritarian society with every argument at our command just because we are convinced that if a limited number of individuals with intelligence or wealth can get by, that is live their lives to the full by reason of their intelligence and/or wealth, in society as it is, they do so only because the overwhelming majority are cut off, for one reason or another, from both. To attract more people to our ideas we must talk to them in a language they understand; that is, we must, in expounding our ideas convince people that we are human, understanding beings, who share their problems, and persuade them that it is because and not in spite of these problems that we believe in the validity of anarchism.

Our correspondent in his proposed "programme" cuts the Gor-

dian knot just as do the socialists when they plump for "equality of opportunity". Both run away from the problem which is how to do away with the system which makes it possible for man to exploit man. Our correspondent by "contracting out" of society, or socialists who fondly imagine that they can graft equality on the rootstock of capitalism by calling it "equality of opportunity", do nothing to disturb a system cemented in privilege.

For those of us who neither wish to escape from, or dominate, mankind; who want to be themselves in society and do not inhabit some ideal island of the imagination, the world around us is vital to our enjoyment of life, and we are propagandists because humanity matters to us. To "contract out of capitalism" in a capitalist society means, if one carries out one's threat, living a hermit's life, and most anarchists, to our knowledge,* enjoy life and the company of their fellow beings, perhaps more than most people.



ANARCHISTS are "bad" propagandists, compared with the Marxists, for instance, because since by definition anarchism is the denial of authority, and propaganda can so easily be interpreted as imposition, many anarchists look upon propaganda as an "immoral act". Yet progress, in the best sense, is the assimilation of ideas and knowledge which fertilise more ideas and leads to further discoveries which in turn are handed on to the next generation. Propaganda, for us, is simply our contribution to furthering—and hastening we hope—a general recognition of anarchist values as the obvious way of life.

There are a hundred and one ways of making anarchist propaganda; every convinced anarchist just by expressing his ideas to others at every available opportunity furthers the cause of anarchism. And far from suggesting that we and our readers should all "contract out" of capitalism we would urge all of you for whom anarchism means something more important than an intellectual concept to communicate your "discovery" not only to your family circle, and your close friends, but far and wide. Propaganda is one form of communications which can brainwash or enlighten. Anarchist propaganda aims at making people think for themselves and not of persuading them to let others think for them. If only for this reason anarchist propaganda deserves your support!

*And as revealed by the FREEDOM survey summarised in ANARCHY 12 (Feb. 1962).

Please Check your Renewal Notices!

We fear that some of our subscribers, particularly in the U.S.A. and Australia, recently received renewal notices on cards showing the old rates.

We should be grateful if when renewing you would bear in mind that the current rates are:—

SURFACE MAIL:

Combined subscription to ANARCHY and FREEDOM: £2 (\$6.00) per year.
ANARCHY only: 25/- (\$3.50) per year.
FREEDOM only: 20/- (\$3.00) per year.

AIRMAIL:

FREEDOM by Airmail, ANARCHY by Surface: 65/- (\$9.50) per year.

MR. KRUSHCHEV lost his old head at Madame Tussaud's and got a replacement; the Hans Christian Andersen mermaid in Copenhagen harbour lost hers to augment a protest against decapitation of buildings in Copenhagen and the general neglect of the city; the Middle East Command lost its head after dropping 1,000 pound bombs against rebel tribesmen in the Radian area. They had obtained permission from the Defence Ministry in London to use the bombs. Group-Captain Blythe, commander of the Aden air base said "The idea was to hit them hard while we could. We believe the raid was successful and a number of dissidents were killed. Thousand-pound bombs scattering metal around are pretty lethal weapons, and it is a nasty way of killing people."

BRIAN ROBERT SMITH, aged 18, was found hanging at the Hindley Borstal Centre, Wigan. James Echols, aged 19, a Negro, was executed in the electric chair at Huntsville, Texas for the rape in 1962 of a white woman. Seventeen prisoners were suffocated in a local police station cell in Mwene-ditu in the Kasai region of the Congo. The police had crowded the prisoners into a windowless cell and slammed the door. Because the cell had no alternative ventilation the police had been in the habit of leaving the door open, reports Reuter, but when two prisoners walked out of the open door to freedom it was decided to close the door. An inquiry is being held. Forty thousand people packed into a sports stadium to watch Phan Quang Dong brother of the late President of Vietnam being shot by a firing squad. He was recovering from a heart attack and was carried by stretcher from the prison but insisted on walking the final few yards to the execution post. He said to his priest and his lawyer. "I do not ask any favour. I accept full responsibility for everything for the sake of my country."

THE "DAILY MAIL" reported that prisoners are to be allowed to write to the National Council for Civil Liberties and the Howard League for Penal Reform. But the Home Office has ruled that a prisoner must use one of his ordinary letters "ration" he must not ask for legal proceedings to be started on his behalf and he must not complain about prison treatment. Two men imprisoned for twelve months for attacking a police constable who is himself now serving a prison sentence for dishonesty were ordered by the Court of Criminal Appeal to be discharged from prison. The constable provoked the attack by directing a wholly unnecessary and insulting remark at one of the men. He said: "I don't even want to walk on the same side of the street as you." A prison officer at Armley Prison was found not guilty at Leeds of striking a prisoner. The magistrate told him "I acquit you not in the sense of saying the case is not proved, but in the sense that you are not guilty." The officer said that he feared there might be an incident and he had reprimanded the

Spanish Miners Strike

Continued from page 1

ded by the miners and a refusal and shut-down by the obstinate companies. In order to try to overcome the uncompromising attitude of the bosses, the workers are trying a 'go-slow'. Resorting to all sorts of cunning to avoid repressive measures against the mine-workers, they have managed to keep up the 'go-slow' for a month and even two months in some pits and workshops of the Duro-Felquera and Fabrica de Mieres. In the Pumarabule mine, they obtained substantial improvements thanks to their determination in the conflict.

"In spite of the apparent temporary settlements, latent unrest continues in all professions and activities. They have not given out the new regulations for coal mines because the bosses are resolutely opposed to conceding the slightest improvement. For this reason strikes are likely to break out at any moment. Due to the well-founded fear of this happening, the vertical unions are widely distributing throughout the region, a pamphlet calling for calm and trust. As it is only too well known what odious role the fascist unions are playing, their whining deceives no one, nor will they be able to stop the outburst when it comes."

As the news shows, reported in a few papers, the strikes have really started. One firm laid off several hundred men for 10 days because they had elected their own committee to put their grievances over silicosis, instead of the state-run union. Before this the miners had



prisoner. He had shaken his finger at him but did not strike him. A book-keeper aged 26 was held in Brixton prison for stealing a £1,947 cheque. He was wrongfully identified by a detective, after further enquiries they arrested an eighteen-year-old boy. The book-keeper said he would sue the police for false arrest and said, "Brixton was the most distasteful place I have ever been in." Harold Graham Dunsmore was released from Borstal after a suggestion in *The People* that he was innocent. He was sentenced for unlawfully having possession of a cigarette lighter, a ring and a watch. It was established that he was in lawful possession of two of the articles. . . .

IN GREENWICH VILLAGE, the New York League for Sexual Freedom picketed the Women's House of Detention (where half the prisoners are charged with prostitution) with signs reading "Free the Prostitutes", "Why not on Sundays" and "If It Wasn't for Sex you Wouldn't Be Here". One youth alleged to be shouting "Whoop de do, I want to screw. How about you?" was charged with disorderly conduct. Judith Malina, an actress from the Living Theatre, carried a sign "Ballin' is Good for the Soul" and said that the League were 'political reactionaries' because one of the slogans should have been "Free All Prisoners". Julian Beck of the Libertarian Action Committee of the General Strike for Peace carried a sign to that effect: Richard Kern, a member of the League for Sexual Freedom described its aims of legalizing prostitution "under conditions which will reduce venereal disease and provide better income and working conditions for prostitutes". "The current penal method of dealing with prostitution has failed. We must try something more humane." The League advocates the abolition of laws on the books of many states against miscegenation, sodomy, homosexuality and transvestism. A march was planned to take place in New York to coincide with the opening of the World's Fair. It was in protest against the harassment of the arts as exemplified by the arrests of Lenny Bruce and a film-producer Jonas Mekas on charges of obscenity, the action of New York City authorities against artists living in lofts and the seizure by Federal of the Living Theatre—on tax charges. . . .

THE HOME SECRETARY announced a bill to fill loopholes in the Obscene Publica-

tions Act. This will make a new offence of being in possession of an obscene article for publication for gain. This will circumvent the Court rulings that one cannot corrupt a police officer in the matter of obscenity (R. v. Clayton) and also will make photographic negatives obscene. London County Council voted by 77 votes to 37 to ban smoking in the 154 cinemas licensed by the L.C.C. The main problem they now have is how to enforce the ban

A REPORT published by the Medical Research Council estimates that there was an increase in the amount of strontium-90 in children's bones in the first six months of 1963. In the absence of further nuclear tests in the atmosphere the mean level of strontium-90 in the bones of young children in any large region of Britain will not reach 10 units of strontium concentrate and (reports the *Guardian* (sic)) "the rational average will not be more than seven units". . . .

ABOUT 400 television viewers in Swedje-bakeen, Sweden are planning a gala dance that will culminate in a bonfire—using TV sets as the fuel. Ulf Janson, head of a social group called Værmland Sausages (which were on the menu the first time it met) explained, "We are tired of television and staring stupidly into the screen. Now we aim to get together and have some fun instead. It is not enough to put the sets in the cellar. They must be completely destroyed."

JON QUIXOTE.

MARY McCARTHY

Continued from page 2

lishers that police officially seize copies of "The Group" and seek an official court order for their destruction (on grounds of alleged obscenity) has been refused. The Chief Secretary explained (23/3/64): "The Solicitor-General (Sir Henry Wincke, Q.C.) has advised that proceedings for a breach of the law based upon arrangements made between the law enforcement authority and the proposed defendants would constitute a misuse of the criminal law."

A hastily convened meeting between Federal and State Government representatives has dispersed without an official statement. A "Freedom To Read Committee" has been formed with the expressed intention of offering copies of "The Group" for public sale, inviting arrest and the testing of the books "unavailability" in the Courts. Rylah has warned that offenders face a possible 12 months' (first offence) sentence.

The London publishers, Messrs. Weidenfeld and Nicholson have not so far (22/4/64) replied to a request for assistance from the "Freedom to Read Committee".

In the meantime the Government has turned to more important business. New elections have been announced. Both Bolte and Rylah stand for re-election on June 27th.

FRANCIS WEBB.

made through the official government-controlled unions were also rejected by the bosses and the government. As these official unions are only the mouthpiece of the government no doubt their claims were small and in no way representative of the miners themselves.

This refusal has added even more to the miners' determination to win their own demands. Again they have taken action for themselves and while Senor Solis, the Secretary-General of the Falange and Minister for the Government run unions, visits this country to gain support here for Franco's regime and unions, the miners are showing by direct means the strength of their opposition to them.

P.T.

ANTI-ELECTION NEWS

We have just had 12,000 stickers printed, 6,000 of "Politics equals War" and 6,000 of "Politics out, Anarchism in". These will cost 1/9d. per hundred plus postage. The first one we feel should be stuck up in areas where the "Hazards of Voting" leaflet has already been distributed. As this has on the bottom of the back page, "If you feel that you should do something on polling day and not merely abstain from voting, don't vote for a candidate, mark your card POLITICS=WAR!", we hope that on seeing the sticker people will link it with the leaflet. Both stickers are marked "Anarchist Federation of Britain".

In Fulham we have distributed the "Hazards of Voting" leaflet widely and

we shall soon have to do a reprint. If there are any suggestions for improvement, would comrades let us know quickly?

Most of the various groups were written to prior to Easter, asking them what they were doing about the General Election, asking for ideas and offering them help. So far, only one group has replied asking us to print a leaflet and some posters for them. We would certainly welcome news and ideas and be willing to give assistance to groups who are not so well equipped for printing.

Please send your ideas, suggestions, orders for posters, leaflets and stickers and donations to Bill Sticker, -17a, Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

Anti-Election Committee.

Open Letter to the CNT Liaison Committee in Gt. Britain

DEAR COMRADES,

Thank you for sending your leaflets inviting me to take part in a demonstration of solidarity with the Spanish people. While sympathising with your general aims, I do not agree with all the points in your 'Demand', and I think it is worth while to discuss these differences of opinion.

It seems to me that in some of the points in your 'Demand' there is a tendency which, if pursued, would isolate the people in Spain from people in other countries. You seek to discourage people of other countries from visiting Spain when on holiday, to discourage Trades Union representatives from going there, and you ask for an embargo on 'goods' (all goods?) as well as arms shipped to Spain—for the Franco regime needs imports.

Now I know very well that foreign visitors to Spain are presented with a phoney facade by the tourist board, that T.U. representatives meet government stooges rather than workers' representatives, and that Franco depends in part on foreign aid. But what is the alternative? We should not despise the common sense of ordinary people, be they holiday visitors or T.U. officials. People should be free to visit all countries and it is up to them to see through the facade of falsities which government propaganda presents to them. While I would no more support the sending of arms to the Franco government than I would to any government, I can see not more case for a general trade embargo on Spain than on a host of other countries which are cursed with the most odious regimes.

As I happen to be a native of Britain, I ask myself how would I feel if I were a political exile from this country where some type of militarist fascist type of regime were installed? If I had to live elsewhere for fear of being officially murdered were I to show my face here, I would doubtless feel very bitter. That bitterness would be enhanced by the

knowledge that my friends were trapped here in poverty and oppression, and every decent and progressive trend in Britain was stifled. It would particularly enrage me, I know, if the fascist regime were to attract tourists to this country by a phoney parade of 'the British tradition' and herds of foreign visitors were shepherded to Stratford-on-Avon to see versions of Shakespeare—bowdlerised so that no offence was given to the regime. Oh yes, a fascist Establishment in Britain, would be second to none in hypocrisy! In such circumstances I can well imagine wishing for a complete embargo on everything that filled the British treasury. But would such an embargo be wise, either humanly or tactically?

If, on the other hand, I were compelled to live here under the stranglehold of a real militarist-fascist regime over Britain, how would I feel about an embargo from the outside? I am sure that the feeling of isolation would be one of the worst privations if people from foreign countries were prevented from coming, even as indifferent tourists. To be shut in a stifled country with little prospect of relief is bad enough, but in such circumstances one would naturally look abroad for a breath of fresh air and for hope, as long as there were countries where direct oppression were less. One would look to one's comrades exiled abroad as a source of inspiration, but the mere fact of an influx of visitors, books and goods from abroad would inspire one with hope of change.

I know that there are considerable differences between the history of Spain and of Britain, and between the natures of their social structures. Britain now

has her nose in her own trough, and the mass of the people here seem to care even less for the fate of peoples abroad than they did in the 1930's. Then, real economic privation was more common here and there was some sense of anti-fascist international solidarity. The Stalinists played their part in making men cynical about such ideas. You seek to awake some spark of concern in Britain for the plight of your country, and all honour to you. But I do not think that the tactics you employ in calling for negative measures of embargo on travel, etc., are going to further your aims at all. Would it not be better to urge people to visit Spain and to educate them in advance as to what they should seek to see, the facets of situation in Spain they should be aware of? If Franco, for economic reasons, must

keep the frontiers open, surely that can be turned to advantage in rendering some real aid to the people of Spain, rather than the enrichment of their masters. The visitors to Spain are no longer the rich globe-trotters of former times, but ordinary working people who can now afford to travel a little. Are these not the people you should seek to educate, and whose aid you should seek to enlist after the long period of apathy?

All these criticisms are meant constructively. My interest in Spain is by no means idle; the revolution of 1936 and the long struggle after has shaped my development in many ways, like that of many others of my generation. We owe to your people an everlasting debt.

Most sincerely,

TONY GIBSON.

'Solidarity with the Spanish People'

The weather, which was warm and sunny cannot be blamed for last Sunday's poorly supported demonstration. Wide publicity in national newspapers and leaflets had been achieved by the organisers, the National Confederation of Labour.

The demonstration was to show our solidarity with the Asturias miners and other workers who are now on strike in Spain, and to back up demands for the release of all political and social prisoners. A letter was handed in at the Spanish Embassy pledging our support for the strikers and stating our demands.

A letter was also handed in at the Belgian Embassy, demanding that there should be no extradition of Francisco Abarca, who has been in prison now since October 11th, and that he should be released.

The march started at Marble Arch and headed for the Belgian Embassy in Eaton Square, but the police, who were out in strength led the head of the column straight past the bottom of the road leading to the embassy. This procedure was repeated when we approached the Spanish Embassy. In actual fact the street where the Belgian Embassy is situated leads up to the Spanish one.

The police prevented any actual demonstration outside the embassies and only allowed a small delegation to hand in the letters.

On the way back to Marble Arch, just as the delegation rejoined the march, a comrade expressed aloud, what every-

body felt, annoyance and frustration at not being able to demonstrate outside the embassies. The comrade started to go down a side turning towards Belgrave Square with other comrades following, but were not quick enough and there were not sufficient of us for the police formed a cordon across the road and our efforts to reach the embassies ended.

ABARCA DEMONSTRATION IN HAMBURG

Our correspondent in Hamburg writes:

On the 30th April there was here a demonstration and a meeting of young trade unionists; on this occasion many Spanish workers who work here (some in exile) put the Abarca case to the public, with a petition demanding the release of the anti-fascist Abarca. There was even slogan-shouting such as "Viva la CNT! Viva la FAI!" and "Viva l'Espagne sindicalista!". I've never seen such a vivid demonstration as was this one; and I was very pleased to see and hear that Anarcho-syndicalism is still a major movement among the Spanish workers abroad.

PROPOSED GROUPS

HAYES & DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP

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

COUNTY OF STAFFORD TRAINING COLLEGE

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

HEREFORD

Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close, Hereford

MANCHESTER

John McEwan, c/o Farrish, 4, Sanby Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Manchester.

MERSEYSIDE

Details from Vincent Johnson, 43 Mill-bank, Liverpool 13. (STO 2632). Every Saturday 2.30.

OUTSIDE LEWIS'S PAPER-SELLING.

SHEFFIELD

Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

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

Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

Freedom weekly

FREEDOM is published 40 times a year, on every Saturday except the first in each month.

Anarchy monthly

ANARCHY (2/3 or 30 cents post free), a 32-page journal of anarchist ideas, is published 12 times a year on the first Saturday of the month.

Postal Subscription Rates to FREEDOM only

1 year (40 issues) 20/- (U.S. \$3)
6 months (20 issues) 10/- (U.S. \$1.50)
3 months (10 issues) 5/- (U.S. \$0.75)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies FREEDOM

1 year (40 issues) 30/- (U.S. \$4.50)
6 months (20 issues) 15/- (U.S. \$2.25)

FINGS

South Africa

Nelson Mandela is on trial. Want to do something? Contact Brenda Moule. AMB 5988.

Direct Action Decorators

For workers' control and active peacemaking. Decorators, electrical, carpenter, signwriter, etc., available for work on mutual aid basis. Jobs wanted.

D.A.D. 168 Station Road, Hendon, N.W.4. HEN 0422.

Porton

Picket Whit-Sunday from noon. Meet at Haven filling-station on A30. (London side of Salisbury). Car-owners please contact Committee of 100.

Anti-Polaris

Two-day March, June 27th and 28th. Faslane. Details CND 4 Frederick Lane, Glasgow, C.I.

Film Show

Committee of 100. Saturday, 30th May. 2.30. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.2. Admission 2/6.

S.W. France—walking tour—two weeks from 14th June. Anyone interested making up small party write Jeff Robinson c/o FREEDOM. Strong legs essential.

Heavy and onerous clerical duties of F.L.A. secretary make imperative finding a room of one's own, at the top not essential, shape irrelevant, view unimportant, furniture must leave room for expansion. Offers, in or near Central London at moderate rental to Arthur Uloth, c/o FREEDOM.

Bristol Federation of Anarchists is co-ordinating a campaign against conscription, and would be glad of monetary and informative assistance. 9, Cornwallis Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.

Would any skilled Brickie

like a spell in the country building a garden wall for comrades? Beer, board and lodging and remuneration by agreement. Unskilled mate available. Apply P. Sansom, c/o Freedom Press.

Funds Wanted

Anarchist Federation of Britain needs cash for purchase of duplicator, etc. Cash, cheque, etc., to Jan Wallis (Treasurer), c/o 5 Colville Houses, London, W.11.

Sellers and Agents Wanted

for "Anarchist Youth". Apply Martin S. Gilbert, 10 Dansecroft Flats, Brent Street, Hendon, N.W.4.

French Libertarian Camp

Utilabus hired from 7th August to 22nd August. Shared cost. Seats still available. Details, Albon, 55 Station Road, Hailsham, Sussex.

Film Shows

Did you know that there are film shows Sunday nights for anarchists and/or... For details ring: FLAXman 5277.

If you think

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

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

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Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
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HERBERT READ

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BETTER!

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| Week 19 | | EXPENSES: 19 weeks at £70 | | £1,330 |
|-----------------------|-----|---------------------------|--|--------|
| Sales & Sub Renewals: | £ | £ | | |
| Weeks 1-18 | 836 | | | |
| Week 19 | 162 | | | |
| | | | | 998 |

| New Subscriptions: | | | | |
|--------------------|----|--|--|-------|
| Weeks 1-18 (84) | 86 | | | |
| Week 19 (11) | 11 | | | |
| | | | | 97 |
| | | | | 1,095 |

DEFICIT £235

DEFICIT FUND

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|---|-----------|
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| Ipswich: D.D. 10/-; Woldingham: F.B.* 5/-; | |
| Geneva: A.E.Q. £1. | |
| TOTAL | 48 11 8 |
| Previously acknowledged | 277 1 7 |
| 1964 TOTAL TO DATE | £325 13 3 |

*denotes regular contributors.