

FREEDOM

JULY 20 1963 Vol 24 No 23

The State furnishes no machinery for arriving at justice . . . The penal law simply takes a man into its hopper and grinds out a criminal at the end.
CLARENCE DARROW.

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

THE situation in the "civilised world" in early 1936 was one of deep depression. Mass unemployment, Fascism in Italy, Hitlerism lording it in Germany, Stalinism rampant in Russia; only the Popular front government in France (April, 1936), and its Spanish counterpart (February) appeared to the radical Left as capable of halting the political swing to the extreme Right and the drift towards War. In the event neither was allowed to govern by the real ruling class. In France, Blum the socialist-millionaire Premier had his reformist wings clipped by the industrialists and financiers who simply transferred their capital to America and elsewhere and brought France to the verge of "bankruptcy" and revolution. Blum and his Communist and Radical friends did not accept the challenge—nor did the

SPAIN 1936

French workers. In Spain the Popular Front government was acceptable neither to the financiers and the military—and which government can operate without the support of one or the other?—nor to the workers. For the former it promised to go too far, for the latter not far enough.

27 years ago this week the "civilised" world was shaken out of its depressions by the dramatic turn of events in Spain. Ostensibly the headline news was the attempted *coup d'etat* by the Generals. What shook the Left out of its torpor and defeatism was the fact that for once

the military had been resisted, and successfully by the people and in spite of the government, which, logically (at least for anarchists, if not for good democrats) could do nothing when defied by just those who were paid to defend and implement its authority.

To this day neither the Lib-Lab Left nor the orthodox historians have the imagination or the integrity to recognise and accept the fact that the force which halted the Generals' take-over bid on July 17-19, 1936, in Spain, was not an "enlightened" government supported by the people, but a sizeable minority of the people

Has Lessons for the Civil Disobedience Movement in Britain Today

in spite of the government; in spite of party leaders, and last, but not least, in spite of the odds against them. And, we would add, they were successful because among that minority, an overwhelming majority were revolutionary—in the sense that they believed in the need for radical change, not as a long term, evolutionary process to be achieved step by step, through existing administrative and legal channels, but something sudden, overwhelming, to break down the machine of State beyond repair and thus clear the way for new forms of social and economic organisation, based on the recognition that mankind is one, and without centralised authority, insti-

tutionalised violence, and without a privileged class.

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FOR a whole generation of radicals the events of July 1936 were a source of inspiration which the passage of time with its depressing catalogue of world war, cold war, the ever-increasing power of the State, power politics and brainwashing, has not succeeded in extinguishing. We cannot expect the young generation of today to feel that way about events which occurred even before they were born and which the historians of today seem particularly loath to consider worthy of their attention. Therefore in "commemorating" the Spanish Revolution of 1936 we resist all emotional, personal overtones but seek to remind all who are interested in the problems of the social struggle for a better world, and particularly the young generation of anarchists, Committee of 100 and other liber-

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'KEEP BRITAIN WHITE' OR BLEED BRITAIN WHITE?

PETER RACHMAN, the gangster rack-landlord who was the great love of Mandy Rice-Davies' life, had a greater significance than has yet appeared in the press, despite its preoccupation with every ripple that comes from the Profumo splash.

Lord Denning is enquiring into whether any of the "disreputable rag-bag" that were concerned in the affair, had any effect on security. He is not enquiring into whether they had any effect on public policy generally, but there is not the slightest doubt that Rent Act legislation enabled people like Peter Rachman to grow rich beyond their wildest dreams. However, what need had they to use prostitutes to influence the Minister, when he had already succumbed to the influence of large and powerful vested interests?

In the Commons, it was suggested by Mr. Ben Parkin (M.P. for Paddington North), that Rachman might not be dead and have flown with the hidden fortunes he amassed from rack-renting on coloured peoples, and on prostitutes.

He pointed out that the Church Commissioners had enabled Peter Rachman to get his start—

"the Church Commissioners auctioned some of their property in Hereford Road, Paddington, in 1955. The Church

Commissioners were very often protected by the fact that it was their duty to get the highest possible value out of their investments. He did not complain about that. Other trusts had similar difficulties.

"Bearing in mind the enthusiasm for a property-owning democracy, one might have thought that a lot of people on that occasion would have had the chance to buy their homes. Not so.

"These houses were lotted in fours, four at a time, and the whole road was put up for auction at once. It was sold for £95,000. Sixty dwellings. Just about £1,500 a house.

"I would have thought the Church Commissioners were entitled to get a little more than that, even at that time. Bit of a fiddle going on, I thought.

"A year or two after that, one of the houses in Hereford Road, owned by Mr. Rachman, was let at a fantastic rent which I have never been able to establish, but it was all perfectly legal to an experienced coloured man who knew how to let the rest of the house: in seven separate dwellings to seven separate girls, at a rent of £3 10s. per dwelling per day, payable daily at noon.

"As far as I know, Mr. Rachman's rent for the whole house was payable daily: £10,000-a-year from one house when £10,000 would have paid the interest on the price paid for the whole road."

From profiteering on brothels, thanks to the courteous assistance of the Church Commissioners, it was an easy step to build an estate empire on inflated rents from Negro tenants.

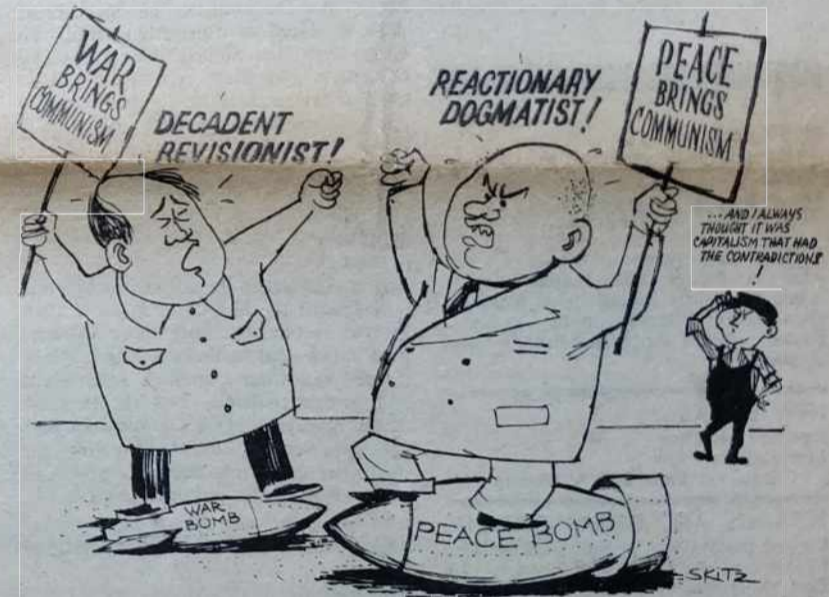
According to Mr. Parkin, the Notting Hill riots "may have affected those in the United States". It would be truer to say that the press coverage may have affected the United States, because in fact there were never any racial riots in Notting Hill (they were only so-called because the nearest police station was situated there) and those in North Kensington were to a very large extent Underworld riots rather than genuine racial riots. Despite intensive fascist agitation, as an attempt to revive the Union Movement and the splinter groups that broke from it, there was never anything in North Kensington, let alone exclusive Notting Hill, to bear comparison with racial tensions such as are known in the United States.

That of course racial tension, of a lesser degree, did follow those so-called riots, in undoubtedly true. The activities of people like Rachman, crowding West Indian immigrants into tenements and pushing out the remaining white tenants, would see to that. Negro tenants at inflated rents were "in"; other slum dwellers "out".

Here however is the most significant fact, namely, that the most energetic supporter of the fascist cause (Keep Britain White, and all that) in North

Kensington was Peter Rachman, under the name of Peter Raich. When he died (if it was him, as one must suppose is the case) he was buried with Jewish rites, in the name of Perez Rachman, and he is said to have been a Polish Jew. I had occasion to know of his activities for many years and this was not known to me. The thugs he employed were largely Polish ex-servicemen who had been unable to settle down here and I assumed that this was a Polish gangster, his anti-semitic background in Poland accounted for his fascism. But it appears that he was far from having any anti-semitic background, which did not stop him from realising the value of the fascist sects, or they of him. In-flaming racial tension was all to the good, because it pushed up the value of property—the greater the hostility to Negroes, the less chance they had to find accommodation, and so the accommodation could command a greater price to white and coloured alike. I wonder what the mugs who painted MOSLEY FOR BRITAIN on my local public lavatory have to say about that? Perhaps they might let us know if they have seen "Peter Raich" around lately.

INTERNATIONALIST.



The General Strike in British Guiana

THE General Strike in British Guiana is now over and during the past week workers have been returning to their jobs after a 2½ months' struggle against Dr. Jagan's Labour Relations Bill.

This Bill was aimed at bringing the unions under government control. A totalitarian system of rule seems to have been the aim of Dr. Jagan. He has tried to follow the path of other Marxist leaders who cannot tolerate organised labour which is outside of their control. While in Cuba Castro's regime was able to disband unions and replace them with their own labour front organisations, Dr. Jagan was faced with determined opposition.

When the Bill was introduced, workers who were members of unions affiliated to the Trade Union Council, came out *en masse* against it. Faced with this opposition, Dr. Jagan did not hesitate to call on the capitalist British Government to help. British troops were quickly flown out there to back Dr. Jagan's marxist ruling party against the strikers.

Numerous demonstrations, mass meetings, marches and sit-downs were organised by the strikers at various government offices. Continual resistance has been maintained against this Bill. The police, with the help of the British troops, tried to disperse the demonstrators with tear gas and rifle fire. Even against this show of force the strike was continued until the Labour Bill was

thrown out.

During the strike, Jagan's government has been importing Russian goods via Cuba. These goods have been unloaded and transported with the help of the troops. Here we have communist and capitalist governments co-operating to aid Dr. Jagan. The Communists have said that the strike has the backing of the United States government and aims to overthrow the Jagan party. This is because they fear a Castro-type government on the South American mainland.

By contrast the British government seems to have more faith in Dr. Jagan. Although a marxist, Dr. Jagan in an interview last year with Lord Rootes said, "the expropriation of private property is not on the government's programme". The United States government's fears may be wrong for the British government is unlikely to give British Guiana its independence if its government intends a large programme of expropriation.

Whatever the outcome, what will be the position of the working man? The majority are Indians who mainly work in rural areas and support Dr. Jagan's party, the People's Progressive Party. The slightly less numerous negro population who work mainly in urban areas, support Mr. Forbes Burnham, the leader of the main opposition party, the People's National Congress. This gives a picture of a racial line-up behind the two parties. At the same time, there are

conflicting reports on these groupings leading at first to a certain amount of confusion. One report speaks of Dr. Jagan's party winning seats in 1961 in constituencies where the majority of voters were negroes, that negroes stood as candidates for Dr. Jagan's party and that negroes are members of the government. The opposition party of Mr. Burnham is accused of "preaching racial hatred to rouse the Negro peoples against the P.P.P. Government on any pretext."

The same accusation is levelled at Dr. Jagan who, it was stated "fought his election under the slogan—Vote for your own race." A third report drew attention to not only racial but religious differences of Hindu and Christian. It is little wonder that during the general strike there have been acts of racial violence from both Negro and Indian.

The religious plus the political rivalry has divided the community of British Guiana. Both parties have used these differences for their own ends in order to gain political power. These divisions are perpetuated for particular interests.

Even with barriers to co-operation, Indian sugar cane Workers and civil servants supported the strike call. It is plain that co-operation can be achieved when interests are seen to be the same. It is only through this co-operation of the people that the threat of domination by power-seeking interests can be guarded against.

P.T.

NOW ON SALE: ANARCHY 29,

an enlarged issue containing an 18,000-word account of the "Spies for Peace" story written by all sections of the libertarian left, and discussing the REAL official secret, the reception given to the RSG revelations and the implications for the future of the activities of the "spies". The issue also contains a review of the film "The Damned" (about a secret underground government establishment) and the reactions of public schoolboys to the recent article on anarchism and the public schools.

Order extra copies of Anarchy 29.

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

On TV!

AT ten o'clock last Sunday night, when the kiddiewinks were safely in bed, and the frogs were watching the ads for Summer County Margarine on the other channel, the BBC gave Alex Comfort an opportunity to expound the point of view of his new book *Sex in Society* in the television series "This Nation Tomorrow".

Comfort, who was introduced as "writer, anarchist and medical biologist" discussed his point of view with Professor Maurice Carstairs (whose own references to changing sexual mores in his Reith Lectures last year scandalized some people), Mrs. Ruth Robinson of the Marriage Guidance Council, and Mrs. Hilary Halpin, former chairman of the LCC children's committee. He summed up his code on sexual behaviour in the words of Bertrand Russell's definition of the good life: that it should be inspired by love and directed by intelligence, and the two aspects of sex-

A DISCUSSION ON THE EVER INTERESTING TOPIC

ual behaviour to which he applied this approach were the sexual lives of adolescents, and monogamy.

The fact that sex is still regarded as "a problem" is the major negative achievement of Christianity, he suggested. "We might as well make up our minds that chastity is no more a virtue than malnutrition." everybody knows that teenage lovemaking does not stop short of copulation, but because of the myth of "chastity", nobody inculcates the simple and obvious moral and technical rules of sexual behaviour. The moral injunctions, according to Comfort are: "Thou shalt not exploit another person's feelings" and "Thou shalt, under no circumstances, cause the birth of an unwanted child." The technical requirement is of course that "sex education" should include instruction to the young on the intelligent and correct use

of foolproof contraceptives.

The reference to "commandments" led Maurice Carstairs to question why, as an anarchist, Comfort was prescribing rules, to which he replied that a philosophy of freedom demanded higher standards of personal responsibility than a belief in authority. The lack of ordinary prudence and chivalry which could often be observed in adolescent sexual behaviour today was precisely the result of prescribing the code of chastity which did not make sense, instead of principles which are "immediately intelligible and acceptable to any sensible youngster."

But the observation which won him the *Daily Mirror* headline "TV Doctor's Amazing Sex Talk" was his definition of a chivalrous boy as one who takes contraceptives with him when he goes to meet his girl friend.

Comfort was equally provocative when he came to talk of adult sexual relationships. A good many marriages and a good many personalities, he suggested, require an "adulterous" prop to keep them on their feet. The extended life span in modern Western society means that "till death do us part" is in Comfort's words "a hell of a long time", and the concept of romantic love places a very heavy strain on marriage. (We take it that he was speaking of the *de facto* state of marriage as well as the legal institution).

"In choosing a partner we try both to retain the relationships we have enjoyed in childhood, and to recoup ourselves for fantasies which have been denied us. Mate-selection accordingly becomes for many an attempt to cast a particular part in a fantasy production of their own, and since both parties have the same intention but rarely quite the same fantasies, the result may well be a duel of rival producers. There are men, as Stanley Spencer said of himself, who need two complementary wives and women who need two complementary husbands, or at least two complementary love-objects. If we insist first that this is immoral or 'unfaithful', and second that should it occur there is an obligation to each love-object to insist on exclusive rights, we merely add unnecessary difficulties to a problem which might have presented none, or at least presented fewer, if anyone were permitted to solve it in their own way."

These views are no doubt the commonplaces of anarchist discussion of sexual relations, but it was a pleasure to hear this lucid and witty presentation of a libertarian and rational approach to the ever-interesting topic on television, which is usually a citadel of what Comfort, in seeking to lower the emotional temperature, called the operatic approach to sex.

Anarchism and Violence

THE influence of pacifism and the concept of non-violence presents anarchists with a problem which one is glad to see posed. It is valuable to know where one stands about this question, although in the heat of struggle principles may take to the wind, it is none the less salutary to think through this matter of violence to its final conclusion.

This is a subject in which too much emotion is to be discovered, the very word violence conjures up a picture in the minds of people that is hardly complimentary. There is a tradition of hypocrisy upheld by officialdom that it is wrong to kill. We have the Commandment: Thou shalt not kill, followed by J. Christ who made the sacrifice of his own life (so it is said) whilst making specific suggestions that if one is hit on one cheek one should turn the other to be hit also—thus, hitting back at the heart of one's assailant.

Officialdom is happy with the people believing in non-violence, for they reserve the right to kill to themselves and they alone decide on special times when mass slaughter is quite permissible. The unwritten code might well be: The State may kill, thou shalt not; the State may hit back, the people are to accept punishment and ask for more.

We thus see the dangers of advocating non-violence. It might sound very pure and lovely to appeal with sparkling eyes to people with the message of non-violence. We hardly want anyone hurt, do we? Yet this loveliness is somewhat inept when it results in masses of lambs meekly accepting the slaughter—it does not call for a militant and determined people ready to resist tyranny with every means.

Yet the anarchist who refuses to accept the notion of non-violence is faced with certain difficulties. The following is a list of the difficulties we find presented.

1. The ends of anarchism cannot be reached by violent means.
2. If we are violent the State will be justified in becoming more and more oppressive.
3. Our "image" is damaged if we countenance violent action.

4. Cruel people, sadists and psychopaths use violence.
5. You are unhappy and frustrated, your frustrations must be sublimated or you must have many sexual intercourse.
6. Where will you draw the line? If you are prepared to use violence it will put you in the same position as the person who is prepared to push the button.
7. Hate is the opposite of Love. We must be a real alternative to this hateful world and bring the power of Love into action.
8. All great religious leaders have called for love and not hatred, we are taught to love our neighbours not to hate them: you must see these eternal messages and turn from the way of hatred and violence.

I now propose to deal with these accusations one by one:

1. Eltzbacher, in his study of seven exponents of the anarchist philosophy found that only on one point did the seven anarchists agree: that they desired the negation of the State. We are thus justified in defining anarchy as the negation of the State—we can go further and define the State as the executive committee of the ruling class and, from this, draw the conclusion that anarchy is a society without a ruling class. To attain this end of anarchy violence as a means to this end does not necessarily involve inconsistency or authoritarianism. I most emphatically do not believe any end justifies any means. What I do feel is that anarchism, as a society without a ruling class, can be built by both non-violent and violent means. Non-violence can be a very good revolutionary tactic, but if it is made into a principle we are committing premature suicide.

2. The point here, of course, is that (a) The State will be violent when it feels its security is endangered, and when it feels its privileges can best be preserved by violent means. (b) We use violence as self-defence, only after employing where practicable non-violent means of self-defence.

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BEHAN BEIN' BEHAN

IN spite of the advertised sub-title there was a strong tendency toward folkiness evident in the first half of this highly disrespectful programme, but the religiously reverent air that usually accompanies these affairs was dispelled from the start by Alex Campbell's compering of the show. . . . "I would like," he announced, "to sing a song about the colour problem. You have read about the sit-ins in America but I want to draw attention to a little-known struggle that has been beautifully commemorated in song," and then with the audience hushed and silent, he sang "Oh, the white cat piddled in the black cat's eye".

This more or less set the tone for the evening and allowed brilliant Anne Briggs to be listened to as a good singer of good songs rather than as a purveyor of folk songs to folk. The whole atmosphere of the first half of the concert, which featured, in addition to Alex Campbell and Anne Briggs, the Haverim Duo and Gabe Sullivan, an Irish flautist, was redolent of a healthy disrespect for authority in general and folk music authorities in particular. In fact to anyone who wanted a sample of the anti-authoritarian feeling among the intelligent young people of today would have found that the audience of this concert gave an excellent illustration of it. To create such an atmosphere of healthy bawdiness and sheer enjoyment was in itself a tremendous achievement in the oppressively plush ornateness of Chelsea Town Hall. Part of the credit for this can go to Alex Campbell but a good deal must go to an audience who were determined to enjoy themselves and let nothing, even the spirit of Ewan Macoll, prevent them.

Dominic Behan is in some ways less well known to the public at large than his two brothers, whose more extravagant antics tend to make a larger splash in the press than Dominic's solid talent and professionalism. Yet like the rest of the family he has a marked contempt for opportunism, chauvinism and all the other isms that seem to go hand in hand with the political animal:

"Typical of all this larks, whether Sinn Feinism, or Zionism, or anything like that . . . the boys at the top did all right out of it."

Dominic first came to the attention of the folk music world as a singer of traditional Irish songs like "Carrickfergus", something that he still does extremely well, but he is increasingly varying his programme with compositions of his own, providing a typical Behan slant on the social and political scene.

"Now why don't the Tories do something constructive about the British Government? For instance, they could put Sir John Wolfenden in charge of British Railways and make Dr. Beeching the Lord Chamberlain. That way British Railways would be driven underground and censorship would be abolished overnight."

One of the highspots of this particular concert was the final demolition of Billy Graham in a fairly new composition of Dominic's, "When You're Too Old to Sin, and Too Young to Die", a song that was received with a roar of approval by the audience and shocked stares from the officials of Chelsea Town Hall.

"Have you got a seat, on the right hand of God?"

Or have you taken over the lot on your tod?"

The pompous, the political, the racist, the nationalist and the grey brigade of the anti-sex maniacs are all given a going over in a Dominic Behan programme that leaves the audience with an increased respect for humanity and an enhanced contempt for institutions. Any reader of FREEDOM who feels like combining beer, entertainment and moral uplift might well look in at the "Pindar of Wakefield", Grays Inn Road, when Dominic is in residence during the Singers Club sessions.

J. M. PILGRIM.

AROUND THE GALLERIES

VICTOR MUSGRAVE of the Gallery

One at 16 North Audley Street, W.1., has for a few brief weeks forsaken the irrational and the bizarre aspects of the art racket to cloak his walls with the sad and angry paintings of the Japanese artist Jiro Oyamada. By intent or by accident he has enabled us, for the first time, to see these works of personal protest, that in their subtle rage cry the agony of the world. Not with the bitter and the jagged lines of George Grosz's committed pen does Oyamada expend his passion; neither with the sophisticated hatred of a Gillray, Bunbury or a Hogarth, but with a pathetic feeling for defiance that finds its outlet in a fractured web of tortured scribbles on canvases of broken and forgotten walls. The head of a child and of a christ merge with their broken and splintered lines into a waste of flaking colours that carry the figures back into an empty world of sorrow and all the dumb heartache of the silent people cry in voiceless misery from these plush walls. Like an actor mouthing lines of glory behind a twisted No mask, Oyamada the painter is forced by nature to offer the world a mangled face that masks a visual poet who has taken the sorrows of the world for his subject, not in the vast and windy generalizations of the quattrocento painters, but in the germanic particular, so that the butchery of the crucified Christ becomes not the painless symbol of salvation to balance the Wedgewood china and the eighteenth century Dutch seascape in a Chelsea flat, but the bleeding and ruptured flesh shrinking from man-inflicted misery. And the child is but one of the children that the power-seekers have chosen to murder to prove a point.

Ichiro Hariu has written in his intro-

duction to the Oyamada catalogue that "during the years of the Second World War, when most of Japan's artists were mobilized and forced to paint uncritically war paintings, Jiro Oyamada nevertheless continued his lonely sketches, which might, for all he knew, never be displayed publicly, without changing his approach in the least."

Ichiro Hariu fails to realize that when he uses the word forced he is attempting to justify every dauber and poetaster who deliberately prostituted his minor or major talent for a soft bed and the sweepings from the Official's laden table. Oyamada as a painter was true to himself as a man in that he refused to use his personal gifts as an alibi in accepting the judas payments for condoning the guilt of others. And time and the gods have justified his choice so the more we must honour the unknown and the forgotten who fought the same silent battle and died in nameless ditches and alleys without the balm of posthumous honour for their cultivated gifts. Oyamada has foresworn the parochial idiom of Japanese art and though isolated from the west has turned to its painters for his influences but within the shallow and empty vessels of the west he has poured in the bitter wine of personal harvest. Sutherland and Souza, Ernst and Klee have provided the framework for much of Oyamada's work but he has given a depth and a passion to these canvases that the pattern makers of the west find little use for. Yet while we must be grateful to Gallery One for being the first gallery to show the canvases of Oyamada they must be viewed within the knowledge that these are but a minute fragment of the painter's work and without the knowledge of the range of style and subject matter that this

painter possesses one might easily form a false evaluation of Oyamada's scope. There is, to my knowledge, only one book available that illustrates the full range of his work and that one was published in 1962 by Bijutso Shuppan-sha of Tokyo. The text unfortunately is in Japanese but the vast number of black and white illustrations are a necessary condensation to the appreciation of this painter's work. A few weeks ago the Arts Council gave a comprehensive exhibition of the work of George Grosz and the critics were almost unanimous in damning it with faint praise. Always they returned to his angry line drawings that had become the hack reproductions of anyone who wished to illustrate the Berlin of the twenties and after a genteel shudder and a faint gurgle of sour-praise they wandered out into the weak sunlight of St. James's Square to throw up in a quiet corner. And none would have known of the lyrical beauty of Grosz's watercolours, the wit and elegance of his 1920 collages from their reviews, for the politicians have taken Grosz unto their scabby bosoms and the penalty is that he remains the great forgotten artist, a man whose pen is forever doomed to echo the hatred of the Berlin gutters and alleys while the work of his brush is deliberately ignored by dealer and critic. Oyamada could share the same fate in that by careful and irresponsible choice only those canvases of his that amuse or delight the vapid creatures of fashion might be shown in future exhibitions and just as Grosz's reputation as an artist was sacrificed to further the aims of the cold-bellied political boys so Oyamada's protesting canvases could be ignored by deliberate omission and only his mystical and semi abstractions shown for the pleasure, the amusement and the purses of the Mayfair brahmins and their dim little wives.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

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FREEDOM

July 20 1963 Vol 24 No 23

SPAIN 36—AND US NOW

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 tarians, that the Spanish experience of 1936 has important and far-reaching lessons to teach us all.

The kind of "History" we would like to see is one which started by dealing with the day to day activities of the two workers' organisations from the founding of the Republic in 1931 up to the Popular Front victory in February 1936, which would include the Asturias uprising and the repression that followed. Then a day to day account, but in much greater detail than the preceding section, on the period from February to the military uprising in July. Section Three would seek to recreate the events of say the month following the uprising, and this would show how far the work of "demolition" of the existing order went and to what extent the revolutionaries were able to create new social and economic organisations to take its place and deal with the multiple problems not only created by the military uprising but which exist in any society with large concentrations of population. Section Four would examine in minute detail the workings of collectivised industry and agriculture, the relations between collectivised and non-collectivised industries, or communities, and what was being done, and with which criteria, to co-ordinate production, as well as economic standards, among the collectivised industries and farms. Section Five would deal with the question of revolutionary violence, more particularly in those parts of the country where it could be said all power had passed into the hands of the people. To what extent did violence breed violence? To what extent were people corrupted by violence and power? To what extent, if any, did violence as a means become an end among the revolutionaries?

Section Six of this "People's History" would deal with the re-emergence, or reassertion, of government, of centralised power. To what extent was there collusion between the revolutionary leaders and the professional politicians? And if so what means did the revolutionary leaders dispose of to halt the revolutionary process of demolition on the one hand and consolidation of revolutionary gains on the other? Or was governmental power re-established by support from outside Spain? Which leads one to ask: what did the Spanish revolutionary workers do to put their cause to the workers of the world; and the corollary, what response did they receive?

★
 IF one starts off from the premise as to judge from our correspondence columns over the years, some anarchist comrades do, that anarchism is an ideal never to be attained; that revolutionary situations won't happen in our time, and that violent insurrection ("the barricades") is self-defeating as well as outmoded, and that non-violence is the only weapon in the anarchist, libertarian, armory and this is such a perfect weapon that only saints can use it effectively; and that since men are not saints it will take centuries before enough of them are equipped to use this delicate instrument (and this presupposes that they will be available in sufficient numbers at a particular time in a particular place!)—if we start off with all these reservations, it is this writer's view that we cannot make effective anarchist propaganda; that is, the kind of propaganda which will set people thinking, and perhaps in due course, acting, in an anarchist direction.

One of the basic lessons of the Spanish Revolution, is that its success was the result of the deep conviction held by large numbers of Spanish workers (a) in the necessity for the Insurrection to free themselves from the stranglehold of government and centralised authority and (b) in *Comunismo Libertario*—libertarian communism—as a way of life which was a practical proposition in that it would ensure for all the means of life as well as freedom.

Coupled with this conviction of the rightness of the means and the ends the Spanish revolutionaries gave a lesson to the world then, and (if we are willing to learn something from the past) now too, that thought and ideals without action is as sterile as unthinking, blind action at the behest of inspired leaders, tyrants or Gods. (African nationalism is a glaring example of the latter, European socialism the dismal consequence of the former).

The success of the revolutionary movement in Spain lay in the fact that with all its "outstanding militants", its "heroes" its "martyrs" it was founded on the tens of thousands of nameless workers who served the cause in an unspectacular way among their fellow workers in the factory, in their village.

Workers among workers, who were as uncompromising in their loyalty to their fellow workers as they were hostile to the boss class; who studied in order to fight the existing system as well as understand the practical problems to provide alternative solutions when the revolution came.

In this writer's view the weakness of the non-violent philosophy has been the emphasis it has placed on the need for "individual witness". The success of the Spanish anarchists is that they sought revolutionary change by mass direct action linked to the day to day problems of the working people. If we are challenged on the score that, in fact, the non-violent movement favours mass action, we would be obliged to reply that our critics display an inability to understand Man as he is, and propose tactics which cannot be realised. Commenting on the pros and cons of the attentat Malatesta reflected:

I prefer collective action to individual action, also because collective action demands qualities which are fairly common and which make the allocation of tasks more or less possible, whereas one cannot count on heroism, which is exceptional and by its nature, sporadic, calling for individual sacrifice.

Gene Sharp in his interesting series of articles on "Strategic Problems of the S. African Resistance" (*Peace News*) recognises that the "responsibility" for the continued existence of the white government "falls on the majority of the population without whose submission and co-operation . . . would collapse". He concludes that "the main task is how to strengthen the people", and goes on, "Their organisational strength and ability to act corporately and spontaneously must be improved". But a few sentences later writes:

If the people are now weak and fearful, unable or unwilling to pay the price of suffering for the withdrawal of their consent, then no real and lasting freedom can be achieved.

The "people" as Malatesta pointed out are neither heroes nor saints. The point about "corporate" action is surely that the qualities we lack as heroes can more than be compensated for by adding our modest contribution to the collective action.

For every hundred people who are prepared to defy the Official Secrets Acts to protest against nu-

IN BRITISH GUIANA, Second Lieutenant Digby Thornwill, with a patrol of five men of the Coldstreams, moved into an alley behind a cinema where about a hundred people, armed with staves and cutlasses, were fighting a pitched battle. The rioters scattered when they saw the Guards but three men bowled Lieutenant Thornwill over, one of them slashing at him in vain with a cutlass. Lieutenant Thornwill shouted twice "Halt, or I shoot!" but they continued to run. He fired once from his rifle at the nearest man thirty yards away, the company commander said, according to the *Guardian*. Two men fell after the shot and Lieutenant Thornwill following the fleeing mob round the corner, found two more lying wounded. All were taken to hospital but two of them died of their wounds. Robert Willis of the British T.U.C. was mediator in the negotiations which settled the general strike with agreement on the dropping of the Labour Relations Bill. President Kennedy has declined a request by Dr. Jagan for U.S. economic aid. Mr. Duncan Sandys was talking to Dr. Jagan on the possibility of a coalition between the Government and the Opposition, according to the *Evening Standard*; the same paper carried a report of a 19-year-old soldier being beaten by a mob of Guianese and left dying in the street. The *Sunday Telegraph* reported that the soldier was in civilian clothes and off duty when attacked and beaten by a choke-and-rob gang in Georgetown. A policeman intervened, but in the *melee* the soldier apparently tried to take the policeman's rifle from him and was hit by the butt of the gun. The soldier is also said to have fallen. He died from internal injuries but it is not clear whether these were caused during the struggle or in the fall.

THE GUARDS' DEPOT at Pirbright was open to the public, they were shown parades of Junior Guardsmen, Guards recruits, ceremonial drill, physical training, a large model railway display (one of the amenities of the camp), bingo was played and there was the battle scene where the Guards rode to the rescue of a maiden taken prisoner by a delinquent sheik and his Arabs. The former commander of the Guards at Pirbright during the "walk-out" last march has been transferred to a staff appointment at Headquarters, Middle East Land Forces, Aden. The new post does not involve any command responsibilities.

THE QUEEN'S BODYGUARD met at St. James' Palace on Thursday. They are recruited from retired Army and Royal Marine officers and must be over fifty. Their Lieutenant is 67 and lives in Dorset. The standard-bearer is 64. The last time they were called out for active duty was in 1848 when a mob was reported to be marching on St. James' Palace. According to the *Daily Express*

clear weapons, 10,000 could possibly be persuaded to go on strike. From the point of view of revolutionary change the Spanish anarchists met with greater success even if in the end Franco triumphed than any non-violent action so far recorded.*

★
 THE Civil Disobedience movement, as the only important breakaway movement in this country for a very long time, has from the outset received anarchist active support and encouragement. But let us be frank with ourselves and recognise that these demonstrations are symbolic actions and on the whole valuable long term propaganda, but that they do not impinge directly on the course of power politics, or the capitalist society. By contrast the events of July, 1936, which are ignored by the pacifists

*We trust that readers who are about to rush for their pens or typewriters to challenge what appears a bald statement will credit us with having at least given more than a moment's thought before committing ourselves. To avoid space-wasting debate we qualify what we have written: (1) by concentrating on mass-action (CNT) and anarchists (FAI) tended either to dilute their propaganda or impose their hegemony over the CNT. Both dangerous expedients, we agree. (2) The revolution was defeated long before Franco marched into Barcelona. Agreed. We would go further and say that in retrospect it was lost after the first week but not through any weakness of mass action which could have been avoided by "individual witness". (3) What was attempted by the revolutionary movement in Spain surpasses anything attempted by non-violent movements past or present.

OUT OF THIS WORLD

George IV was stoned on his way to open Parliament. Queen Victoria was hissed at Ascot because she had sent her carriage to the funeral of a member of the Court, Lady Flora Hastings, who was wrongly believed to have died giving birth to an illegitimate child. Edward VII was hissed at Epsom after being cited as co-respondent in a divorce case. . . .

WELWYN GARDEN CITY decided on grounds of expense not to decorate the town's streets when the Queen visits it. Mr. Harold Wilson decided he could not attend the State Banquet to Queen Frederika because he had a long-standing engagement. He was represented by Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, the 'shadow Foreign Secretary'. Mr. Donald Wade (Liberal) accused him of a boycott. Mr. Brooke (Home Secretary) said that it was a pity that the Labour Party leader had to be careful not to offend the handful of Communists, anarchists, beatniks and members of the CND who had demonstrated against Queen Frederika because they were among those who wanted a Labour Government in power. . . .

TWELVE WEST INDIANS staged the first of a series of weekly 'sit-ins' at a public-house in Wolverhampton. They used the pub for years when it was known as the "Shakespeare", now it has been re-decorated and re-named and they are refused service. It is now called the "Bermuda Tavern". Danish dockers in Copenhagen and Adrhav have refused to unload cargo from South Africa on board the Swedish ship *Lommaren* in defiance of a court decision that such action is illegal. Eric Walker, an engineer, came before a tax tribunal claiming that part of his income tax is put to an illegal use, viz the manufacture of illegal weapons which Mr. Walker believes to be a violation of international law. The tax tribunal ruled that international law cannot overrule British internal taxation statutes. The case is now to go to law. An engine driver refused to drive solo a 2,700 h.p. diesel locomotive from Swansea to Cardiff. His union, the

A.S.L.E.F. had agreed to single manning during the holiday season and the driver has been suspended and will be disciplined. . . .

THREE FORMER agents of the Nazi security police are on trial before the West German supreme court accused of betraying State secrets to the Russians. One of the men decided to work for the Russians because he hated the Americans since they had beaten him when he was a prisoner. He said, "I wanted to pay them back double and triple and I also wanted to repay double and triple for the air-raid on Dresden." One of the agents completed ten years' service in both West German and Soviet Intelligence. To commemorate this the Russians gave him 2,000 West German marks and a congratulatory letter, the West Germans gave him a plaque of St. George slaying the dragon, with the inscription *For Faithful Service*. It is rumoured that as a consequence of this case, General Gehlen, head of the Federal Intelligence Service may resign. He was a former Wehrmacht General appointed to the job by the Americans. West Germany has three intelligence services. On Friday the *Express* reported the defection of an important Russian agent to Britain. "MI5 have been interrogating the man for several days in a hideout which is heavily guarded." On Saturday it was revealed that he had surrendered to the American Embassy in Paris eighteen months ago. Speculation continues in America that the news had been deliberately "leaked" to take pressure off the Government over the Christine Keeler case and other security scandals. . . .

THE FEDERATION of British Astrologists in conference decided that Christine Keeler's horoscope showed "that events will presently show she has largely been a victim of circumstances and had been used by other persons for their own ends. A second school of astrology thought "she was likely to disappear suddenly from public notice at an early age."

SENATOR EDMUND MUSKIE suggested that Ellis Island should be sold to the highest bidder. It might be used as an old folks' home, or for a liberal art college. In San Francisco there is a movement to build a West Coast statue of liberty on Alcatraz. The Hongkong Hilton Hotel has dropped the word "Opium" from "The Opium Den" one of its cocktail lounges, after local protests. A wax model of a Miss Christine Keeler, a well-known journalist, has replaced that of Gilbert Harding in François Tussaud's waxworks at Brighton. The title of John Huston's film *Freud* has been changed for British distribution to *The Secret Passion*. The idea was "to introduce sex into the title". . . .

JON QUIXOTE.

villages peasants were occupying large landed estates, their patience at waiting for legislation exhausted. At the same time the Right seeing that the Government was impotent to control or subdue the unrest, resorted to acts of terrorism against the Left which replied in kind. And, writes Bollothen:

it was in this turmoil that the military revolt against the Republic, supported by a large section of the police corps, by landowning Monarchists, by the powers of finance and business, by a large part of the Catholic clergy, by Falangists, and other forces of the Right, broke out in Spanish Morocco on July 17, 1936, initiating the Civil War.

The Spanish Revolution was defeated. There are profound lessons to learn from the defeat which was not after all simply a question of superior military force. But equally important lessons should be learned by all who engage in movements of civil disobedience and social protest, from the successes of the Spanish revolutionary movement, for their greatest triumph was that they carried their actions to the point of threatening and then virtually destroying the entrenched power of the *status quo* in the whole country. And, remember, having done this they also knew what to put in its place. And as Bollothen points out "this far-reaching social revolution" was "more profound in some respects than the Bolshevik revolution in its early stages".

We have a lot to learn from the Spanish revolutionaries of 1936 in 1963.

†"The Grand Camouflage", London 1961. In France Les Editions de Minuit published in the same year *La Révolution et la Guerre d'Espagne* by Pierre Broué (who deals with the Revolution), and Emile Témime (who deals with the War), a valuable contribution to an understanding of the subject which puts Hugh Thomas' much praised (wrongly in our opinion) *Civil War in Spain* in the shade.

Anarchist varieties

DEAR COMRADES,

I think Pat misunderstands me. I do not claim to be the living incarnation of any form of anarchism. I simply believe that the lot of humanity would be very much better without authoritarianism. If I have to die for my belief it will be for anarchism. Not for anarcho-syndicalism, individualism, communism, simple-lifeism or permanent-protestism. Or any other particular form of anarchism.

Why in the name of logic should one have to commit oneself to a particular theory of anarchist social organisation, when one has the whole world (let alone other planets) and thousands of years to play about in? In any case the three tendencies of anarchist thought Pat lists are all at the present time and place more or less moribund. Communists, syndicalists and individualists work together in the various anarchist groups, and are almost indistinguishable. The only form of anarchism which is active at present is the non-violent protest kind, associated with the Committee of 100. Its ultimate aims still seem to be relatively fluid and unformed, apart from getting rid of nuclear weapons, etc. It is with this kind of anarchism that I am most closely connected, and I suppose, from Pat's point of view, it is to this kind of anarchism that I have "committed" myself. Yet it is hardly a case of "choosing" (in block capitals in the original), it is the result of the circumstances of time and place. For a complex set of historical circumstances have caused it to happen that this particular form of anarchist activity is the most relevant, as well as being the only form of activity going anyway.

I do not have much use for a philosophy which cannot be practised. The disputes between the different anarchist tendencies will only become interesting when the anarchists control a sufficient area of the earth's surface to put them into practice. My feeling is that if this ever happens it will be found that all the different tendencies will work, though some will be more applicable to the conditions existing in some regions

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

than in others. Even the permanent protesters can be happy. They can set out as missionaries to the unconverted parts of the world.

Yours fraternally,
ARTHUR W. ULOTH.
London.

Recognise yourself?

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to the demonstration in Whitehall on the 9th July, I would like to bring a formal complaint against one particular constable whom I had the opportunity of observing for some little while.

In connection with this I wonder if I may appeal through your columns for a young lady in a grey dufflecoat, or loden coat, and a rather stoutish blond young man, both of whom had their heads held in a "headlock" and their rumps used as a battering ram, to get in touch with me. They were both moved from the middle of Whitehall to the pavement in front of the United Services Institution.

Yours faithfully,
FRANCIS DEUTSCH.
1, Wessex Court, Wessex Way,
London, N.W.11.

Public Order

I AM glad about the Spies for Peace action. I support every part of it. However, there are quite simple questions that I've been wanting to ask for some time of those who are explicitly anarchist.

But first a picture. I once lived for a year on the fjord-edge in a little Norwegian village where the mail-boat came in with provisions for the 4,000 odd people scattered up the valley until it ended in the glaciers twenty miles away. There was no policeman, only a legal representative of the State. One day one of the inhabitants went onto one of his periodical three-day drunks. After a while, it was known, he got dangerous with girls. The first thing I noticed was an enormous bellowing in a house across the street, followed almost at once with his body flying down the steps with a heavy Norwegian leg close behind. He picked himself up, tried another house, with everyone waiting behind their doors with blunt instruments. Eventually he collapsed on his face in the middle of the street, after finding all the doors closed. Now no-one sent for a policeman to do something about it (and I don't think they would have done even if there had been one). The various more influential men of the village came out onto the street, and stood round him, talking quietly with one another about what to do. A van was driven up; he was bundled into the back, and driven up the valley off home and put to bed. End of the affair.

Anyone who has had any experience of what freedom and self-responsibility are like naturally wants as much as he can possibly cope with (after all, what is often described as anarchy is only the unwritten code which those who used to call themselves 'gentlemen' used to observe in respect of one another's 'honour'). The trouble is, few people in our large industrial cities have had the kind of experience that is natural to these Norwegian small-farmers. In fact the police and the criminals are almost in a conspiracy together with the ruling people to make sure that as few people as possible do get it. Now I am not going to argue that because most people wouldn't be able to cope with anarchy if they got it, that one should therefore not go ahead with anarchist activity like Spies for Peace. The only way people can learn to like and cope with self-responsibility is by letting experience remove the terrors of it for them. The questions I have to ask are about the hypocrisy of some anarchists about what is usually called public order. In a small community, people can mobilise themselves extremely quickly to deal with emergency; they have no need of anyone outside,

or anyone specially selected to take this responsibility from them. But the sheer size and complexity of the modern city prevents this.

No-one who has lived in a city where the public order has completely broken down—I am thinking of several German cities in the twenties, Russian ones a little earlier than that, and Berlin in 1945—ever says they want to go on living that way. It is back to the situation of every man's hand being against the others. My first question is, How much is anarchist militancy simply a luxury afforded by the notorious British law and order?

The second question is, In wanting to throw out the police because of their anti-life tendencies, and because they back up an unjust *status quo*, are you

prepared to pay the price of being terrorised by organised gangs as in Chicago in the thirties, or in the Russian prison camps? And if you aren't, how must you modify your attitude to the police to account for this actual service they are giving you now?

The third is, whatever name you give it, there is much madness about, and cities provide free space for it to express itself in acts. Are you as much against the police when they are protecting your children?

I speak as one who watched the police in action against the demonstrators against the Greek royal family with horror—suddenly realising the extent of the power the police have built up, and that it must be taken away from them.

MICHAEL SHAYER.

Anarchism and Violence

Continued from page 2

3. It is true that if any anarchist used violence to-day this fact would be used unsparingly by the mass media to slander our movement. Yet, of course, we are misrepresented and are subjected to distortion anyway. No-one who is a thinking, serious person will care two hoots for these manifestations of abuse, and surely we only require the interest of both serious and thinking people. Rational people are swayed by argument, not by emotional verbiage—and we certainly want rational rather than non-rational anarchists.

4. I would maintain that one can be violent without being cruel and hate without being always unjustified. To pretend not to hate people who perpetrate vile deeds is stupid; who can object to Jews hating Hitler? Or to Africans hating Verwoerd? Yet using violence will if it is more than self-defence be both authoritarian and will tend towards cruelty and sadism. One must simply guard one's passions on

this score.

5. I am unhappy about many aspects of the present world situation, I am frustrated at the little I can do to attempt some solution. I do attempt to assure that my actions are due to rational common sense decisions, not allowing my unhappiness or frustration to hinder my judgment. My personal life, like the life of most people, has its troubles but again I seek to be detached in my approach to various topics, one of which is violence. It is not my opinion that sexual intercourse will supply the answer to the world's troubles, if sex really was the answer I see the lack of peace and the presence of so much distress in the world as evidence that sex alone is not enough. In fact, sexual fulfilment can bring a deeper and wider appreciation of life that, in turn, can lead to a more compelling unhappiness which can certainly be far worse than mere personal trouble.

6. Drawing the line as far as violence is concerned can hardly be settled for all time. If I could only prevent a person pressing a button which would start a nuclear war by shooting him, I would do so. Generally self-defence does not require any weapons—but if it does I would not oppose their use if no other method of defence were possible. The circumstances in which one kills or wounds must be borne in mind, thus the question of degree must also be set in perspective. To end another person's life is a very serious act indeed, the circumstances in which this act takes place are therefore highly relevant. In general it is organised violence, rather than spontaneous violence which I oppose—but if organised violence is the only means of self-defence then I might support such action.

7. The real alternative to Statism, hierarchy, inequality, injustice and ruler-ship is anarchy not simply love. Anarchy would indeed be worthless and impossible without love but, as I have said, I consider one is justified in hating on occasions. I admit the power of love is an immense and wonderful thing, to love one's enemies is a huge and truly noble achievement—but to hate the vile acts perpetrated in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany is hardly incompatible with love or anarchy. It is also understandable to hate and loathe the administration of these hideous establishments, an anarchist can surely feel such hatred without becoming hateful himself.

8. If religion is quoted to uphold the ideas of non-violence then I am dissuaded rather than attracted to the notion. The pompously titled book "The Holy Bible" does contain certain pacifist teachings and it is true that many religious leaders have espoused non-violent views. Wise and reverent men have argued for non-violence and their views require our study and respect. But I do not consider their views are either eternal or necessarily correct either because they are religious views or because they are the views of great men. I judge for myself what is best for myself and I advocate that which I see to be good—I see goodness in self-preservation, Christ is said to have sacrificed himself for his cause—but why we should act in the same way I do not know. That was his action, his propaganda by deed—I doubt the wisdom of his teaching. This same attitude can be applied to the teaching of all great men whether "religious" or simply wise.

In conclusion: I am glad of the influence of pacifism on the anarchist movement. I am glad to see the anarchist advocates of non-violence as I am glad to see the egoist anarchists because they add essential balancing ingredients to the anarchist potion. Yet I am with the spirit of George Bernard Shaw in his play "Androcles and the Lion". For all Androcles' gentle naiveté the fact remains that he was saved by the roar of the lion.

JEREMY WESTALL.

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