

'No graven images may be worshipped, except the currency.'

A. H. CLOUGH

**SELLERS WANTED FOR
FREEDOM & ANARCHY,
HYDE PARK, SUNDAYS
AND
ON SATURDAYS**

Independent Judiciary?

IT would seem that only when there is a well publicised case of obvious injustice in our courts, do the public bother to question even some aspects of the law and the way it is enforced. The obvious injustice in the savage sentence of eighteen months' imprisonment meted out to George Clark at London Sessions last week has been outspokenly condemned in some sections of the Press, and protest demonstrations in London have expressed solidarity with the prisoner and the disgust of at least some members of the public at the savagery of the sentence.

If the sentence is drastically cut on appeal or through the intervention of the Home Secretary, the decision to do so will have no more to do with justice than the original sentence. For just as the savage sentence was obviously imposed to "break" George Clark's spirit and to intimidate other would-be demonstrators (in the words of the Deputy Chairman of London Sessions: "You've got to be taught not to do this and other people too"), so a quashing of it can only be viewed as the realisation by other law enforcers that the savage sentence in fact defeated its own objective, apart from bringing into disrepute the judiciary, could be a stepping off point for a public debate on the issues of civil liberties which governments are always most anxious to

avoid. Thus expediency not justice can be seen as the determining factor whatever the final outcome of this case.

Some recent notable cases that have been heard by the Courts have convinced many people that the judiciary are not as impartial as we have been led to believe by the exponents of "British justice". Only recently the *Sunday Telegraph* published the results of a Gallop Poll on the question: "In your opinion do the Courts in this country dispense justice impartially or do they favour the rich and influential?" which show that in two years the proportion of those who thought that it was impartial has fallen from 63 per cent to 47, and those who "don't know" have risen from 5 to 18 per cent. The proportion of the public which believes the judiciary favours the rich and influential rose from 32 per cent to 35.

Politically and socially the legal profession is on the side of reaction and privilege. Mr. Jo Grimond made some scathing references at the Liberal Party's Assembly, to the profession whose methods of recruitment constituted "a restrictive practice more reactionary than any

adopted by a trade union". As to the chances of the judiciary being independent of the executive this is possible in theory, though we confess to being unclear as to what would be the advantages in practise. Today of course, as Mr. Grimond pointed out the Office of Lord Chancellor, which is a political appointment was "a standing negation of the principle" of an independent judiciary.

THE judiciary exist to administer the law—laws that are enacted by the executive; laws which may be in the public interest, or in the interest of a privileged minority, or openly against civil liberties, freedom of the press, of speech and of association. Even police states surround themselves with laws and legality. The most therefore that can be expected from an independent judiciary is that they will administer the law according to the rules of the game and will see to it that no prosecution will succeed which is an abuse of the law as it stands. The judiciary in this country enjoy considerable powers: it is left to them to interpret the law and

to award punishments which for certain crimes range from a nominal sentence or fine to life imprisonment. But these powers cannot be operated in a vacuum. Obviously if in interpreting the law it emerges that any particular law does not serve the purpose it was intended to serve, the executive will in due course change it so that it will. The value therefore of an independent judiciary in this respect, is to the legal profession and to those who frame the laws. It is no sure way of protecting the rights of the people.

To leave it to the judge to decide what punishment shall be meted out to those found guilty is to our minds a dangerous weapon to put in the hands of any man, even assuming his independence from pressures either by the government or the police. Because no man is impartial, or proof against the temptations and abuses of power there must be instances where even the most conscientious, and independent-minded judge, allows his personal prejudices to sway his judgment. It is significant that lawyers who have a reputation as "progressives" in their profession, once they climb to the exalted thrones of the

Law, very soon display all the weaknesses of ordinary mortals which neither wigs nor impressive robes can cover up for long. In what was in effect a defence of the judiciary, the *Observer's* editorial last Sunday "Judging the Judges" suggests that

Our judges today probably behave more judicially and impartially than their predecessors. There is no one now on the bench—as there was between the wars—like Hewart with his exhibitionist pyrotechnics, like Avory, with his sadistic displays, or like Darling, with his petty jibes at unfortunate litigants.

Probably judges today are more careful about what they say, or how they say it because the public has lost some of its blind respect for them, and more people are able and prepared to publicise and expose those who abuse their powers. But lurking under those judicial wigs are men no less sadistic, exhibitionistic, vain or prejudiced than their predecessors of the bad old days. On the question of punishment, government ministers, and civil servants have shown themselves to be less reactionary and bloodthirsty than the judiciary, whose contributions to House of Lords debates on the subject have always been for longer sentences and the extension of corporal punishment and the retention of the death penalty. Even such a man as the late Lord Justice Burkett, who for many symbolised all that is humane and worldly in the legal profession, turns out to have been—to judge by a recent biography—a smooth-tongued hypocrite with more than any normal man's share of petty vanity and ambition. Perhaps the *Observer* will revise its assessment of post-war judges a few years hence when they are no longer with us!

Continued on page 3

THE comment of Mr. Robert Mugabe, secretary-general of the Zimbabwe African National Union, on the United Nations Security Council veto on the Ghanaean resolution to prevent Britain handing over control of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force and Army to Southern Rhodesia when the Central African Federation is dissolved was appropriate. "By casting the veto" he is reported to have said "Britain has shown the world that it is not only prepared to support, but arm settlers for their struggle to entrench themselves in power. It destroys completely the slender remaining hopes for peaceful settlement."

Against this one notices the reaction of Sir Roy Welensky and one's worst suspicions are confirmed. Welensky is "very glad the British Government has acted in a way which is consistent with the responsibilities which she has towards Southern Rhodesia and this part of the world generally". Mr. Winston Field, Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister—leader of the Right Wing Rhodesian Front—is "very glad the British Government has stuck to her guns". Sir Edgar Whitehead, leader of the Opposition in Southern Rhodesia, is "very pleased to see that

RHODESIA FOR THE SETTLERS

the veto has been used and to see that Britain has taken a firm line."

Sir Patrick Dean, Britain's United Nations spokesman, has argued that there is no reason to suppose the Federal Army, in the hands of S. Rhodesia, would be used to crush African Opposition. His memory is short; in 1962 when The Zimbabwe African People's Union was outlawed the *Daily Telegraph* reported: "Steel-helmeted troops in battle order tonight guarded airports, radio stations, reservoirs, and power stations. Riot police are touring African townships and R.A.F. jet bombers and rocket-firing Vampires are flying over bush where African terrorists are hiding."

Reference might well be made to the many interesting things Patrick Keatley has to say about the Rhodesian army in his book *Politics of Partnership*. We can learn from him the importance of the military might that is being transferred to Southern Rhodesia's control. Keatley writes even then (early 1963) that "in the last resort the white Rhodesians have got the guns and they know it." We thus see that all the UN debate and veto has done is to bring this matter out into the open. It has forced the British Government to publicly declare that either its

sympathies lie with the Rhodesian settlers and not with the majority of Africans, or that the settlers have control of the military power and that nothing can be done about it. Whatever the case the reiteration of the interests of the mob on the Conservative Right Wing in the financial and economic profits of Rhodesia, Katanga and the rest of Southern Africa is unnecessary.

The publicity given to the Rhodesian inventory supplied by Mr. Worcester of Aviation Studies (International) Ltd. as depicted in an interesting article in the *Sunday Times* (15.9.63) serves to underline the formidable nature of the forces gathered together in Southern Africa to defend the very heart of capitalism. The report concludes: "The Rhodesian air force, like the army, is a well-knit, formidable, well-planned fighting force maintained adequately, and kept up to date with reinforcements, trained on modern lines and has strategic and tactical missions... therefore able to inflict severe punishment at short notice."

In the same way the threats by the South African government to stop the sale of gold to Britain and to end the Simonstown Defence pact have brought things out into the

open. The director of the South African Reserve Bank has admitted that "The best market (for gold) has been and remains the London Gold Market through the Bank of England." According to Andrew Wilson of the *Observer* (15-9-63) the Ministry of Defence has said that the ending of the Simonstown agreement "Would in no way affect Britain's strategic aims." This simply means that the supposed importance of the Simonstown base has been used as a convenient excuse for shipping arms to bolster up apartheid. An editorial in the same *Observer* states that "Britain's repugnance for South Africa's evil racial practices, which form an integral part of her whole economy, can hardly be squared with efforts to help to sustain it, indeed to profit from it, by investing money there." Applauding, one turns the page to see a large advertisement from the South African Tourist Corporation, from which one surmises the *Observer* made a profit.

Is it a wonder that Africans and Negroes the world over are sneering at white liberals? Is it not time that liberals realised that effective opposition to apartheid means the end of capitalism and requires revolutionary action?
J.W.

I'm all Right, Jack!

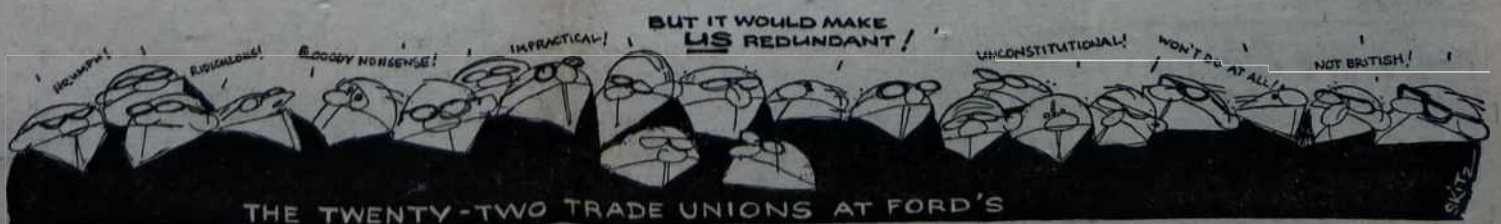
It is now clear that the report of the Jack inquiry into labour relations at Ford's Dagenham works has been dismissed by the trade union side as "irrelevant," but a union subcommittee will meet the management on Friday to discuss improvements in negotiating machinery at the plant, on their own terms.

The Jack report urged the formation of a small subcommittee to negotiate on behalf of all the unions on major matters, but it is evident that none of the unions will relinquish their rights to be in on discussions of such important questions as wages.

Guardian—17/9/63.

Read the review of
Randolph Bourne's
'The State' in
ANARCHY 31:

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



Tourism and Spain.

A REJOINER FROM THE NOTTING HILL GROUP

TO THE EDITORS OF "FREEDOM",

Having devoted approximately one quarter of your paper (Sept. 14th) to attacking the leaflet that we, in Notting Hill, produced following the murder of our comrades, Joaquin Delgado Martinez and Francisco Granados Gata, we trust that you will allow us some space in which to reply.

Before we go any further we would like to get straight the facts surrounding the actual reprinting of our leaflet in FREEDOM, because the account given by the writer of 'Tourism and Spain' (Sept. 14th) is wholly incorrect.

The first news that we in England had of this dreadful affair was in the national dailies on Wednesday, 14th Aug. However, the reports were very sparse and many of them conflicting. Owing to this neither the Syndicalist Workers' Federation nor the London Federation of Anarchists called a demonstration. When, on Saturday, 17th Aug., news of the executions came through we, in Notting Hill decided to call a demonstration of protest in London and to invite comrades of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation, The London Federation of Anarchists, and the CNT to join us.

We decided to call the demonstration for the following Tuesday evening and our first step was to produce the offending leaflet. (The text of this leaflet was also distributed by the CNT in this country as part of a leaflet that they produced). Our next step was to telephone the Freedom Bookshop and ask them to inform anyone who should happen to call in of the proposed demonstration. As a result of this one of the editors of FREEDOM visited us the same evening. The editor took one of our leaflets, read it, and told us that it would be published in the coming issue of FREEDOM.

There was no, we repeat, no insistence on the publication of the leaflet in FREEDOM on our part, nor was there

any such thing as an 'earnest request' to reproduce it. On the contrary, we never dreamed when producing the leaflet that it would be printed in FREEDOM. We have been told enough times by the editors that FREEDOM has never been, is not, and never will be the organ of the anarchist movement in this country, and we have been told equally often that the movement hasn't one iota of control over the paper—so how on earth could we have 'insisted', even if we had wanted to? The length of time and amount of difficulty involved following a mild request to publish the innocuous 'Appeal to the International Anarchist Movement' from the CNT-FIJJ-FAI (eventually published in FREEDOM on the 20th April) demonstrated the futility of 'insistence' where the editors of FREEDOM are concerned.

We would now like to examine some of the points raised by the writer in his marathon editorial.

In his first point he starts by agreeing with us that the Spanish economy is run entirely for the benefit of the Franquists. However, he reminds us that all capitalist economies are run on the same basic principles—even the British economy. Apart from the fact that we don't need reminding—so what? We don't consider that this invalidates our original statement nor does it preclude the use of it in our leaflet which, after all, was about Spain and not about Britain or any other capitalist economy. Anyway, regardless of the similarity of the governing principles of the Spanish and British ruling classes, the writer surely doesn't need reminding of the vast differences, at the moment, in the respective methods of application or the resulting difference in living standards (one of the writer's 'contented' Spanish workers would have to work three times as many man-hours as an English worker to enjoy a similar standard of living—if this were possible). "This is capitalism," we are told, "and a state of affairs which existed before Franco came to power."

No, no, no. Just before Franco's victory large sections of the Spanish economy were in the hands of the workers and peasants and this is not capitalism.

Even if one ignores the Spanish Revolution, as the writer has chosen to, we still maintain that the brutality and economic gangsterism of the Franco regime surpasses that of the Republic, or even that of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. Sure Franco didn't invent capitalism but he has certainly made a name for himself with his methods of application.

In his next paragraph the writer decides that the Spanish economy isn't run for the benefit of the Franquists after all because Franco 'cannot ignore certain basic fundamental needs of the people'. While agreeing that Franco cannot ignore these basic fundamental needs, we fail to see how this alters the fact that the economy is run entirely for the benefit of the Franquists. Obviously when you are exploiting someone you make sure that they stay alive and fit enough to work—you can't exploit dead workers. However, you can't say that the fact you keep your workers in an exploitable condition is a result of any motives other than self-interest.

'Labour legislation introduced by the regime was obviously designed to protect workers and their jobs from the kind of exploitation that prevailed before 1936'.

It might be obvious to the writer of 'Tourism and Spain' but it is not so obvious to us in Notting Hill. In fact this must be some kind of record—the editor of an anarchist paper telling his readers that fascist labour laws are in any way designed to protect the workers. Never mind, let us pass on to the next point that he raises. In his point (2) he claims that our statements concerning the health of Franco's economy and the part in it played by the income that it derives from Tourism are wrong. We simply say that without the income in foreign currency derived from Tourism the Spanish economy would collapse and the figures that the writer gives in his point (3) would seem to indicate that we are right. If, without the income from tourism, Franco can only cover 20% of his balance of trade deficit we would suggest that without Tourism Franco and his economy would be well 'stuck'.

The writer tells people 'who seek to overthrow regimes by economic strangulation' that they should pause to reflect

on the fact that in 1936 the Spanish gold reserves were at their highest and, by implication, the economy at its healthiest. If the writer re-reads our leaflet he will find that nowhere in it do we claim that an attack on the economy will automatically overthrow the regime. Like him we know that economic elements are far from being the only factor that determines the fortunes of a regime. The most important single factor is the revolutionary awareness of the workers and peasants—and in 1936 this awareness outrode all the other factors and resulted in the Spanish revolution. A tourist boycott is just one way of attacking the regime.

The editor asks us why we have picked on Tourism and made a moral and political issue of it while ignoring Spanish goods and the activities of Spanish emigrant labour. To start with, our advocacy of the tourist boycott is in direct support of an appeal made by the clandestine anarchist organisations in Iberia—the Movimiento Libertario de Espana and the Movimiento Libertario de Portugal. Our comrades of the M.L.E. and the M.L.P. have asked us to support a campaign to boycott tourism and we are doing so. Should they ask for a boycott of Spanish goods then we will support that campaign too. This is an appeal from inside Spain which we support and the editor should remember this when he later talks of us trying to 'liberate' Spain from outside. He is the one who, from outside Spain, presumes to give advice.

With regard to the Spanish workers who were forced to emigrate to other West European countries—it is true that they represent a source of foreign income for the Spanish Government. However, these workers are more likely to become an embarrassment to Franco than an advantage. Spanish economic refugees are joining those sections of the CNT-FIJJ in exile while, on Sunday, 8th Sept., in Frankfurt, 1,500 Spanish workers demonstrated in solidarity with the Asturian miners at present on strike.

We are aware that this is one of the arguments the editor is using to justify tourism—i.e. that the benefits accruing to the regime are outweighed by the disadvantages that will result. We maintain that in the case of tourism this just isn't so. We have demonstrated the way in which we think that the economic refugees will be more of a liability than an asset to Franco. Let us now examine the editors' reasons for thinking that tourism will prove to be the same.

Tourism prevents isolationism and thus prevents the Government from consolidating its position by uniting the people behind it. Therefore we are expected to believe that, ten years ago, before the advent of large scale tourism to Spain the Spanish people were united behind 'their' Government. Proof? There isn't any.

Tourism has opened up the frontier of Spain to Spaniards as well as to tourists.

It is a case of the Spanish frontier being opened to Spaniards and tourists because Franco needs foreign currency. It is not a case of the Spanish frontier being opened to Spaniards because of tourists. The former is not a repercussion of the latter.

'Tourism has permitted non-Spaniards to see how the Spaniards live—if they want to.'

The operative phrase here is 'if they want to'. Unfortunately, tourists go to Spain for a cheap holiday and we doubt whether, while they are drinking the cheap wine and lazing about on the Golden beaches of Spain, the thought of the appalling 'calvary' of the Spanish people once crosses their minds. As far as we know the "chabolas" and shanty towns are not well known tourist 'spots'.

Even if a vigorous tourist boycott campaign doesn't prevent people from going to Spain for their holidays it will draw the attention of people outside Spain, including the editor's brass monkeys, to the plight of the Spanish people.

Tourism provides 'contact with foreigners' which has 'opened the eyes of many Spaniards, particularly the younger ones, to their country's material and moral backwardness.'

So, without the presence of tourists in Spain the Spanish workers are all going to doddle along thinking that they've never had it so good. Nonsense. The Spanish worker, when he tries to support his family on a wage of £3 per week knows that his country is materially

backward. And when the firing squads and the garroters get busy on Franco's political opponents the Spanish people are quite aware of what is happening.

Tourism benefits not only the capitalist operators but thousands of humble workers, etc., etc.

This argument can be used indiscriminately to support all sorts of antics on the part of the capitalists. For example, you could say that the presence of Polaris in Scotland was a boost to the previously sagging Scottish economy, and improves the conditions of Scottish workers; that the building of warships in British dockyards provides work for previously unemployed humble shipbuilding workers and so on. Anyway, for Spaniards these 'benefits' are extremely dubious. There are obviously some benefits to be derived by the relatively small proportion of workers directly involved in the tourist industry—hotel workers, etc. However the manner in which the Spanish economy is organised prevents the profits from tourism from filtering down to the majority of workers. One effect of tourism in Spain has been inflation in tourist areas—putting goods and materials even further beyond the reach of the Spanish workers than they already were. The tourist can outbid the Spaniard, any time, for food, clothing, etc.

When the writer talks of the "noticeable labour shortage" in Spain today he should remember that the number of economic refugees to other Western European countries increases annually—tourism does not seem to be tempting them to stay in Spain.

Incidentally, the writer is impressed by Franco's "programme of mechanisation" in Catalonia.

We are not impressed, at least not favourably so, by anything that the Franco regime does.

He concludes this particular point by applauding increased productivity and production in Spain. He is entitled to his opinion that there is a direct link between increased productivity and increased militancy on the part of the workers. However, we are not satisfied that there is such a link.

Tourism... has considerably weakened the efficiency of press censorship, by the State and Church.

How? Because the capitalist press of the world is now accessible to Spaniards and is now openly displayed on kiosks. Well, that might be O.K. for those Spaniards that can read British and other papers and afford to buy them, but it isn't going to be of much use to the average Spanish worker. Anyway, we haven't seen anything in the capitalist press for a long time that is likely to inflame the Spanish workers into open revolt. Also British newspapers themselves do censor their own foreign editions.

Foreign radio programmes! Although we may be wrong we doubt whether the Spanish people will derive much benefit from the broadcasts of Radio Prague, or the Spanish broadcasts of the French and British radios. Even if the Spanish workers all learn to speak English what will they hear—the trials and tribulations of Major Greville-Bell and the delights of the antics of Christine and Mandy. All good stuff and very damaging to the regime. In any event, Radio Prague, which is the programme most likely to mention strikes and other social unrest in Spain, broadcasts in Spanish and has nothing to do with Tourism or Spaniards learning foreign languages because of the presence of tourists.

The same puerile argument used by the writer could be used to justify the presence, in Spain, of American bases, i.e. the presence of American forces in Spain is a good thing because it will encourage the Spaniards to learn English/American and they will then be able to listen to the BBC and AFN.

We are accused of financial juggling

(which, despite the amount of space he devoted to the Common Market arguments in FREEDOM, the editor isn't interested in) and of trying to empty the bellies of the Spanish people. We maintain that the benefits derived from tourism by the mass of the Spanish workers is marginal. The prime beneficiary is the Spanish ruling class. And this brings us to the editor's so-called 'liberalisation' in Spain. This year: Grimau shot, Baranco murdered who knows how, Delgado and Granados tortured to death by means of the garrotte. This does not indicate 'liberalisation' to us. The only time that Franco did go through the motions of 'liberalisation' was when he thought that Britain was going to enter the Common Market. Because of the volume of Spanish trade to Britain Franco would then have needed associate membership of the E.E.C. and he knew that both Holland and Belgium would veto him unless he made some superficial alterations to his regime. Not long after it became apparent that the U.K. was not going to enter the E.E.C. Franco's executioners started work again.

The Spanish State, unlike the editor, is very aware of the colossal importance of the tourist trade to its economy and pressure in this direction, in the form of a tourist boycott, could induce the Spanish State to make some alterations to its vile regime.

The editor's references to the Iberian Liberation Council raise another interesting point. In London, recently, there has been a noticeable willingness on the part of some comrades, including the editors of FREEDOM, to accept the Franco official hand-outs (reprinted by the British Press) regarding the C.I.L. When Delgado and Granados were murdered by Franco in August there wasn't one word of protest or outrage from the editors of FREEDOM. Why not?

Apart from the abortive attempt on Franco's life not a single activity of the C.I.L. has been directed towards the taking of human life. The bombs that have exploded have all been propaganda bombs. Whenever bombs were placed in planes the C.I.L. has always immediately telephoned the airport authorities in order to give them time to find the bombs and remove them long before they were due to explode.

The bomb in the Madrid passport office? Again some London comrades seize eagerly on the Spanish official hand-outs that describe the outrage. The C.I.L. have apparently accepted responsibility for this incident and stated that it was an accident that the bomb exploded while there were people in the office. That particular bomb wasn't designed to hurt even a policeman let alone a would-be economic refugee. We agree with anybody that says that the incident was not only terrible but appallingly inefficient. But we do not agree that it allows any comparison between the C.I.L. and the O.A.S. Earlier the editor accuses us of doing our Spanish comrades an injustice. He then proceeds to insult them.

With regard to the editor's final columns (quoting works like 'Spain's Virile Economy', etc.), we have read them and can find no connection between them and Tourism in Spain.

It would be interesting to hear the editor's views and comments on the South African Boycott, however, as far as we are concerned this correspondence is now closed as we have more important things to do with our time than trying to convert the editors of FREEDOM to anarchism.

Yours, etc.

BRIAN HART, KEN MORSE,
MARGARET HART, MIKE NOLAN,
MARK HENDY, BETH NOLAN,
IAN KALICHEVSKY, DAVE WADE,
VICKY KIRKNESS,
JEAN-SIMON KAMINSKY.

Marion Knight—Citizen '63

I HAVE just had the totally unexpected pleasure of seeing half an hour's really good television*—beautifully photographed, well edited, fine sound track and above all,—with CONTENT! Marion Knight of the "Citizen 63" series is a young CND girl whose belief in freedom and society is manifest in practically everything she does, and the producer allowed her to present her philosophy in the most natural and attractive way imaginable.

The balance between earnestness and casualness was perfectly kept. By mentioning the dreadful word anarchist in conversation in an intelligent context, she did more to dispel popular misconceptions in an instant than poor Colin Ward was allowed to do in the whole of his interview with the lugubrious political journalists.

She was respectful to her elders without being in the least obsequious; she rejected bogus commercial music but danced bewitchingly to jazz; she spoke sensitively about free love; she wrote and spoke a moving poem about the innocent anarchist utopia of childhood—she was great with the children she was training to nurse.

What a lovely girl. What a credit to the likeable group she knocked about with. What an intelligent interpretation of the relationship between CND and anarchism.

What a change to sit in front of a TV set and not be insulted!

B.R.

*10.25—10.55 BBCTV, Wednesday, September 11th.

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FREEDOM AND SCIENCE

DURING the last quarter of the nineteenth century one of the few ideas which was common to reformers and revolutionaries of all schools of thought was that the progress of science was in itself a socially liberative force.

Marx had just made his attempt to put the whole of economic and social change on a scientific and mathematical basis, an attempt which is not given fair credit today by those who have developed the ideas of scientific economics in this spirit, even though they diverge from Marx's conclusions.

The respectable and bourgeois British Association meetings provided the scene for the debates between Darwin and the bishops, in which clerical obscurantism was exposed and at least verbally defeated.

That period was one of confidence and expansion for British capitalism, with imperialist jingoism at its worst. The internal tensions which are a feature of the present day power struggle in Britain were well below the surface, and organised scientific research had not reached such a stage of permeation of everyday life that the state needed to interfere and control it, in order to safeguard its interests and those it served.

Today there has been an almost total reversal of attitude, and the majority of left wing and progressive people in this country today probably regard science not as a liberative social force, whose advance will more or less do their work for them; but as an enemy, which threatens to annihilate the world's people daily, which put inconceivably terrible power in the hands of governments and capitalist corporations, and whose very nature helps to concentrate power into the hands of the minority "in the know".

The defeat of the so-called materialist theories, both the Marxist and rationalist points of view, lies in what may be accurately described as their Utopianism.

They assumed that the contribution of scientific knowledge to a life that was not only more comfortable but freer and happier was a deterministic consequence, and not really related to the attitudes and choices made by the individuals of the scientific world.

The clash between science and government arises from the fact that they have different needs and objects. Scientific research can only flourish in an atmosphere of free inquiry and respect for truth, and implicit in its objects lies the idea that knowledge will be of general benefit to mankind. Government on the other hand can only exist by suppressing or distorting all the facts that are inconvenient to it, and its object is to benefit a tiny class who hold political power.

At the same time scientific research appears to be almost entirely dependent on either capitalist corporations or governments themselves, since the only way in which the expensive needs of laboratories, equipment, etc., can be financed, and the rather heavy demands for personal bread and butter that most scientists make is by these institutions, and the effect is inevitably a corrupting one. It limits the personal integrity of the individual scientist, who may be forced to work on projects which are only of interest to his employers, and neglect those in which he is interested, and at the same time it draws the sting from the radical social impact that science could have, turning it instead into a tame servant of the present set up.

To be fair to scientists, this clash of interests has been frequently recognised, but for a community in which the tradition demands a painstaking attack on each problem until it is finally solved, there has been remarkably little progress made in this one.

In fact, since the end of the last war the situation has become considerably worse. To quote merely one example, the extent to which research in American Universities with no relationship to military needs, is "generously" financed, and therefore controlled, by the military authorities is terrifying.

In the face of this worsening situation the typical liberal answer is compromise, even willing co-operation with governments in the hope that some independence might be saved as part of the bargain. This theme was taken by several speakers at the British Association's meeting in Aberdeen at the beginning of the month.

However, this spirit of willing compromise and co-operation is a mistake because it implies that the state is in some way justified in distorting scientific research in pursuit of power political aims; that there can be equality in a confrontation between truth and power. In fact the former is always right but the latter usually wins, on a short term basis at least.

The alternative anarchist approach seems to the writer to be based on three propositions. Firstly the possibility of a social order in which the state, as a concentration of authoritarian institutions does not exist. Secondly, the relevance of the attitudes of individual scientists and the importance of the decisions they take to the future evolution of society, and thirdly the possibility of evolving a libertarian conception of the relationship between scientific work and the community in general, starting here and now.

The first two of these belong to the core of the anarchist case, or at least to those branches of anarchism which are not solely concerned with individualist questions.

The third one which is more specific to the present subject, involves the whole question of social responsibility, and it throws light on the way in which the most irresponsible, disgusting behaviour by scientists invariably comes from those who serve the state and the powerful capitalist elements, while responsible behaviour usually comes from those who work on their own initiative, often against active discouragement from people in authority who can only evaluate work in terms of concrete, short term results.

Unfortunately, scientists usually see what freedom they do possess in their work (and one should add their material well-being) as being a privilege which only they deserve, and which is granted to them by a paternal state.

It would be more radical, and in the long run much safer, to approach the value of freedom in scientific research, which most people would at least recognise, as being just one aspect of the contention that everything in our social relationships becomes more fruitful and enjoyable in an atmosphere of freedom.

In this way the interests of science would be seen to depend not on collaboration with the state, least of all its military agencies, but in wherever possible drawing away from the state; in trying to weaken control from authoritarian institutions and not by bolstering them up; and in working for the integration of science, not with the upper class and its institutions, but with the ordinary people who ultimately share with it the fact that freedom and the overthrow of authority are in their interests.

P.H.

Fifty Anarchists Arrested

As we go to press we hear that 50 anarchists, members of the FWL, have been arrested in France.

We hope to be able to provide the full story next week.

MR. KENNETH DRURY who the *Daily Telegraph* Drama Conference said staged the 'happening' at the Edinburgh International Drama Conference, said 'Who can say how many people sitting in dreary lecture halls have fleetingly dreamed of nudes passing overhead?'. No nudes enlivened the 'Liberal' Party Assembly at Brighton but the tantalizing mirage of 500,000 houses as an electoral promise was felt to be 'unreal' and they merely resolved to take "vigorous measures to raise the rate of construction of new homes and so end the chronic shortage of houses within a decade and to combat private profiteering from rising land values." . . .

THE SUTTON Dwellings Charity Trust evicted a woman, her seven children and her 77-year-old mother from their home at Trent Vale, because the mother had refused alternative accommodation and the daughter and the seven children were "unofficial lodgers". The chairman of the Children's Committee of the County Councils said that evictions were uncivilized acts which underline the inability of society to deal with its self-created problems. Three of eight people charged at Marylebone with obstructing and demonstrating after the eviction of a family from its house at St. Stephen's Gardens, Bayswater, told how they saw the police beat up a prospective Labour parliamentary candidate. He said that four or five policemen threw him into a van, he was kicked in the stomach, "clouted" on the side of the head, punched in the back and kicked on the shins. At the station when he asked for water, he was refused. . . .

MR. WILLIAM SHEPHERD, Conservative M.P. for Cheddar says that after failing to stop at a red light in Brussels and failing to produce his papers, the police tried to drag him from his car. "They flung open the car doors and a tug of war began. One policeman grabbed me round the neck and the other my right arm, but I clung to the steering wheel. Finally they dragged me out. They took an arm each and frog-marched me down the road to the station. I asked to be allowed to get into touch with the British Consul but the police commissioner refused. I was kept for three hours. "A Tribunal set up by the Home Secretary to enquire into the dismissal of two detectives from the Sheffield force, heard evidence that three men after questioning by the dismissed detectives had extensive bruises, one of the detectives had put on leather gloves and beat the prisoner across the face. They brought out what looked like a cosh and hit him on the shoulder, across the back, and on the legs with it. He used another instrument,



"a leather thing with a knot in the end" the prisoner said, "across my back." A dismissed detective claimed that he had been instructed from higher up. Throughout the beatings, the Inspector was having a good laugh, another officer had told him to stop the beating and he had done so. George Clark, sentenced at London Sessions to eighteen months' imprisonment for inciting people to commit a nuisance, by obstructing the highway, said that police action on the demonstration (against the Greek Royal visit) was "quite as violent as any I have seen in the course of demonstrations over the past four years". Peter Cadogan, Secretary of the International Sub-Committee, Committee of 100 wrote to the *Guardian* that George Clark was not a member of the Committee of 100 and had no connection with the preparation of the demonstration but turned out as many others did, on the day. Peter Cadogan was with him during the demonstration and knew that he was no more responsible for what happened than anyone else. "What seems to have happened is that an enterprising policeman, recognising him as a leading Committee man of old, thought 'Ah! There's our man', and picked him up". . . .

ERIC WEINBERGER of the CORE was attacked by policemen in Brownsville, Tennessee. He was knocked to the ground with clubs, they threw acid on him and let loose a police dog which bit him in several places. He was then arrested on charges of "assault and battery". Sixty demonstrators in Danville, Virginia, were trapped and beaten in a narrow alleyway between the jail and the city hall. High pressure hoses were turned upon them but one of the demonstrators reports "The worst part was when the police came in and started swinging their billy clubs. They went mainly for the women's faces and heads, clubbing, kicking, cursing. They were like wild men. Forty persons had to be hospitalized and many who weren't

hospitalized received injuries that weren't slight either." *Fortune* carries an advertisement for guards supplied by a detective agency. "The Burns Guard is not like a conventional employee who might hesitate to turn in a friend. With him, plant rules comes before friendship—always! His sole loyalty is to you, his ultimate employer . . . Despite this professional superiority, Burns security costs about twenty per cent. less than maintaining our own force. Why? Because you have no uniforms or side-arms to buy and maintain. . . ."

MR. JOHN PARKER, M.P. for Dagenham, said that the police in Dagenham did little to prevent gangs of youths from pushing elderly people off the pavement and from interfering with youngsters returning from youth clubs. He also said that the police did not take seriously the many complaints of indecency and assault on girls; they were haphazard in their methods of arrest and beat up prisoners in cells. The police have started a fund and are taking legal advice on how to defend themselves. A Dartmoor prison warden has taken out a private summons alleging assault by a prisoner. . . .

A PRISONER at Durham was sentenced to one month for wounding a cell-mate. The defending counsel said, "This arises from one circumstance alone, gross overcrowding, three men in a cell designed for one, and where they spend 18 hours of the 24 locked in. The accused was in prison for housebreaking, the man he wounded had committed incest. "There is a very deep loathing of sexual offenders among prisoners. Poole (the wounded man) came into the cell on July 26th. After he had been in a short time there was a great deal of publicity about Miss Keeler and Dr. Ward, and, unhappily, this seemed to appeal very much to Poole." . . .

MR. HORNER of the Fire Brigades Union said "the attendance of fire-engines (at demonstrations) has nothing to do with any plans of the police in respect of the control of the demonstrations . . . the L.C.C. who are responsible for the fire hoses even if the police were to make such a request (which is itself doubtful), I need not say what the attitude of the firemen would be if they were given such a monstrous order". . . .

MR. LEE KUAN YEE, Prime Minister of Singapore was pushed into a four-foot-deep monsoon drain when scuffling broke out at a general election meeting.

JON QUIXOTE.

INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY?

Continued from page 1

THE two occasions when George Clark appeared at London Sessions and found guilty—in November 1961 he was sentenced to 9 months by the chairman, Mr. Seaton and last week to 18 months by the deputy chairman, Mr. McLean—are excellent examples in our opinion of a judiciary which is hand-in-glove with police and Executive but which is so full of prejudices too that even if it were independent of these, the fate of demonstrators would be unchanged.

At the 1961 trial Chairman Seaton told Clarke:

We all have to live in the world as it is today, and from what you have said, your efforts have done nothing to improve it. You are a nuisance to the overworked and understaffed police and will have to go to prison for nine months.

So because he was a nuisance to the police he was sentenced to nine months! Who told Mr. Seaton that George Clark was a nuisance to the police if not the police? Clark won his appeal and was released after two months, not because of this damning statement by the Chairman, but because he had gone a bit too far even in the eyes of the Lord Chief Justice, when he refused to allow a defence witness to take the stand because he would not take the oath and asked instead to affirm. Mr. Seaton got a lot of adverse publicity over that case. How many people who have read of Clark's recent encounter with the Deputy

Chairman of London Sessions will not have allowed the thought to cross their minds that the vicious double the sentence imposed the sentence imposed on this occasion, first time, smacked of victimisation because Clark had done them in the eye on the first occasion? Naturally we don't know, we are however suggesting that this is an explanation of the 18 months sentence. For, consider the facts: in 1961 Clarke was a leading member of the Committee of 100 which had organised the sit-down outside the American Embassy over which he was arrested and charged. In 1963 he was no longer a member of the Committee of 100 which was responsible for the anti-Greek-Royalist demonstrations, and took no part in organising them. The charge was that of "inciting persons to commit a nuisance by unlawfully obstructing the public of the free passage of the highway". But the "persons" concerned were there to demonstrate in any case and not at Clark's instigation, and whether Clark "incited" them to march to Buckingham Palace or not, the fact is that they would still have been "obstructing" if they had remained in Trafalgar Square. And how many members of the public did the police bring as witnesses to testify that they were being "obstructed of the free passage of the highway?" And even if they were obstructing, how many barrow boys, hawkers and other obstructors of the highway have ever been sentenced to 18 months on this charge?

In our opinion the 18 months sentence can therefore only be explained as a conspiracy by police, Executive and judiciary coupled with the Chairman and deputy chairman's dislike of political demonstrators in general, and a personal dislike to George Clark who they must consider a nuisance to themselves as well as to their friends the "overworked police".

The case of George Clark confirms once again that we have no rights under the law which cannot be taken away from us either by changing the law or by digging up existing laws long forgotten but which the legal minds can bend to fit the "crime". Our freedoms, our rights depend on our determination to exercise, and our power to defend, them against those who would take them away when "the national interest" is threatened. *Peace News* in a spineless editorial on the Clark case, suggests that "if people demonstrated in the future as they generally have in the past, without causing antagonism and opposition by their behaviour, the right to demonstrate will not be lost". We could quote them dozens of cases of peaceful demonstrations during the past thirty years, which have been violently attacked, or provoked or broken up by the police. The "right to demonstrate" will continue only so long as the people of this country are determined to resist attempts by governments and the Law to gag and intimidate them. It is not in the Courts and the House of Lords that the people have won their freedoms but in the streets. It is as true today as it was a hundred years ago.

MALAYSIAN MOTIVES

EVERYONE was consulted about Malaysia except the people. This, not the intervention of President Sukarno, is the true cause of the revolt over the British-imposed Asian federation. (Sukarno, for reasons of political status, has merely been willing to shoulder the blame for its postponement).

An examination of the motives of those concerned in the Malaysian crisis would reveal the following:

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT seeks protection of all big business interests in the territories, Malaya, Sarawak, North Borneo and the prolongation of its military base in a politically left-wing Singapore.

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN, the Malayan Prime Minister, seeks an extension of his political power and also a weakening by ballot-rigging of the left-

wing—mainly Chinese—influence in Singapore. (In the proposed Malaysian parliament, Singapore, with 1½ million people is given 15 seats, whilst Sarawak and North Borneo with less than 1 million people receive 30 seats).

Singapore's Prime Minister—Cambridge educated—Lee Kuan Yew seeks an extension of his political power (a potential audience of 8½ million as against the present 1½ million) and the expansion of his party P.A.P. (People's Action Party) throughout the new territories at the expense of the Trade Unions and citizens of Singapore.

(One item in the British-conceived Malaysian plan agreed upon by the ambitious Mr. Lee is a racial restriction on travel for all his fellow Singapore Chinese—equivalent to the British people being forced to join the Common Mar-

ket and then taken by the other countries in which they also pay taxes). President Sukarno opposes Malaysia on two counts:

(a) he cannot tolerate a rival Moslem politician (Tanqui Abdul Rahman) in what he considers his personal sphere of influence;

(b) he fears that a commercially successful Malaysia would act as a magnet on Sumatra and Indonesian Borneo to whom he has so far refused local autonomy.

As an alternative to Malaysia, Sukarno proposes a much wider federation called Maphilindo which would eventually involve Malaya, Indonesia and The Philippines.

The leaders of the three countries, when they met recently in Manila, were able to agree on Maphilindo because it offered the new sponsors similar opportunities as Malaysia. These were: Firstly, an extension of political power. (Each of them with his eyes on

Secondly, the further reduction of local Chinese influence with its tradition of business enterprise and political racialism.

(In Malaysia the Chinese community remains at 3½ million out of the 8½ million population. In the proposed Maphilindo federation the Chinese community would be reduced to 6 million out of 130 million).

Despite his success at Manila, Sukarno is likely to continue his opposition to Malaysia. He needs a crisis.

Lee Kuan Yen will continue to imprison those who speak against Malaysia. He needs to win an election.

The British Government, using military power to enforce Malaysia, has remained strangely silent concerning Maphilindo (although its economic opportunities, no doubt, are being considered).

On both Maphilindo and Malaysia the people have yet to be consulted.

FRANCIS WEBB.

CENTRAL LONDON

CHANGE OF MEETING PLACE
"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m. SEP 22 Peter Lumden:
Ammon Hennacy and Anarchism
SEP 29 Jack Robinson.
Nechyayev

ALL WELCOME

HYDE PARK MEETINGS

Sundays at 3.30 p.m., Speakers' Corner. Weather and other circumstances permitting.

GLASGOW FEDERATION

Meets every Thursday, 7.30, at 4 Ross Street, Glasgow, E.2 (off Gallowgate).

BRISTOL FEDERATION

Bristol Outdoor Meetings:
The Downs (nr. Blackboy Hill) every Sunday, 3.30, circumstances and weather permitting.

PROPOSED GROUPS

Proposals have been made for forming anarchist/discussion groups or federations in the following areas. Will those interested please get into touch with the address given?

- BELFAST**
Telephone 23691.
COUNTY OF STAFFORD TRAINING COLLEGE
John Wheeler, C.S.T.C., Nr. Stafford, Staffs.
HEREFORD
Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close, Hereford
MANCHESTER
John McEwan, c/o Farrish, 4, Sanby Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Manchester.
PLYMOUTH
Fred Spiers, 35 Ridge Park Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.
ROMFORD & HORNCHURCH
John Chamberlain, 74 Upper Rainham Road, Hornchurch, Essex, or
Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster.
READING, BASINGSTOKE
R. Adair, Wantage Hall, Upper Redlands Road, Reading, Berks or 4 Castle Bridge Cottages, North Warnborough, Odiham, Hants.
SHEFFIELD
Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.
TUNBRIDGE WELLS
J. D. Gilbert-Rofe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

- 1st Wednesday** of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.
2nd Friday at Brian and Doris Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).
N.B.—Change of Day.
3rd Wednesday of the month, at 8 p.m. at Albert Portch's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.
First Thursday of each month, Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).
Last Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2.
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.
Notting Hill Anarchist Group (Discussion Group)
Last Friday of the month, at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbrooke Road, (near Notting Hill Station), W.11.

Freedom

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Another Bristol Demo.

During this time CND were holding a small meeting outside the exhibition area. Since all the people were inside this activity seemed particularly futile, but they were presumably enjoying themselves . . . When they had finished we borrowed a banner, and plotted to invade the exhibition area, much to the consternation of the plain-clothes fuzzi standing behind us. At a signal five people dashed into the area, stuck the banner in the ground, and Digger Walsh began to speak. Within seconds a constable had told us to remove the banner, and when we refused he did the job

himself. Then another told Digger to move or shut up. He refused, and was dragged away, while I took over the speech and a large crowd began to gather. A large constable then told me to shut up, and when I did not he began to push me. I sat down. By now the two of us were totally surrounded by people, and deprived of his sidekicks he seemed somewhat reluctant to act. I again began to speak about how free speech could be on occasions, and after hasty consultation with his superiors the fuzzi retreated. By this time Digger had started speaking again, and we con-

tinued unmolested for an hour or more. I subsequently discovered that the fuzzi had treated Digger to a few friendly kicks while they had him out of sight of our audience.

I don't know if we proved anything. We defied the Law and won a minor victory for free speech; we made a few people take us seriously, perhaps for the first time, but the Military are too big to be beaten by half a dozen of us. If Bristol can't do better than this we may as well stay in the pub. We have an unpaid bill for £9's worth of leaflets. I hope some comrades feel guilty. Someone else can organise the next demonstration!

IAN VINE,
for the Bristol Federation
of Anarchists.

Poppcock!

DEAR FRIENDS,
I was angered by M. J. Walsh's letter in last week's FREEDOM (14/9/63). I have never met this "comrade", nor do I wish to, but I object to his sniping criticism.

If FREEDOM has long correspondence on the non-violence/violence topic and mass-production/small-scale production which involves point and counter-point surely this is a good, healthy sign. This is what we want; argument, controversy and debate. If the debate is unending this is because the topics are never decided upon for all time, that is, no dogma or doctrine is written upon stones for sheep to learn like parrots.

It is plain poppy-cock to suggest FREEDOM is "merely a sheet for mutual self-praise or derogation by an ingroup", as such it can be dismissed as the remark of a particularly unpleasant and unobservant idiot.

I have no wish to praise Freedom Press unconditionally, nor do I regard the editors or any anarchists as infallible, but I do recognise that the work of our comrades who produce FREEDOM week after week deserves respect, assistance and comradeship. The syndicalist movement in this country has had violent differences of opinion with Freedom Press in the past and they produce their own journal, some of us help the production of both Direct Action and FREEDOM, in the same way pacifists help with Peace News and FREEDOM and/or Direct Action. This would seem to be a very sensible position, and if M. J. Walsh wishes to produce the anti-Freedom Press anarchist paper then let him set to work. He will get nothing from me or from any comrade who recognises the work of anarchists who have produced FREEDOM for the last 25 years.

Yours faithfully,
J.W.

The real Freud

DEAR SIR OR COMRADE,
I write in support of J.K.R.'s article on psychoanalysis. Indeed my only complaint is that he does not sufficiently dissociate the original findings of Freud from the school known as the neo-Freudians. If he had, Tom Barnes would have been saved the trouble of expounding the naive faith of the neo-Freudians in his letter of Sept. 7th.

This sociological approach to psychoanalysis has of recent years come in for severe criticism from Norman O. Brown, H. Marcuse and others. Barnes has had his training alas in this self-same, almost scholastic system, which is the orthodox system—not Freud's.

Freudian concepts are basic, i.e. his

LETTERS

life and death instincts could hardly be socially derived. And Tom, why chose exhibitionism to demonstrate your argument? It is unimportant and symptomatic. Why not chose a concept like exogamy and prove to us that it is socially derived.

And, would you say that the sex instinct is socially derived or that it can be conquered by cold reason? No, get away from the conformist psycho-analytical school and back to the real Freud in his original writings.

Once more my congratulations to John K. R. for a good article.
London. MAURICE GOLDMAN.

The Ultra-Rich

EDITOR, FREEDOM,
As a visitor to Britain I am surprised that I can find no books dealing directly with the concentration of wealth and the influence of the very rich on politics and public affairs. Many Americans, including me, have the impression that most Britons take a keen interest in these matters. At the moment it is "private collectivism" that is choking off democracy and freedom in the so-called Western democracies. And far too few movements are attacking the evil at its source.

MORE! MORE!

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Respectfully yours,
JOHN D. COPPING.

Chorley Wood, Aug. 26.

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