

# Freedom

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Threepence

"I hold it blasphemy that a man ought not to fight against authority. There is no great religion and no great freedom that has not done it in the beginning."

—GEORGE ELIOT.

## INDONESIA:

### Background and Fears

THE issues behind the half-pint and lukewarm civil war now happening in Indonesia could be briefly described as a struggle for power between an autocratic leader and a central government and a military junta seeking influence in the country.

It is not of course quite as simple as that, for the background to the present situation goes back many years, and in any case the rebels did not in the first place remove their allegiance from the autocrat—they merely sought to influence his policies in a more acceptable direction.

Indonesia is a great sprawling string of 3,000 islands nearly 3,000 miles long, stretching from just south of Malaya on the Indian Ocean side to just north of Australia on the Pacific side. Many of the islands are mere dots in the ocean, but the largest ones—Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Celebes, are large, rich in natural resources and highly populated. The total population of Indonesia is 85,000,000, which makes it the sixth largest nation in the world.

For 350 years, until the last war, Indonesia was a colony of the Dutch. It was in fact known as the Dutch East Indies. But by the time the Japanese armies landed there in 1942, an influential nationalist movement had been established, in spite of Dutch attempts to crush it by the usual methods, including imprisonment of its leaders.

#### Collaboration for Experience

Among these was a Dr. Mohammed Hatta, and the man who was destined to become the first President of an independent Indonesia,

Sukarno, and they seized the opportunity of the Japanese occupation to collaborate with the invaders against the Dutch, whom they replaced with native administrators, thereby gaining, under Japanese tutelage, experience in government and administration denied them by the Europeans.

When the Japanese suddenly surrendered in 1945, Sukarno whipped a government of his own making into the saddle. It was six weeks before the triumphant British arrived on Java to make an attempt to re-establish Dutch rule.

But it was too late. The Dutch came with all the power they could muster, but in four years of fighting, including two major military campaigns, they learned only that they could capture cities but could not subdue the countryside. In 1949 the Dutch gave up the struggle, and Sukarno became president.

There has followed nine years of political jiggery-pokery and attempted economic reconstruction. The areas of the sprawling archipelago are, however, unequally divided in terms of natural resources and population. The Outer Islands, particularly Sumatra, produce nearly 100 per cent. of the nation's export wealth. From Sumatra comes coal, rubber, tobacco and now oil (drilled and shipped out by Caltex, the American company); from Celebes comes gold and nickel. But Java, where the capital, Djakarta, is, does little more than feed its own 52 million hungry mouths.

#### Java Gets More

But because it is the central, capital, country, and Sukarno's homeland to boot, Java enjoys higher capitalisation in terms of schools, hospitals, roads, than any of the actually more productive outer islands. This has given opportunities for opposition Army officers to rally support for their present rebellion against Sukarno's government in Djakarta, and they are being observed with some sympathy by the West.

For Sukarno, although first and foremost a Sukarnoite, flirts outrageously with the Communists—indeed he probably only holds on to power in Djakarta with their aid. In the course of his travels, both East and West (he delighted Americans by quoting Abe Lincoln, got a ticker-tape welcome in New York) he was reportedly most impressed with Mao Tse-Tung's new China, and Indonesia remains the only Pacific nation among the great string around the Asian land-bloc uncommitted to the West. All the rest—Japan, Okinawa, Formosa, the Philippines—are part of America's well-forward 'defensive' perimeter.

In view of this, the present events in Indonesia are of more importance to the world at large than a mere struggle for power among military-political cliques in an under-devel-

oped island paradise would appear to be. The Communists would dearly love to get clear unfettered control of Indonesia, bringing them within striking distance of Singapore, across the Malacca Straits from Sumatra, and, in the other direction, almost to the Northern tip of Australia. Similarly America is very concerned that this missing link in the SEATO chain should not pass into Communist hands.

#### Another Korea?

So both America and Russia are sitting watching Indonesia, ready to jump the moment the other makes an overt move. Rumours are rife—that American arms are going to the rebels, Russian aid to the government. Most amusing of all is the report that Mr. Dulles is seriously looking into the circumstances under which he can grant U.S. recognition to the rebels in Sumatra! This, after the steadfast refusal for years to recognise Mao Tse-Tung's Government in Peking!

The fact remains that the rebels are Right-wing military nationalists trying to exert what they call a moderating influence upon the Left-wing political nationalism of Sukarno, an arch opportunist.

The choice for the Indonesian people would not seem to be a very attractive one. But the danger for them is that their country may be turned into another Korea, if the power blocs of East and West so decide to solve their internal problems, try out new weapons and crusade for their diverse tyrannies.

## Now There's Too Much Coal

### Redundancy in the Mines follows?

AT the beginning of the year, the Press, politicians, the National Coal Board and even the miners' leaders were busily berating the miners for asking for more money without showing good grounds for their demands in more hard coal. "Absenteeism"—that was the curse of the industry and the Press gave its generous support to those miners' leaders who were even more outspoken than the Coal Board itself in condemning the "persistent offenders" and threatening to drive them not only from the pits they were actually working (or slacking) in, but from the industry itself. The following editorial comment from the *News Chronicle* is a reminder of the mood of only two months ago.

Lancashire miners are starting their own investigation into absenteeism. Pit-head committees of eight men each, with miners and management equally represented, will go into individual cases of absence from work, issue warnings, and if necessary down-grade or fire persistent absentees.

The county area secretary of the N.U.M. has said bluntly: "If a man is not prepared to put in five days' work, then we don't want him."

This is a vigorous example of setting one's own house in order. Earlier this month Sir James Bowman spoke of "too much inexcusable absence" although he mysteriously added that he did not blame the miner.

The reaction from Lancashire pits is healthy in principle. The aim is to cut out the inexcusable absences of which the N.C.B. chairman spoke; but the committees will have to watch their step.

Their decisions must be seen to be just. It is essential that they obtain and retain the confidence of the miners as a whole. With this proviso Lancashire's initiative should prove a valuable deter-

\*See FREEDOM editorial, January 25.

rent to the kind of absenteeism which is holding back the industry.

The *Manchester Guardian* (16/1/58) in its editorial on the miners' claims pointed to the fact that absenteeism from all causes in the Yorkshire coalfields last year averaged just over 20 per cent., "that is, the equivalent of one whole working day in every five". The *M.G.* could not blame men for "choosing to use their earnings to buy leisure as such", but, it went on to add "Yet the coal the country needs cannot be raised in what amounts to a four-day week. The truth is that the wages for four days' work at the coal face are higher than the industry can afford". (In passing, it should be made clear that the *M.G.* was mixing two distinct problems, of production and productivity or cost of production.)

Only two months have passed since the Lancashire miners' secretary was threatening that "if a man is not prepared to put in five days' work then we don't want him", and the *Manchester Guardian* was stating as a fact that "the coal the country needs cannot be raised in what amounts to a four day week". It was only two months ago that Mr. Sales, chairman of the North-Eastern division of the National Coal Board told a press conference that he detected "a lot of confusion" in the alarm about the alleged 28 million tons of coal which the N.C.B. was said to hold in stock. In fact, the board held about 7½ million tons while the rest had already been sold and was being held in stock by the purchasers. The division itself only held half a million tons in stock, consisting mostly of "smalls". This

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## SOUTH AFRICA

### Verwoerd Attacks A.N.C.

SOUTH AFRICA'S Nationalist Government seems to be determined to drive the country's non-European citizens into revolutionary channels if they are to find any means of expression or defence at all.

The latest step in what the *News Chronicle* has called 'South Africa's inexorable march into the depths of tyranny', is the government's decision to curtail the activities of the African National Congress—if not actually to ban it—in native areas.

The African National Congress is the only remaining organisation left to represent the political interests of the African as he, so far, sees it. It is the only organisation through which any attitudes of the African on political and economic matters can be given voice.

True, it has always been a pretty muffled voice. The first self-appointed functions of the Congress in 1912—then called the South African Native National Congress—were to overcome the tribal divisions among Africans and bring them together as Africans, to unite them for the purpose of using their strength of numbers to ensure the white South African to the spect for their wishes, to win over SANNC concept of what union in South Africa ought to mean, and to attract world attention to the dangers of race-divided society.

#### Union-Unity

The concept of Union referred to was that with which the Africans approached the merging of the three national divisions—British, Boer and African—into the *Union* of South Africa in 1910. The Africans realised that if Britain had the capital and the technical know-how, and the Boers had the gold-bearing reefs of the Transvaal, the contribution which they, the Africans, had to offer was labour, without which after all, the other two were useless. Together, however, these three sources of wealth represented a tremendous potential for well-being for all the peoples of South Africa.

Alas for the optimism of the Africans. The Act of Union made it a land of tremendous potential for the well-being of the white man, from whom the African would be forever divided by race and colour. The present Nationalist Government is pushing this division to lunatic lengths in its Apartheid policy, but this policy is different only in degree, not in kind, from those of the past.

By 1913 the new government of the Union had passed the Land Act, which introduced rural residential segregation and uprooted and ruined large numbers of Africans who had lived off the land. The SANNC saw in this Act a step to bar the African from citizenship in South Africa.

#### No Rights

And so it has gone on for year after year, with all the time the African National Congress (as it is now called) remaining desperately moderate and conciliatory, while the European organisations have become increasingly immoderate, provocative and contemptuous of the rights of the African.

To-day in South Africa white workers have legally recognised trades unions with the rights to organise which are taken for granted in most democratic countries. But the Africans have not. Their unions are denied legal recognition and every obstruction is put in the way of their growth or even establishment. African workers are not permitted to engage in collective bargaining through the industrial council system; any disputes that arise with employers are settled by Government officials. Strikes are prohibited under heavy penalties. There is no freedom of movement for African labour and everything is done to keep Africans in subservient, lower-paid jobs.

Now their last legally-allowed voice is to be silenced, if Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, has his way. For on Saturday he announced that the Government is planning to ban ANC activities in Native Areas.

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## B.A.O.R. FATHERS

### 9000 unwanted Babies

BONN, MARCH 14.

The *Deutsche Anzeigblatt*, a German medical journal, has published the exact figures of illegitimate children in the Federal Republic whose fathers are members or ex-members of the occupation forces. There are 67,753 of them born between 1945 and 1955 when Western Germany became a fully sovereign State. Only since 1955 has there been redress against the fathers of illegitimate children born to German mothers, and the legal possibility of claiming support from them.

Of the illegitimate children born before 1955, 53 per cent. are alleged to have American fathers, 15 per cent. French, and 12.6 per cent. British. More than 4,500 children have coloured fathers. There are plenty of unhappy features in this story. More than 20 per cent. now depend on public welfare. Coloured children have special problems, and only 6 per cent. of the foreign fathers admit paternity.

(*Manchester Guardian*).

Hitler, who ranted about producing a pure Aryan race in Germany is, we hope, turning in his grave. But such a reflection does not compensate for all the misery the occupying troops have left behind them in the form of, often, unwanted children. According to the report only since 1955 has there been "redress" against the fathers of these children. Have we in this country no responsibility for the future of the 9,000 children fathered by members of the British Army of Occupation?

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# THE MOTOR AGE-I

IT'S here, it's been with us for years, it's growing every day, and we have never got around to solving the problems it presents. Are there any libertarian solutions? Are there any solutions at all?

The motor age began, so far as this country is concerned, on a summer day in 1888 when a three-wheeled Benz horseless carriage was unloaded from the cross-channel steamer. In 1896 with the repeal of the law which required self-propelled vehicles to be preceded by a man carrying a red flag, the motor car became a practical proposition. Since then the number of vehicles on the road has increased at a continually accelerating rate, the only checks on its growth being the two world wars.

A new book by Mr. Colin Buchanan, an architect and engineer, must be the first attempt to assess the whole impact of the motor age on our society. He calls it *Mixed Blessing\** for very good reasons. For while motor transport has brought a vast increase in personal mobility and in what he calls the "enormous widening of personal horizons", it is on the other hand so reliable a lethal weapon that we know with some degree of accuracy the number of people it will kill to-morrow, next week and next year. It is also steadily destroying the amenities of town and country, but at the same time it has had a tremendously beneficial effect on rural life, the bus services having become "the life-blood of country existence". It provides employment for millions, and enormous wealth for some (as is apparent from the fact that Lord Nuffield has given away £37 millions and the Ford Foundation £330 millions). It has a profound effect on our standard of living, and also on international politics and economics, as you can tell by comparing the statistics on sources of petroleum in Mr. Buchanan's chapter on our economic dependence on the motor vehicle with the relationship between Middle-Eastern crises and the crude oil requirements of Europe and America.

It may be questioned, Mr. Buchanan writes,

"whether the fundamental nature of the transport revolution has yet been grasped, whether it is appreciated that the advent of a means of personal mech-

*\*Mixed Blessing: The Motor in Britain* by C. D. Buchanan (Leonard Hill Ltd., 30s.).

anical locomotion adaptable for a host of everyday journeys has, by turning the streets into rivers of jostling, lethal vehicles, rendered out of date at a stroke the conventional arrangement of streets and buildings that has served us for so long. . . . It is not traffic movement but civilised town life that is at stake."

THE motor car is yet another example of multiple invention. You cannot ascribe it to any one man; all you can say is that Benz and Daimler simultaneously and separately produced vehicles driven by internal combustion engines in 1884-6, preceded so far as the engine is concerned by inventors like Lenoir in France, Narkus in Austria and Otto in Germany, and followed in the next ten years by innumerable inventors and developers of components and improvements—Panhard, Peugeot, Dunlop, Ford, Renault, Michelin. The manufacturing industry itself provides from one point of view a text-book example of the concentration of capital, the many small and independent manufacturers having been swallowed into a few giant corporations, but from another angle it amply verifies Kropotkin's observations on the way in which, around each industrial monster grow innumerable small specialised firms.

In Britain five firms dominate the industry—the British Motor Corporation (Austin and Nuffield), the Rootes Group, Vauxhall, Ford and Standard. Between them they produce 90 per cent. of all cars and taxis in this country and about 80 per cent. of all commercial vehicles. On the other hand, in Mr. Buchanan's words,

"two-thirds of the factory value of a car is represented by components bought by the actual manufacturer from outside suppliers. Brake drums, water pumps, oil seals, fuses, gaskets, connection rods, dynamos, petrol tanks, shock absorbers, carburettors, ball bearings, axles, camshafts, road springs and a couple of hundred other items in car assembly are in fact made by a very large number of specialist firms scattered all over the country. Our economic dependence on the motor industry, in the sense of the employment that it provides, is far more than dependence upon the factories of the well-known makes of car, for these

factories spread their roots and draw their nourishment from a multitude of other concerns."

Road transport in all its aspects employs 2,038,000 people, which is 8 per cent. of the total national labour force. Of these, 335,000 are employed in motor manufacture, 101,000 in manufacture of parts and accessories, 288,000 in garages and motor sales, 50,000 in the tyre and oil industry, 96,000 in road construction and maintenance, 305,100 in public transport, taxis, hired cars and chauffeurage, and 863,000 in public and private goods transport. The motor industry accounts for about 13 per cent. of this country's export trade, a figure which is increasingly difficult to maintain "in the face of growing competition and increasing home production in receiver countries"; one aspect of this trade to which Mr. Buchanan draws attention is that the maintenance of foreign markets seems to be dependent upon manufacturers being able to market the same kind of vehicles at home, "yet the general trend of foreign demand seems to be for larger and faster vehicles than we can accommodate upon our modest highway system which we lack the funds to improve".

In 1914 there were 388,860 motor vehicles in Britain. By 1939 there were 3,148,000. In 1947 there were 3,337,000; in 1950 there were 4,118,000; and in 1955, 6,044,000. By 1956 there were more than twice the total number of 1939. Mr. Buchanan declares that it is very possible "that the main motor car boom in this country still lies ahead of us. We still stand at about one private car per fourteen head of population compared with one per four in the United States. Certainly there is a very real prospect of the number of cars being trebled in the next decade or so, a happening which would be in line with the maintenance of a motor industry playing its vital role in our export trade".

THE greater part of Mr. Buchanan's book is devoted to the problems which the motor vehicle has brought with it, very properly, since every increase in the number of vehicles adds to their gravity.

after-history endured in relative silence years maybe of pain, sadness and bereavement. The whole of it is senseless and meaningless, and in aid of nothing".

What is the cause? Motorists blame pedestrians. Pedestrians point out that since motors are involved in almost all accidents, vehicles are the cause of the trouble. But the fact is that

"with very few exceptions all accidents arise out of errors of judgment by the road users involved, the exceptions being the utterly unforeseeable 'Acts of God' such as falling trees, thunderbolts, road subsidence. Apart from these exceptions it is difficult to conceive of an accident that could not have been avoided had all the persons involved taken the road conditions as they found them and exercised the care and restraint necessitated thereby. It is undoubtedly a reasonable viewpoint that accidents could be avoided altogether if all the road users behaved perfectly all the time, and from this it follows that fundamentally it is the road users themselves who are responsible for road accidents by the lapses from correct behaviour".

IT seems obvious that every increase in the number of vehicles on the road is going to increase the number of accidents, and the fall in casualties when petrol was rationed during the war and during the Suez "crisis" confirms this. But studying road accident figures over the years you became aware of one dramatic improvement. The highest number of people killed in one year on the roads in this country was in 1927 when it was 7,343, with only 2,400 vehicles. The number of casualties had a tendency to fall slightly between 1927 and the war, falling again to a total of 120,000 in 1943. Since then there has been a steady tendency to rise. The total for 1955 was the highest even though the number of fatalities was 5,526, the highest since the war though lower than in any pre-war year after 1927. In 1938 with 3,000,000 vehicles on the roads there were 233,359 casualties, in 1955 with well over 5,000,000 vehicles there were no more than 267,922 casualties. The increase in casualties was not, in other words, in proportion to the increase in traffic.

"Some of this improvement is attributable to small road improvements (nothing large has been done) and to life-saving devices such as pedestrian crossings and better street lighting, but a substantial part must be due to better road behaviour prompted no doubt, by propaganda and road safety training for children. Of the many propaganda campaigns we have to endure, there is perhaps none more important than that directed to road safety, and no aspect of that more vital than the teaching of the young. A major new social habit having arisen, a new code of behaviour is required".

(To be continued)

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## The Environment of Freedom

John Dewey, Ghandi, Dwight Macdonald, and Camus all elaborate a central conception which might be affirmed as the great discovery of the twentieth century. It is, as Dewey said, that means must be consistent with ends; or, as Ghandi said, that deception and violence can bring no peace.

Macdonald's analysis, in *The Root is Man*, concerns the need for a new political vocabulary. The radical, Macdonald points out, when he loses sight of the "limit" implicit in all rebellion, is no longer a radical. He has forgotten that the revolution is on behalf of *Man*. As Camus says:

Immediately rebellion, forgetful of its generous origins, allows itself to be contaminated by resentment, it denies life, dashes toward destruction, and raises up the grimacing cohorts of petty rebels, embryo slaves all of them, who end by offering themselves for sale, to-day, in all the market-places of Europe to no matter what form of servitude. It is no longer either revolution or rebellion but rancor, malice, and tyranny.

This is Camus' generalized account of what happened to the Russian Revolution.

Macdonald finds in Stalinist apologetics the rationalizations by which the "grimacing cohorts" justify themselves:

By "Progressive" would be understood those who see the Present as an episode on the road to a better Future; those who think more in terms of historical process than of moral values; those who believe that the main trouble with the world is partly lack of scientific knowledge and partly failure to apply to human affairs such knowledge as we do have . . .

"Radical" would apply to the as yet few individuals—mostly anarchists, conscientious objectors, and renegade Marxists like myself—who reject the concept of Progress, who judge things by their present meaning and effects . . . They, or rather we, think it is an open question whether the increase of man's mastery over nature is good or bad in its actual effects on human life to date, and favor adjusting technology to man, even if it means—as may be the case—a technological regression, rather than adjusting man to technology . . . And we feel that the firmest ground from which to struggle for that human liberation which was the goal of the old Left is the ground not of History but of those non-historical values (truth, justice, love, etc.) which Marx has made unfashionable among socialists.

The Progressive makes History the

center of his ideology. The Radical puts Man there . . .

The great question which simple Rebellion leaves unanswered is the question of *Means*. For the rebellion is always against some form of "means" which is being used to reach the goal that men hold to be desirable. The act of rebellion is always in recognition of some immediate truth. It is a spontaneous declaration, "which unhesitatingly gives the strength of its love and without a moment's delay refuses injustice." Its merit, as Camus says, "lies in making no calculations, distributing everything it possesses to life and to living men."

How can you make a "system" out of what is spontaneous, or plan for behaviour which refuses to make "calculations"?

For a century or so, the West has placed its faith in "organization". If you are going to get "results", we have been told, you must organise. We are now beginning to realize that organization tends to destroy every opportunity for spontaneous action. The principle of organization tends to mean the elimination of the unexpected, the suppression of the unpredictable. Hence the apparently irreconcilable conflict between individual values and social values, and the slowly spreading popularity of anarchism in politics and mysticism in religion.

Must we, then, stop with the act of rebellion? If so, what are we to make of the vast technological apparatus we have inherited from the days of belief in organization?

It may be that the reconstruction of society along new lines which permit and allow for continuous "rebellion" will be similar to the long and painstaking process by which the human body was evolved. Perhaps we don't need any "big" blueprints for the changes which are required, but only the alertness of spirit which brings endless microscopic adjustments and revisions of our social forms. Perhaps we have only to become aware of the true versatility of the human spirit and its capacity to turn almost any form or instrument into a vehicle of originality. The creative impulse has never needed, never had, a "perfect" environment. The creative impulse needs only the nourishment of men who believe in themselves.

From "Manas" (Los Angeles).

## Franco's Folly

Continued from p. 3

the part of their elders, and whether they are exalted to emulate, or moved to rebel against it, they will nurse dreams of violence and strife against the best people of their country who long for a peace which no despot can give. The great majority, then, who have suffered because of Franco's rising or Franco's victory, will feel their scars re-opened, and themselves insulted in their deepest fibres by this travesty and mockery of truth; for, if there were martyrs, they were not all on Franco's side, and if there were assassins, they were not all among the so-called Reds. As for Franco's Old Guard, and for anybody committed to his cause, they will be confirmed in that spirit of vengeance by which they have been inspired for nearly twenty years.

It is symptomatic of the nihilism and sterility of the régime that they should feel even now so morbid a need to commemorate their dead. Are they fearing a resurrection of those whom they have killed? And is not this monument partly intended as a warning that they are still ready to kill? The cry of the most fanatic among them was "Viva la muerte" (Long Live Death). A colossal granite transcription of this motto, that is what most Spaniards will read in the Valle de los Caídos, in spite and because of its cross and its Christ, of its cardinal virtues, its apostles and saints.

By all means, let the dead be remembered. It is not Spain, of all countries, where fathers, brothers and friends are forgotten a few years after their death. But if a monument is to be erected to the dead, and if it is to be called a national and a christian monument, it ought to be in remembrance of all the killed in the Civil War, whatever the side they fought on (and there were more than two sides), and whether they fought or not. There is a sanctuary at San Martino

in Northern Italy, near the place where a battle was fought in June 1859, by the Austrians against the French and the Piedmontese. There was nearly 40,000 dead in one day; their bones are preserved in this sanctuary all mixed together; and there is an inscription inviting one to meditate how all those soldiers are now united in that very death which they wanted to inflict on one another to seal a disunity which was not of their own making, which they hardly understood, and from which they were never to profit. The contrast between this sanctuary and the Valle de los Caídos needs no further comment.

One thing which the newspapers in Spain and Mr. Matthews failed to mention, but which is common knowledge, reported by Spanish publications in exile, and by at least one foreign traveller, Henry Gibbs, author of "The Masks of Spain", is that among the 7,000 or 8,000 engaged in the construction of the Valle de los Caídos there is or there was a high percentage of political prisoners. On account of the dust produced during blasting operations these workers were particularly exposed to T.B. and possibly to some forms of cancer. The practice of using the forced labour of political prisoners for works most abhorrent to their heart, is not of Franco's invention nor a prerogative of his régime. But the violence and cruelty which it entails, the contempt for human dignity of which it is an expression, so similar to, and in many respects worse than, asking prisoners to dig their own grave before they are shot, includes Franco and his supporters in that scourge of mankind which afflicts people in time of peace with all the barbarism of war.

And to the Valle de los Caídos it is almost certain the Church will give its blessing.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI

## DOES MONEY OUTWEIGH INTEGRITY?

A symposium on the advantages and disadvantages of serialisation of books in newspapers and magazines, published in the Spring issue of the *Author*, journal of the Society of Authors, one woman declared that she was so shocked at what happened to one of her children's books that she made her publisher never to allow another to be serialised; but that in the case of books written for adults, "the handsome extra cheque on top of the price outweighs my feeling of outrage at seeing what I have written get into mutilated slices". Another writer commented that if the author reads the serial version of his work and is depressed by it, more than he should be. "He should never read it". These attitudes are not peculiar to writers. They invade every stratum of society, though it is perhaps more blatant and reprehensible in the case of a successful writer who is already enjoying a comfortable living from his writings, and for whom the serialisation of his work provides the "handsome extra cheque", to say in the case of a factory worker who is ordered by the management to produce a shoddy article which offends his conscience as a skilled craftsman.

We shall not be surprised if some writers accuse us of being moralistic and utopian for criticising the attitudes of these writers to their work and to personal integrity. We shall probably be urged to be more realistic: "Who, in their senses, would not jump at the chance of getting something for nothing, which, after all, what serialisation comes as if getting something for nothing were a deep-seated instinct in all human beings—which of course it is not!

When we raise such "moral" problems we are less concerned with arguing what is in our opinion the right solution to them, than with trying to pull down the edifice of values which has become so prominent a feature of the social landscape that it has come to be accepted by most people as a permanent, timeless, landmark. Largely responsible for this attitude is the Christian Church, which preaches brotherly love but is always telling us that Man is basically wicked and weak; that we are all born tainted by the sins of our forebears (presumably right back to Adam and Eve!); that we give in to temptation and do not resist evil. This summing-up of Man's "nature", which most people readily accept as applying to everybody but themselves, has long been hardened into a kind of biological truth which Reason—a combination of Man's obvious material needs, interests and private dreams—is, so we are told, hitting its head against a brick wall in trying to change!

★  
NOW, even a biological truth, especially is this true in the scientific age in which we live, needs the backing of scientific evidence. And so far as we anarchists are concerned, there is no evidence to support concepts of Man based either on "wickedness" or "virtue". Man has the power to be what he chooses to be, given an environment of freedom, which presupposes free access to knowledge and free choice. The potential power of the human mind is surely revealed when one considers that every society has produced those who have not only rebelled against its age-long customs and ways of life, but have, in the long

run, succeeded in replacing them by what we to-day consider more human, more ethical standards of life. Not only have they risen above their environment but have transformed the environment as well. What is there so sacrosanct, so permanent, so valuable in the environment of to-day that it cannot, or should not, be changed?

As Man acquires a better understanding of himself so can we expect him to seek more meaning in life, and as a consequence, to find more frustration! Yes, more frustration, and not because the ghost of Stalin and his heirs cast a shadow of uncertainty on an otherwise sun-kissed planet of peace and plenty, but because of the conflict between Man's actual way of life largely "determined" for him by his "elders and betters", and the kind of life he would wish to lead; between the values he applies in his dealings with his fellow beings and those he believes in for himself (without necessarily applying them).

It is a curious phenomenon of our times that whereas all human beings need shelter, clothing and a minimum number of calories to maintain life, and that human personality and diversity is a question of *mind*, it is in the acquisition of the needs of life that "individual enterprise" and competition now manifest themselves, and that in the realm of thought all these business- and wage-individualists fall over one another in wanting to conform, to think as everybody thinks and to live like the Jones' live! And all the time they hate the Jones' and the boss and long to be with Dr. Fuchs up the Pole or with, or in the shoes of, some other eccentric, poor perhaps, but free from the tyranny of the clock, convention and compromise.

Modern Man outwardly worships money but he obstinately goes on seeking the things that money cannot buy, or the possession of which, often destroys. How "perverse" he can be, in spite of conditioning, was revealed again in an article in last week's *Lancet* by Dr. C. P. Blacker, physician to the Royal Bethlehem and Maudsley Hospital, London, who writes among other things:

"I have been astonished at the physical ill-treatment which some women will put up with from periodically intemperate husbands—provided that they later feel and express regret."

"Very different is her reaction to intractable meanness or jealousy. These are felt to be despicable traits, forming an integral part of the man's nature, which he makes no effort to combat."\*

★  
TO return to our point of departure. To say that our author is only doing the thing anybody in her position would do in the circumstances, when she allows periodical publishers to mutilate her work, even though it produces a feeling of distaste in her, since the reward is a "handsome extra cheque", is unscientific because it presupposes that there is no choice, or that what choice there is, is so obvious, that no one in his senses would give the alternative a second's thought. Such an argument assumes (as our author does in fact), that the "distaste" which is produced by one set of values can be "outweighed"† by the material things that a "handsome cheque" can buy. (It is notorious that most prostitutes sell their bodies because they desperately want the things that money can buy. That a large number of them, when it comes to love and sex, are lesbians would tend to indicate a recognition that normal outlets have been compromised beyond repair. In so doing, we suggest, they show deeper understanding than some intellectuals).

\*We quote the doctor's observations because we think them so thought-provoking and not because we approve of wife-beating even as a satisfactory alternative to meanness and jealousy!

†The dictionary defines this term as "to exceed in worth or value; surpass in importance or excellence" (Funk & Wagnalls).

# FRANCO'S FOLLY THE VALLEY OF THE FALLEN

ON November 20th, 1956, the anniversary of the execution of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the dictator and founder of the Falange, an extraordinary building was inaugurated, called "Valle de los Caídos" (Valley of the Fallen), in a place hollowed out of the mountain La Nava in the Sierra Guadarrama, 32 miles North-West of Madrid, four miles from El Escorial, and not far from General Franco's home at El Pardo. Work started in 1941, and was for long shrouded in secrecy; the site was screened by barbed wire with machine-gun nests, and soldiers guarded its approaches. Mr. Herbert L. Matthews, of the *New York Times*, was allowed to visit it, and from him we learn that the monastery adjoining it is completed but still unoccupied, and that the main feature of the building is a crypt larger than the one at St. Peter's in Rome, adorned with statues and bas-reliefs. Its dome is surmounted by a cross reaching a height of 500 feet, that is, as high as Blackpool Tower, and when it is lighted up at night, is visible from Madrid.

The purpose of the building is not perfectly clear. The monastery, the cross, statues of the twelve apostles, each 60 feet high, and of the four cardinal virtues, altar, figures of Christ and of the Spanish Saints, make it a piece of Catholic architecture. Yet it is expected to receive the remains of Franco and other notable figures who fought on his side, and it is said to be dedicated to the memory of those who gave their lives for his triumph during the Civil War—according to one estimate, 149,000.

This mixture of Catholicism and worship of the dead may be one of the reasons for the censorship for a long while imposed on all news concerning the project and for the slowness in carrying it through. For it is only four years ago that Cardinal Segura of Seville publicly deplored "the excessive veneration of comrades who died in the war", and Franco cannot have forgotten how the high hierarchy of the Church was displeased when the ashes of José Antonio Primo de Rivera were transferred in solemn procession from Alicante to El Escorial and buried at the foot of the Main Altar in the Escorial Chapel. The Church in Spain, which has always been critical of the Falange, and challenged its monopoly of the Workers' Syndicates, must be bargaining very hard for the support Franco needs from her to present the nation with this huge monument.

★ ★ ★  
SPANIARDS have already drawn a parallel between El Valle de los Caídos and the Egyptian pyramids or other buildings of antiquity which for their size and solidity, if not for their artistic merits, were meant to last indefinitely and perpetuate their founders' memory. Catholicism being the religion of Spain, and Spain and Catholicism having intimately been linked together in the minds of most of the makers and writers of Spanish history, it is understandable that only with the approval of the Church and with the

We do not believe that in an integrated personality material considerations can ever "outweigh" the "spiritual". If a "handsome cheque" is our criterion, then why not write to order, or denounce our friends? After all, to let someone mutilate what you have written in return for a cheque is the thin end of the wedge, especially when, as the second author we quoted, pointed out, you refuse to read what *they* have done to your story!

The *malaise* of our time is opportunism and expediency which is a more powerful weapon for the ruling class than the Law and the Armed Forces. As we pointed out last week in our piece on Algeria, one man of principle not only had the strength to overcome the physical pain of refined torture but also to defeat the combined might of the French State and its henchmen. Such men will not receive any "handsome extra cheques" going but there is no doubt in our minds that they are less tortured, less "mixed up" than their fellow beings who can throw overboard their integrity for a cheque . . . or forty pieces of silver.

recognition of Franco as one of her champions could he confidently look at the future of his mausoleum and fame. Should Spain cease to be Catholic or the Church to be the strong political power she is, both his memory and his monument would soon be execrated.

But Franco's inspiration is not likely to have come from the Egyptian Pyramids. For whatever religious element there is in it, its model is to be found in the nearby Escorial, built by Philip II in fulfilment of a vow that tradition has that he took before the battle of St. Quentin. But for the idea of enshrining the memory of those who died for him in a huge edifice and in an impressive crypt he is indebted to Mussolini, as he and the Falange are for whatever ideas and institutions they have tried to impose upon the Spanish people. Ten years after his "march on Rome" Mussolini opened in Rome an exhibition of the Fascist Revolution, the centre-piece of which was a high-domed and gloomy crypt, called the "martyrs' sacrum", tapestried with the labarums of the "action squads" responsible for many acts of intimidation, terrorization and murder, and with the names of all those fascists who met a violent death, most of them during, or in retaliation for, one of their so-called "punitive expeditions".

Mussolini started counting the years from the date of his rise to power as if it were to be regarded as momentous an event as the birth of Christ. He changed the names of many streets and of a town or two, founded new ones near Rome, had his effigy reproduced and hoisted everywhere, and his sayings printed, painted or engraved all over the country. He also sponsored the building of many

edifices remarkable for their size rather than for their usefulness or beauty. In this he had models and imitators in every dictatorial régime since that of the French Revolution, and Franco's is no exception. It is as if dictators had a haunting feeling of their ephemerality; as if, having established themselves with violence, they had a premonition that by violence they will be undone.

Against the inexorable effacing action of time, and against the nemesis of history, they do their utmost to erect material testimonies to their passage on earth, well knowing that they have no spiritual inheritance to leave and no beneficent deed on their record by which to be thankfully remembered. They seem to know in their heart of hearts that they are the enemies of mankind. Two things, at any rate, they almost invariably do—two things by which this label is deserved; they wage war on the past which happens to displease them, and to mould the present as if that past had never been; and they anxiously mass-produce strait-jackets for the future. Not to speak of the harm they do to the living who must needs breathe in the past and the future, they are thus offensive to the dead and cruel to the unborn.

★ ★ ★  
IF FRANCO'S "Valle de los Caídos" is anything like Mussolini's "Sacrum dei Martiri"—as the name suggests and rumour confirms it is—it will stand (as long as it will stand) as a monument of hate. The young, few as they must be, who know only the official version of the recent history of their country, will be awed by this macabre ostentation of superiority in heroism and sacrifice on

Continued on p. 2

## LONG LIVE THE EMPIRE . . .

### But Business is Business

A FORMER New Zealand Cabinet Minister, Mr. F. M. B. Fisher had a few hard things to say about British governments, in a speech in Wellington last week.

He criticised Britain because of her reluctance to stop the import of cheap Continental dairy products. He said: "They want all we have to offer in time of war and they are obviously ready to throw us on the scrap heap in time of peace."

Mr. Fisher said that the New Zealand Cabinet secretly resigned in 1914 in protest against the British failure to provide an escort for a convoy carrying New Zealand's main body of servicemen overseas.

In the Second World War, New Zealand agreed to stand behind the war effort "to the last man, the last shilling, and the last gun." The response was a request to send gold, guns, and ammunition to Britain. They were sent in the liner Niagara which was mined on her first day out.

Mr. Fisher added: "The sacrifices have to be made at this end. I confess it is the memory of these happenings which makes me feel somewhat despondent about the actions of the British Government in times of peace."

As Mr. Fisher was uttering these criticisms, the British Premier, Mr. Macmillan was showing the Commonwealth that the welcome he had received during his tour however much it may have warmed

his heart had nevertheless not gone to his head. Empire loyalty was one thing, business quite another! To an audience at the Royal Empire Society he declared that Commonwealth countries must not expect British investment as a matter of course. They must do all they can to attract it.

"Capital investment in the Commonwealth is not primarily a matter for our Government.

"It lies in private hands and the capital will go, according to the natural laws of commerce, to the place where it is going to earn its greatest reward.

"In all the Commonwealth countries there are great schemes of development, but, if British capital is to help, there must be an inducement—or at any rate no deterrent—or the capital will go elsewhere."

What Mr. Macmillan said comes as no surprise to us. What makes his remarks "newsworthy" in FREEDOM is that Ministers do not often call a spade a spade in public. But who after what he has said, will believe Colonial Secretaries when they tell us that we are occupying colonial territories, spending money, and sending them our best troops and latest weapons, for the benefit of the natives? If we cannot pour capital into the Commonwealth countries which are peopled by our "kith and kin" unless we see a return which is as profitable as the best investment elsewhere, it is likely that we should do this for the benefit of backward people in Africa or the West or East Indies? Dammit, Sir, they are not even white-men!

## ... Down with Russian Imperialism

### But Business Comes First

THE harsh things the political leaders of the West and East say about each other and their respective systems, and the threat to peace which each represents in the eyes of the other, makes not a scrap of difference when it comes to signing a business contract.

Mr. Vlas Klentsov, the President of Technopromport, the Russian trade organisation, left London last week after a two month stay during which he has completed the orders which are being placed with British firms for the plant and equipment for a new tyre factory at Dnepropetrovsk in the Ukraine.

The factory will cost £14,000,000 and should be completed next year. It will be one of the largest outside the United States and will have an output of 2,000,000 tyres a year. The contract is

being handled by a group of British firms and about another 50 firms will be sub-contracting for the production of many of the materials needed.

We are sure that every director of the firms sharing this very nice £14 million contract hates the Russian system and firmly supports the Government's expenditure of £1,500 millions on Defence against the Russian threat. All the directors, we are sure, have at some time or other declared at cocktail parties and Tory rallies that they would prefer death rather than submit to an invasion by Russian Communism . . . But when the invader is a Mr. Vlas Klentsov, with an order-book in his brief case, it doesn't matter if he is also carrying Lenin's collected works, he is a welcome guest, and just the person to invite to one of those cocktail parties!

# S. African Govt. Attacks A.N.C.

Continued from p. 1

As far as can be ascertained the Government does not—yet—intend to proscribe the African National Congress altogether, only to ban it in any rural area where it might have any effect. It is assumed that Dr. Verwoerd is proceeding under the Native Administration Act of 1927, under which laws may be repealed or amended, or any new laws made, simply by the Governor-General—in effect, Minister Verwoerd—by proclamation published in the *Gazette*.

## Government by Proclamation

Under this Act, Dr. Verwoerd cannot ban Congress in a city, without designating the whole city a Native Area, which might lead to all sorts of complications, but other members of the Government such as the Minister of 'Justice' have other powers which could come in useful here.

The Government's action is clearly an attempt to intimidate Congress before the all-white general election takes place next month, for it had been announced that the Africans were preparing plans for various forms of direct action in protest against the elections from which they are excluded.

In fact a 'workers' conference'—backed by the ANC, the Indian Congress, Coloured Peoples' organisations and the White South African Congress of Democrats, has

called on all South Africans to stay at home during the election week, and has passed a resolution demanding:

- Minimum wage of £1 a day for all unskilled workers;
- Abolition of pass laws;
- Abolition of apartheid laws;
- Abolition of the job reservation act reserving skilled work for white people;
- The end of the Nationalist Government.

Of the coming election the resolution adds: 'If we cannot vote on a ballot paper we shall find another way to vote. We call upon all oppressed people and democrats of all races throughout South Africa to take mass action. . . . Our wages are so little that we cannot live. Our children are sickly and starving. Pass laws are killing us.'

'Day and night police are raiding and arresting. Our homes and lands are being stolen. We cannot suffer in this way any longer.'

## The 'Opposition' Agrees

The election is to be held on April 16, and from April 14, there will be public meetings, processions, torch-light marches and mass deputations.

It is to counter the preparation and agitation for this that Verwoerd has moved against the ANC. He has the Government behind him in any repressive measures he may take, and he has also been given the green light by the 'Opposition'. Sir de Villiers Graaf, leader of the United Party, has condemned in advance any action by non-whites and has urged the Government to take 'appropriate action'.

Needless to say, Verwoerd needs no urging.

We wonder, however, if he really knows what he is doing? Or is he really such a psychopath that he does not for one moment count the consequences of his actions? Throughout all the years of its existence the African National Congress has been a moderate influence. It is now being driven to advocating mass action because 'If we cannot vote on a ballot paper we shall find another way to vote.'

## Nothing to Lose

Does Dr. Verwoerd not realise that if he takes away the Africans' rights to any legal form of expression they will simply turn to *illegal* forms?

The *apartheid* policy, the savage economic exploitation, the police terror, the denial of all rights, the taking away of their land and property, add up to a situation where

millions of Africans will have nothing whatever to lose. Their struggle, their aspirations and frustrations will be driven underground, and from moderate, constitutional channels will flow into extreme and revolutionary ones.

Not revolutionary in the way that anarchists would approve, however. The African revolution, when it comes, is more likely to be a bitter explosion of hatred than a social experiment in brotherhood.

The Africans' national consciousness emerged with ideas of brotherhood and communal sharing of the fruits of the earth. But he was spat upon and kicked by the white man. We shall hardly be taken by surprise when he spits and kicks back.

# Redundancy in the Mines

Continued from p. 1

stock had been caused by a falling off in demand from blast furnaces and by the warm winter, but "a cold spell could reduce the stocks very quickly."

Mr. H. L. Clark, divisional marketing director, suggested afterwards that trade union leaders who criticised these stocks were harking back to the days of the general strike.

★

THINGS have changed fast in these two months. Last week-end the National Coal Board announced that there would be no Saturday shift working in collieries this summer; in other words that a five day week is now officially favoured "as part of the Board's search for economies". Of course the Board will not admit to there being a glut of coal; they refer to it as "a position in which we found our production out of balance"! On the other hand existing stocks of 24 million tons, the highest since Nationalisation, are so high that the Board has taken over disused quarries in Nottinghamshire for storage purposes.

"They have reached such proportions that they do not know where to put them." Mr. A. Martin, the general secretary of the Nottinghamshire miners, said after a meeting of the union's area council. He would not accept that reasons for the reduced demand might be that housewives were finding coal too expensive or that they were changing

JUDGING by the following letter published in last Friday's *Manchester Guardian*, FREEDOM is not alone in considering the Abscess of Algeria not a particularly French phenomenon:

To the Editor of the "Manchester Guardian"

Sir,—All people who read the extract from M. Alleg's book will have been justly horrified and disgusted that such atrocities should be committed to-day.

The outburst in Monday's *Manchester Guardian* was understandable and sincere, but I cannot resist the impression that some of your correspondents are burying their heads in the sand. The treatment by this country of "unco-operative natives" in Malaya, Kenya, and more recently Cyprus, although less fully reported, is surely every bit as disturbing as that meted out by the French in Algeria.

This is not just an example of a man "going rotten at the heart," but is another symptom of what now seems to be an international disease which, left unchecked, will destroy the foundation upon which democracy is built— &c.

In our article on Algeria last week besides refusing to single out French behaviour in Algeria as any more reprehensible than British treatment of the Kikuyu population in Kenya we concluded with that

As we see it, then, the "abscess" of Algeria, nor colonialism as such, "abscess" is only *uncovered* by Algeria, the Kenyas, Malayas, the tappers, press censors, witch-hunters, the rest, for it is there all the time. It is issues such as Algeria that make us aware of its real potentialities to "defeat" humanity. That "abscess" power and the acceptance of the doctrine that "might is right", which produces a tyrant and the torturer as well as slave and the fence-sitter.

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★  
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## EOKA'S NEW METHOD

Down the main street of the tiny Cypriot village of Vassa one night last week strode 15 masked men in strict military order. A year ago, the sight of such gunmen meant that someone had been singled out for death as a collaborator with the British. But this time the EOKA men proved to be bound on a singularly innocent errand. Invading the village coffee shop, they ordered its customers to face the wall, then searched their pockets for British cigarettes.

The raid on the Vassa coffee shop was the start of a new and radically different EOKA attack on British rule in Cyprus. Colonel George Grivas, who heads EOKA, issued a leaflet announcing that he was "raising the banner of passive resistance," peremptorily ordered a boycott of British football pools and such imported British goods as cigarettes, shoes, whisky, soft drinks and sweets. Proclaimed Grivas: "Britain is sucking away the sweat of the Cypriot people. She digs her hands into their pockets and takes their money in the form of import duties, taxes, and fines."

By week's end Cyprus' stores were running low on locally produced cigarettes; Cypriot cobblers happily reported soaring demand for their ill-made shoes; and thousands of tickets for a government lottery on behalf of Cyprus' hospitals were going unsold. Some 1,300 headmen and elders of Greek Cypriot villages resigned office in open refusal to co-operate with the British authorities in any way. Said one weary British businessman: "I thought passive resistance meant everyone was going to lie down on railroad tracks the way they did in India in Gandhi's day. This looks worse."

Time 17/3/58.

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