

The average man's opinions are made for him like the house he lives in. . . What is called the rule of the majority in a bourgeois democracy is, therefore, in reality, the rule of those who control the methods of manufacturing opinion, especially in the schools and the Press.
—BERTRAND RUSSELL (1924).

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Nursing Grievances

THE government's offer of a 2½ per cent increase in wages for the nursing profession has been received with the contempt it deserves, and though the nurses say they will on no account strike or work to rule, the Royal College of Nursing declares that its claim for a revaluation of their salaries should be "pressed in every possible way". One such way, presumably, is for nurses to quit the profession or to emigrate. According to a senior sister in "a famous London hospital", quoted in the *Sunday Times*:

I've visited America where people in the same job get far bigger salaries. They can afford to run cars and live in luxury flats. A large number of British nurses who have gone out there will not come back because they say the money is too poor.*

If this were to happen on a large enough scale the Government would undoubtedly be obliged to take action. After all they can generally be made to "see reason" by a supply and demand argument if the "demand" is sufficiently pressing. One saw this with the miners during the war, and with the police and armed forces since.

But when the College of Nursing resolve that "in no circumstances will the college be a party to any limitation of services" they should be made aware of the fact that these noble sentiments sound a little hollow if at the same time there is a mass exodus from the profession, for in effect, it comes to the same thing! Agreed that no nurse should give less than her best to those in her care; agreed that the college should have no powers to prevent nurses from leaving the profession or emigrating if they so wish. But if the alternative to strike action is mass emigration or a mass exodus from the profession, then the alternative could be worse than strike action. In the case of the nursing profession, strike action would have to take the form of refusing to deal with any new cases, other than emergency cases, from a certain date.

Since it is the public that pays the nurses, it is to the public that they should state their case. We believe such an approach should avoid all sentimentality and empha-

*From enquiries we made there appear to be no official figures as to the number of nurses who emigrate or leave the profession. Unofficial figures are 200 per month.

size simply that nurses provide an indispensable service to the community and that it is the responsibility of the community to see to it that those who provide it should in return be adequately remunerated.

★
WHAT is "adequate"? The *Sunday Times* in a significant editorial comment on "Wrong Values" argues that

there is no conceivable argument in favour of a situation where a ward sister with the heavy responsibility and heavier work of keeping some two dozen people alive, earns perhaps £15 a week—which can be a day's pay for the actress who portrays the same role on television.

A 27-year-old ward sister is quoted by the same journal as saying: "At present my ward orderly takes home more money than I do".

We applaud the *Sunday Times* *cris de coeur* about "Wrong Values", but why pick on the acting profession which apart from its stars, is one of the most *insecure* of the professions which contribute something positive to the life of the community. How, for instance does the *Sunday Times* editorial writer, some nearer home, rationalise the fact that his employer, Mr. Roy Thompson is a multi-millionaire; who probably "earns" more than 200 Staff Nurses (£525-£656 per annum)? Is his job "heavier" more "responsible" more "life-saving" than that of a nurse?

Of course "Values" are all wrong—we have been pointing this out for years! But whereas the worshippers of Mammon, such as the *Sunday Times*, are forced into admitting this only when a service which affects the privileged classes no less than the underprivileged, is concerned, we have all along been pointing out that so long as the wealth of the community is controlled by a minority; so long as production is determined by considerations of profits; so long as money is neither the coin of exchange nor the instrument of individual choice but the symbol of power and the instrument of privilege, society will be permanently fragmented, disunited, antagonistic. In such a

society there is no definition of "adequate" which will satisfy everybody. In such a society one does not distinguish between a "service" which is positive and one that is negative. In a word, one cannot apply moral values to a society founded on privilege. To be sure, there are "upright", "moral", "fair", "generous" employers, businessmen, and we have been at pains to point this out in these columns, but we do not applaud them, because we believe that their intelligence should make them aware of the fact that their "morality" rests on, and conveniently ignores, the fundamental injustice of society which makes possible their own privileged position. With the intellectuals, who are paid to lament the slackening of human fibre in this affluent society, but themselves successfully live of the fat of the land, we consider them *moral immoralists!*

★
"ADEQUATE" in a just society is linked to needs, and so far as the majority of the people in this unjust society are concerned, this is in fact the criterion. Obviously by definition a "privileged society" is one in which a *minority* enjoys advantages denied to the *majority*; if this were not so, it would not be a privileged society. Indeed once the majority could enjoy the privileges, what grounds would there be to deny them to the minority? This is not just a tub-thumping argument. We are even prepared to agree that poverty as understood in this country say thirty years ago does not exist on anything like the same scale. But, according to last Sunday's *Observer*, 2 per cent. of the *adult* population owned nearly 50 per cent, or half, of the nation's personal wealth. We have a long way to go, therefore, to achieve the equalitarian society we want to see if it is to be achieved by reforms or "socialist" actuarial sleight-of-hand; for this reason we are anarchists, that is believers in the need for upheaval, violent or non-violent, whichever is most effective in the circumstances (*pace* Gandhi, Nicolas

Walter *et alia*), to break the stranglehold of privilege and to release the pent-up, creative, forces of the people in the service of themselves and the community.

★
NURSES have public sympathy so long as they are associated in the public mind as "one of them". If they try to assert themselves as a *privileged* section of the community they rightly, in our opinion, invite resentment and criticism from other working people who contribute just as much to our comfort and well-being. Their profession, their contribution to society, is nursing; for the rest of the time they are like all of us "consumers" of goods and services, which others provide. All the hospitals in the kingdom would be of no avail if there were not the people to tend the land, to provide the fuel and shelter which protect us from the

elements; scientists would be preaching in the desert if no one were to be found to clean the streets and attend to the sewers. Why then demand privileged treatment? Nurses, more than any other service we have instanced though socially equally important, because their professions bring them in direct contact with other human beings, can enjoy the deep satisfaction of love, gratitude, dependence, which is absent from many others. In Beethoven's "Fidelio" the subservient but pitiable jailer, Rocco, warns his daughter Marcellina, in a pretty pedestrian aria, that "Love is nothing without money", and as realists we would add that today it means starvation. But money without love?

★
TO get a clear picture of the nursing crisis we sought the facts from the Royal College of Nursing. There are 54,000 Registered Nurses and 10,000 State Enrolled Nurses (who have taken a 2 year course as distinct from the 3 years of the former). There are 54,000 Student
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CASTRO & THE COMMUNISTS

CASTRO'S handling of the political trials of the 1,179 captured members of the abortive, American organised, invasion, will hardly increase the number of sympathisers for his cause. Perhaps at this stage he is not interested in this kind of sympathy but does hope to raise the dollars he is demanding. It still

seems to us, as it did at the time of the Tractors, that he would have got them *and* sympathy had he made the gesture of liberating, or at least of returning the prisoners to their families and friends in America. This would surely have undermined the anti-Castro movement among the American-based Cuban

exiles, and would have at the same time weakened the American government's campaign to defeat Castro by financial strangulation.

★
Because we never had any illusions that the Cuban revolution was more than it professed to be, and in any case we find it virtually impossible to ascertain what is happening in Cuba because even the eye-witness accounts are mutually contradictory, we have not joined the pro-Castro or anti-Castro choruses.

However we cannot resist the temptation of quoting from the *Daily Herald's* report (10.4.62) the following:

At one blow Cuba's President, Fidel Castro, has destroyed the growing power of the Cuban Communist Party and re-established himself as the country's "maximum leader".

It is now clear that his denunciation of the Party's old guard in a television speech a fortnight ago stripped them of much of their influence.

During the past year the Communists had gained almost complete control of
Continued on page 2



A NEW MISSILE HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY LAUNCHED

ANARCHY 14 ON SALE NOW DISCUSSES

DISOBEDIENCE

Pecking Order as Before

THE Popular Press calls it "Lloyd's Lollypop Budget"; it makes a good headline, and concentrates the public attention as usual on the irrelevancies, and in pointing an accusing finger at the Man who is "taxing the children" to the tune of less than £50m. in a year we blithely overlook the fact that the government will be collecting £6,750 millions from us by other means!

So far as we can see nobody will be worse off than they were, and the speculators, so we were told on the Radio, will easily get round the proposed speculative gains tax. The rich will get richer, the poor, poorer. Some think this a law of nature rather like the "peck order" which exists among flocks of hens. Each hen, except the one at the bottom, has the right to peck the hen

below it, and expects to be pecked by the hen above. Apparently the system only works if the hens can recognise one another, which is something! But what about the under-hen, the one who is pecked but deprived of a hen to peck? Obviously nature has not provided her with the intelligence to start pecking in her turn, or she might find that the order can be reversed, and she will end up by doing the pecking and not being pecked! The human-underdog *can* if he wants to peck back to good effect; when will he start?

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Utopia Arraigned

(From a Correspondent)

MEMBERS of the Central Committee of the "Third Force" movement in Israel submitted to the Special Political committee of U.N.O. a statement which, if it is true, and we have no reason to believe it is not, puts into perspective S.F.'s somewhat sanguine vista of the Israeli Utopia.

The statement refers to the Arab refugees problem as part of the main Arab-Israel problem, and states that for more than thirteen years hundreds of thousands of Palestine Arabs have been in refugee camps; their lands confiscated, houses and property destroyed or dispersed.

These are not voluntary refugees but people who fled in panic and fear of Zionist domination. The terrible slaughter in "Dir Yassin" and similar actions which preceded and followed it, prove that the fear was not baseless.

The Zionist domination say The Third Force proceeded by the following stages:—

1. "Conquest of Land". Land was purchased by Zionists from big land-owners and Arab peasants were expelled after non-violent resistance in some cases. Members of the Kibbutzim aided

the British-Jewish police in removal of the peasants, sometimes bloodshed occurred.

2. "Conquest of Work". After possession had been secured Zionists and the Kibbutzim inserted a clause that Arabs should not be allowed to work on the land. The slogan was "On Jewish land and in Jewish enterprises only Jews shall be employed", and Histadrut picketed Jews who employed Arabs.

3. "Conquest of Production and Trade". The third stage, says the report, was a campaign. "Jews must buy only Jewish products!" This was accompanied by violence to enforce the boycott.

The Jewish Agency frustrated all efforts of the Palestine Arabs for any measure of Arab self-government even opposing a project for a parliament with a British-Jewish majority.

The Agency, says the Third Force, opposed Income Tax law, and the Establishment of a Government Agricultural Bank, which they contended would have helped the Arabs.

According to the Zionists the Arab refugees hoped for the victory of the Arab states. This, says the Third Force, is quite probable but can it be wondered at?

Israeli leaders contend that the Arab refugees should not be allowed to return to Israel because of their hatred. But, asks the Third Force, who has created this hatred?, when Israelis shoot women and young children who try to "infiltrate" to see their parents, and impose long sentences on fathers who give shelter to an "infiltrated" child.

"Iniquity breeds hatred. Evil breeds evil. There is only one proper way to eradicate hatred, and this is by removing its causes."

The Palestine Arabs are war refugees who do not need charity but restitution of their rights. The Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel published in 1948 stated: "We call upon the sons of the Arab people dwelling in Israel to keep the peace and to play their part in building the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship. . . . The State of Israel will maintain complete equality of social and political rights for all its citizens, without distinction of creed, race or sex." The Third Force declares that the above statements were insincere and deceptive.

All Arab villages are under military government and a stringent system of passes is in force, even to go and see

a doctor. Travel-permits (as in South Africa) designate routes. These rules have been somewhat relaxed but their essence remains.

Israel's leaders declare that this military rule was established in 1948 for security reasons and is for safeguarding the border. This, states the Third Force, is "completely untrue. Permits are needed for Arabs to travel away from the border, even to a Jewish settlement. Neither may a Jew enter an Arab village without permission from the Governor. The Military Governor's functions in an Arab village sees to it that Zionist interests are maintained and advanced if need be. Land sales are forced through—to Zionists, permits for product sales are judiciously issued, and anti-Zionist elements are curbed by a system of informers. The Third Force states that it is the Military Government and their henchmen who see that 50 per cent of the Arab votes go to the party in power—which only gets 30 per cent of the Jewish vote.

The Third Force further alleges that much Arab land was seized by the Kibbutzim before—and after—the war of 1948 and many of the Arabs became refugees. Much of this land-grabbing was made legal by "The Absentees' Property Law" of 1950. This confiscated the land, not only of "absentees" but of everybody who during the Arab-Israel war "left his place of residence and went (for any duration of time whatever, even for days or hours) to another place which was at that time held by forces that tried to hinder the State of Israel". At present there are about 30,000 dispossessed refugees.

In 1953 a law, "Land Acquisition Law (Validation of Acts and Compensation)" was enacted. By virtue of this, all land-robbings says the Third Force, were validated. Compensation was written in (at the 1950 price—before the devaluation of Israeli currency). Most of the robbed land-owners would not agree to this "compensation".

To further put on the screw the Emergency Regulations of 1948 authorized security zones with forbidden access, this makes it possible for Arab lands to be security zones under these regulations. Further ordinances on "The Cultivation of Wastelands" authorizes the government to take over uncultivated land, which includes Arab land taken as security zones. By this method more than 60 per cent of the Israeli-Arab land has been confiscated. "And the grab is still proceeding".

The Declaration promised equal citizenship in 1948. But in 1952 the 'citizenship law' made it necessary for Arabs to apply for citizenship and not all applications were accepted whereas all Jewish immigrants were automatically citizens. Says the Third Force, "The anti-Semitic states were more frank in this respect; they deprived their Jewish inhabitants of citizenship".

The Israeli leaders blame the Arab states for the plight of the Arab refugees and the Israeli-Arabs, blaming them for their objection to partition. The Third Force feels that the Arabs failed to understand Zionism, but that the Israelis accepted partition because they believed it a stepping-stone to greater nationalist achievements.

The Israelis declare that the Sinai Desert (taken in 1956) will not be returned to Egypt. Can then, asks the Third Force, the Zionists blame the Arabs entirely for the plight of the refugees?

"Zionism is a reactionary movement . . . but the Jewish nation is not a reactionary nation. There are no reactionary nations, and surely Jews are not such a nation.

"On the contrary, Jews were among the most valiant and true fighters for the highest ideals of mankind. The Zionist attitude towards the Palestine Arabs is not only a blot on humanity. It is primarily a blot on the Jewish nation and history. . . .

"Many Arab leaders believe, as it seems, that the right solution of the Israel-Arab problem is the destruction of Israel. It is doubtful whether this is a practical solution for the near future. But it is certainly not a just solution. Wrong should not be replaced by another wrong."

The statement of the Third Force continues, "The State of Israel can and should be a true undiscriminating mother to all her children, to Jews and Arabs alike, and a friend and ally to the Arab nation."

Their submissions to U.N.O. are that only a just solution will produce a stable peace, to be attained by refugee repatriation; abolition of discrimination; return of Arab property and payment of compensation; Arab recognition of State of Israel; Federation of Middle East States.

Further recommendations they make, are, that: A conciliation committee of Asian and African representatives be set up and meet in Jerusalem to direct repatriation, restitution and compensation; such Committee be endowed with powers by U.N.O.

The Third Force may have some of the faults of its optimistic reliance upon U.N.O. but its indictment of Israel bears all the hallmarks of a truth that must be spoken despite all knowledge that the Arab leaders are using the refugees in their own particular game of power politics.

Driftwood Arrangements

THE Japanese has a reputation for making much of little, the arranging of flowers, the tea-ceremonies, and the arrangement of driftwood into forms significant of beauty and pathos.

Kenji Mozoguchi's *Ugetsu Monogatari* now at the Academy's late night showings, is a contribution to this art form. The film was made in 1953 (the director died in 1956). This time-lag is probably due to the need for assimilation by audiences of the Japanese idiom before the film is ripe for commercial exploitation. Mozoguchi's previous film was shown here for its 'blue' note billed as "The Street of Shame".

This film is the story of two countrymen—a potter and a peasant caught up in war. The potter is consumed with an ambition for money-making, the peasant with the ambition for military glory. The war passes over them robbing the potter of his wealth and his wife, and the peasant finds his wife, who has been raped by soldiers, in a brothel.

Some have compared this film to Brecht's *Mother Courage*, but the anti-war point is made more firmly by an unmistakable parallel with the history of Japan's commercial and militaristic ambitions and final disaster. Perhaps the reason for the delayed showing is that the point is made too clearly—with the moral at the end—cultivate your own garden.

For Western eyes the Japanese content is fascinating; the strictly non box-office title is translated into *Tales of a Pale and Mysterious Moon after the Rain*. The acting is impeccable and the camera shots, particularly in the boating scene, are like driftwood arrangements before a camera. In the misadventures of the potter is introduced an eighteenth century story which has persisted in Japan (oddly enough there is a Chinese version translated by Arthur Waley in *Horizon*, August, 1946) for centuries. This as a tale of a man who marries a ghost, the ghost is exorcised by an old man and the luxurious house in which they have lived is reduced to its former ruined state.

As with Shakespeare, the re-creation of an old tale gives strength to the subtleties of the new. The Japanese storm-tossed life of the "period of wars" of the 16th century leaves behind the tortured, gnarled and beautifully polished shapes of *Ugetsu Monogatari*.

It was Mozoguchi's hope that Japanese life would emerge from the storm of the last war with a beauty, purity and simplicity of its own. J.R.

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Family News from Nowhere

"THE HOUSE ON THE HILL", by Frances Wilding, with 32 photographs by Geoffrey, Victoria and Steven. Phoenix House Ltd., London, 15s.

ploughhorse or racehorse, Helen of the wild red hair who loves the creatures of air and water, Christopher with sky-blue eyes and fair curls, Nicholas with dark curls and midnight-blue eyes, and the two big boys, Geoffrey, 12, and Steven, 11, cast by nature to be father and mother on occasion to all the others—Steven, lover of colour and form and a well kept room and the cooking of a good meal; Geoffrey, who you look back to when you put down the book, and, lo, he is a man, reliable, intelligent, well-informed for all material purposes, now studying for himself, being self-disciplined as few grown men are. For there is no police in this little world of 8—only love and faith and mutual understanding and consideration.

What is it really then, this book? Am I glozing over another "Eric" thing, or some Anglo-Swiss Family Robinson? Nothing of the kind. It is a few living pages from the current life of Mrs. Joy Baker, the nobility of which we may boast that FREEDOM sympathetically described some two years before *The Times* discovered her and gave her space to state her case against the school inspectors and courts who tried to force her to enrol her children in the educational rat race. This aroused a correspondence in *The Times* not all so narrow-minded as might be expected from obvious winners in the race. But there is no controversy in the book; it is all pure action, with the exception of the paragraph to which reference has been

made, and is appended here to this string of a review to plumb the conventional depths.

Schools were a long way away; but this appeared to me—and to the children—to be an advantage rather than the reverse, since I felt that any irregularities in their formal learning would be more than compensated for by the increased experience of tackling life hand-to-hand, which they would gain from our new circumstances, and that this did in any case constitute a valuable part of their education. I had found throughout my own life that most of the things I was taught in school had never been of the slightest use to me, and I had always felt that a practical training in everyday things was of quite as much value

to most children as the patchwork of subjects pushed into their minds at school. The education authorities however did not agree with my views, and there were continual verbal arguments and more or less acrimonious correspondence, and even an occasional appearance in the local Court; none of which did anything to alter either my views of those of the authorities.

That is all she says about what must have been felt as little short of persecution by any woman less serenely acting as she felt best for her children. And because no such feeling mars this joyous book (her writing itself escapes from such long sentences) it were inappropriate to end a review of it on that sad note. Let me instead recall the excitement of "Little Women" and "Robinson Crusoe"; there is something of both here, and a still stronger flavour of "News From Nowhere".

KARL WALTER.

CASTRO

Continued from page 1

the administration as well as over ORI the coalition of revolutionary groups from which the new United Socialist Party is to be formed.

It had become impossible for any Minister to take an important decision without first consulting the group led by Anibal Escalante, formerly secretary-general of ORI.

Castro exiled Escalante to Moscow after the broadcast.

The president's greatest indignation was reserved for the contemptuous way in which the Party commissars were dismissing army officers who had fought loyally with Castro in the revolution but, as he put it, could not "recite the catechism of Marxism."

The people responsible for this—and

there were many—"must have their mouths shut," he declared.

If this information is accurate then there are still great revolutionary possibilities in Cuba. (For the record, FREEDOM maintained two years ago at the height of the American government's campaign against Cuba using the bogey of Russian infiltration into the Western Hemisphere, that on the facts as they were available "one can be reasonably hopeful that the people of Cuba will as jealously guard their independence from Russian tutelage, as they are now fighting to wrest it from the clutches of American imperialism").

NURSING GRIEVANCES

Continued from page 1

nurses and 6,000 Pupil nurses (the former training to be Registered-nurses) the latter to be State Enrolled-nurses). "Other nursing staff" (which means porters, cleaners, etc. . . .) comprise 27,000 full-time, 22,000 part-time workers. Approximately 40 per cent of the Student nurses give up before they have completed the course, either because they lose interest or cannot cope, or because they find husbands. Approximately 200 nurses a month leave the profession or secure more remunerative posts abroad. But neither the college nor the Ministry were able to say how many nurses in our hospitals today came from the colonies or the Commonwealth. The most helpful spokeswomen of the college did, however, point out that the personnel of some hospitals was 90 per cent non-British*.

*i.e., White "Born-in-Britain" British.

★

THESE are revealing, and not very creditable figures, so far as the public is concerned. For it is clear in the first place that a qualified nurse is in receipt of a wage which an unskilled worker in an H-bomb factory would not accept; and secondly that we, the public, the "consumers" are prepared to leave it to the government, so long as the flow of "cheap labour" from the colonies, the commonwealth and countries, such as Spain and Italy is available. Most patients, to our knowledge, much enjoy the colourful, international atmosphere in our hospitals today, but by all accounts they are still understaffed, and unless we are prepared to connive at the situation whereby people are having to wait many months for treatment when hospital wards are empty through lack of staff, we must look upon the demands of the hospital staff not as a struggle between them and the Treasury but as a problem which potentially affects each one of us as individuals. The *Sunday Times* talks of "Wrong Values". Let us see how wrong they are.

Every day the Press provides us with a bulletin as to how the country is reacting to the blackmail campaign by the Royal Academy. That moribund body, to keep itself going, is exploiting the "scarcity value" of a Leonardo cartoon it possesses (for which it paid nothing, since it was the gift of one of its members), to blackmail the public into paying £800,000, which is the price it is confident it could realise from some dollar-happy American collector. The Government has offered our nurses 2½ per cent. A staff nurse earns £525-£656 per annum; there are 54,000 registered nurses in this country, 54,000 times 2½ per cent of say £600 is £820,000. So all we are prepared to offer our 54,000 qualified nurses as an extra to meet the increased cost of living and to raise their living standards is what we are about to pay for the scarcity value of a drawing by a Master? Alright, if this is the way the public thinks, why blame the nurses for demanding better conditions . . . or else?

★

BECAUSE we are anarchists, and desire a society in which every individual will be free to develop according to his possibilities (with the only proviso that he should neither exploit the labour of a fellow being nor in any other way in-

fringe his personal liberty), we find ourselves unwilling to support arguments for pay increases which clearly imply the recognition of wage and status differentials today, whatever one might wish "after the revolution". The worker, whether he contributes to the well-being of the community through brain- or brawn-power is giving what he biologically (and today, socially) is able to give. To rationalize the differentials in capitalist society when one enjoys a privileged status . . . and income, is intellectually dishonest, and in the long run personally unrewarding. We quoted earlier the ward sister who complained that "my" ward orderly took home more money than she did. We are certain that "her" ward orderly worked more hours, at less rewarding work than she did, and that in any case the ward sister's remark was intended to hint that not only should she earn as much (which hour for hour we are sure she does) but more because she is in a different class. It is this same class consciousness which accounts for the acceptance of differentials, social and economic, between nurses and doctors and, indeed, in the relationship between doctor and patient, which the conscientious doctor should be the first to dispel. Apart from their specialised knowledge the doctor, the nurse, the shoemaker and the mechanic are ordinary mortals like everyone else, dependent on other "specialists" in matters where they are dunces, subject to the problems and diseases on which they are specialists. (It should be a sobering thought for them that the inventor of pedestrian crossings in France met his end on one such crossing).

★

THE economic problem of our nurses is, by comparison with say that of so-called Defence a minor one. Taking Registered, State Enrolled, Student and Pupil nurses, plus "other nursing staff", we have a total of 173,000 fellow beings who are engaged in a useful service, whether they are polishing floors, making the tea or taking one's pulse. We would treat them all alike, but they have strong "status" feelings, which it will need much re-organisation within the hospitals themselves to eradicate. But for the sake of getting a picture of what the nurses might cost us: if we are agreed to pay an average of £1,000 a year (which is about double the starting pay of a Staff Nurse) then we must find £173 million a year for the Nurses. It sounds a lot but divided among the 50,000,000 potential "clients" for their services, it works out at 1/6 per week per person, or 3/- if only half the population contribute. Is this something we cannot afford? According to the government which controls our purse it is; on the other hand we can afford to spend 10 times that amount per person on "Defence".

If this does not make sense then it is time we did something about it. But to our minds the nurses must prod the public by making their demands direct to them and not to the Ministry. Is there after all any special reason why the public should not set up its own organisations for dealing with services? It will be the only way if it wants to be responsible for how its money is spent, what services we want and which ones we can dispense with.

IN the world this month there have been four events that have focussed upon the concept of violence. The killing of Nancy by Bill Sykes (for entertainment), the killing of Benny Paret (for sport), the killing of Hanratty by the State (for our law and order), the killing of six T.B. patients by the OAS (for their law and order).

The horror aroused by the depiction of the fictional event is almost greater than that aroused by the other three put together. The TV crime is seized upon particularly as being a terrible thing to show to children and is taken as an excuse to attack the B.B.C. for violence and 'bad taste'.

The killing of Benny Paret has been the cue for a call to ban boxing, countermanded by (for example) the *News of the World's* headlines "Ban the busybodies—not the boxing".

The killing of Hanratty has aroused the least controversy. "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life" seems to satisfy the sense of justice.

The brutality of the OAS murders has not provoked the wave of retaliation by the Algerians which seems to have been its aim.

The world has supped so full of violence that it seems it is only the blind violence of disease, disaster or nature or the violence of the imaginary event that arouses 'public opinion'. The integral violence of the State, or a putative state, the neck-breaking of Hanratty, the slaughters of the OAS and counter-slaughters of the French leave us unmoved, punch-drunk as we seem after Coventry, Dresden, Belsen and Hiroshima. Our lobes of pity have atrophied, our skulls of sensibility have been hardened against the battering by violent events that is the daily lot of man in the twentieth century.

Only the imaginary wrong can be brooded upon, only the fictional violence has no consequences. The deep implications of 'the violence that touches all our lives . . . none are guiltless; none' (as W. H. Auden puts it) can be fobbed off by offerings of occasional scapegoats, the Eichmanns, the Hanrattys, not to solve the problem, but to propitiate the dark gods. The Edith Summerskills of this world would ban boxing, in the same way that prize-fighting, bull-baiting and cock-fighting were banned, and with as little effect upon public morality.

The *News of the World* (April 8th) is frank enough, or stupid enough to say:

"Brutality in sport isn't nice but even politicians can't beat human nature."

THE FACE OF VIOLENCE

And brutality and sadism are all part of human nature. There must be some outlet.

"Some men will always fight, be it with fists, knives, bottles or bombs. And nobody forces a boxer to go into the ring."

"Isn't it better for willing battlers to meet rather than to go home and knock the wife and kids about, or go looking for a fight against innocent folk?"

If brutality and sadism were not part of human nature there would not be the high circulation for the *News of the World* so one can concur with their diagnosis, but there are also other factors in human nature which it is the function of society (if it is to survive), to cultivate. These factors, of co-operation, of sympathy, of understanding are not cultivated by present-day society and certainly not by TV violence for violence's sake, professional boxing, capital punishment or extermination of political opponents.

It can be considered as hypocritical to strain at Bill Sykes and swallow Hanratty; or to strain at the OAS and swallow Benny Paret, since the face of violence is the same whether it be in Nancy's attack, the gallows at Bedford, Algiers or the boxing ring.

Not having seen the TV showing of Sykes' murder the necessary detachment on the matter is readily assumed, but from reading the book it is a horror, as murder, the ending of a human life, always it. Dickens himself gave readings from *Oliver Twist* and he used to get so emotionally involved in the murder scene that at one time he paid somebody to interrupt the reading so that he would be spared the hysterical exhaustion that followed. Dickens had this brutality and sadism within him, and wrote it out. However he did not permanently cater for this taste (Jack Solomons has offered Emile Griffiths £14,000 to fight at Cardiff) and even after Syke's murder of Nancy, which was committed because he feared she had informed on him, Sykes does a kind action by helping to extinguish a fire. He dies, not on the gallows, since

Dickens was opposed to capital punishment, but by accident, he is hanged whilst trying to escape.

Dickens was opposed to capital punishment because he felt that it gave too much notoriety to the murderer and his end should be more shameful. The end of James Hanratty was shameful enough. He died last week, protesting his innocence, he, "a respectable man except for housebreaking", an illiterate, was hanged for a crime which was not in his line or accorded with his character. At the same time we heard of the death of a man who had given evidence against Hanratty. The authorities decided that the motives for this act of self-violence should be kept away from us. The Hanratty case was squalid, sordid and doubtful enough without this last piece of obscurantism. Dickens said through the mouth of one of his police characters, "Better hang the wrong fellow than no fellow at all". Hanratty was hanged and violence has put paid to violence. But has it? . . .

Benny Paret was not forced to go into the ring, says the *News of the World* glibly. It is highly significant that both boxers were coloured, and boxing is one of the few professions in which negroes can get to the top since there is no colour bar. Paret and Griffiths were both fighting for money which is a fairly compulsive factor and it is well known that the public likes a good show, a fact to which the clownish rehearsed activities of TV wrestling testify. But one gets bored with fakes and a real punch-up is good TV. The whole world loves a killer and a grudge fight. The last victim of the ring Tunny Hunsaker had lost ten out of his last eleven fights, so his attraction to the sporting fans could not have been his skill and prowess, but perhaps his ability to take punishment, which is unfortunately all too human. The defence has been made that people get killed in other sports but in few sports is the main attraction the certainty that physical damage—if not death—will be visited upon the contestants.

The face of violence seems to be a mask which man can remove by prohibitions and suppressions but the real face remains and is the same.

The organization of life in the State is violence and grows by what it feeds upon. As long as vengeance, power, money, prowess, law and order, military glory and nationalism are our gods so long shall we offer sacrifices upon their altars.

JACK ROBINSON.

Around the Galleries

THIS is a week of little importance for the student of the Bond Street galleries and I emphasise the word 'galleries' for the busy little characters who run these culture stores are going through a brief nail-biting phase. With ears as sensitive as radar antennae for the jingling of pocket-loose loot they are now waiting to overnight kick last week's "masterpieces" down into their cellars and plaster their walls with the ephemeral rubbish of the moment, to help soak up a scattering of the prizes of our alleged affluent society.

We have had the madly gay paint splashes of the action painters, the tour of the gutters under the guidance of the Parisian graffiti painters, the face-averting horror of the kitchen sink school, and now, we are on the threshold of Bond Street pop art when the simple-minded are to be paraded for the amusement of the sophisticated; for the stage is being set at galleries such as Tooth, for the Peter Phillips exhibition and at the ICA where the remnants of Alloway's gallant old paint-spattered rear-guard are being shown the door so that Toni del Renzio can bow in the nascent Tottenham Court Road School for the amusement of the self-elected élite who openly despise the subject-matter upon the canvases, but del Renzio has written of two such painters who collected 1961 Jörn Moore prizes, "It should be put on record just how distinguished and enlightened was the jury of the 1961 exhibition".

The work of these painters must come under review within the next few weeks, but one must mention in passing, the painting by R. B. Kitaj titled *The Red Banquet*. As a painting, it is of little merit, but its subject may offer a passing interest to the readers of *FREEDOM* in that Kitaj has chosen to illustrate an incident recorded in E. H. Carr's "The Romantic Exiles" (Penguin 1949), where-

in a number of top 'U' exiles were given a free stogie-up that hereinafter became known as the Red Banquet, and to quote part of the painter's programme note to this slap-dash painting, "Herzen apostrophized on the left in this picture with the image of Michael Bakunin planted in his mid-section (Bakunin was not present but arrived in London in 1861)". A poor painting, whose only interest lies in its off-beat subject-matter, though I cannot conceive any of the residential bar-fies of the ICA choking over their wine as they contemplate it.

At the Hanover Gallery at 32a St. George Street, W.1., are the works of "Golub from Chicago" that can be dismissed as bad work writ large for these massive shells of ersatz humanity give the feeling that they house nothing but a vacuum, while on the upper deck of this plush gallery they have for sale a number of drawings by Matisse and Modigliani, of a pattern that never at any time rises above the average student level, yet these are offered for prices that average out at £2,000 a drawing. To pay £2,000 for one of these mundane sketches is to my way of thinking, to make a joke of artistic values, for the value of these things can only lie in their signatures, and to barter four years' toil of a single farm labourer for a fashionable scrawl is to make a mockery of all human values.

At the Arthur Jeffress Gallery at 28 Davies Street, W.1., they have the oils of the ex-photographer and stage designer Philippe Augé. Augé is a skilled draughtsman with a limited number of ideas, that too soon degenerated into clichés as with his faces and flowers, and one feels that his colour is used merely to fill in his barren spaces, for when he comes to a difficult passage he covers it over by using small pieces of wallpaper, curtain or chair cover and deadens and blurs the whole beneath

a sheen of dark varnish, necropolis in style and limited in subject-matter, they give the gallery the appearance of a well-heeled mausoleum.

Gallery One at 16 North Audley Street, W.1., who long ago erased my name from their mailing list, is showing the abstracts of Roberto Crippa. Crippa relies on sheer size and weight to bemuse his audience, for he fails in his efforts when he works on a small scale using the same materials, but for all that, his work is interesting in that his use of printed newspapers while forming a major part of his patterns, never distract from the whole. Below stairs they have the *objet trouvé* collection of Maurice Collis, the biographer of Stanley Spencer and these consist of a number of flint stones upon which Collis has painted crude, but bright little dolls faces utilising the flint's natural curves and concaves to heighten the effect. Sweet, pretty, gay, you can choose your own adjective.

The Lefevre Gallery at 30 Bruton Street, W.1., have had a sell-out with the work of Anne Redpath, but I personally found her work unimpressive, for it struck me as relying too much on the use of gimmick in that she spots her dark backgrounds with pinpoints of bright raw colours, that lead the eye from the banality of her religious centre-pieces, yet her Spanish landscapes with their dark, brooding feeling of claustrophobic oppression breathe a primeval misery.

In conclusion the works of Philip Sutton and Bernard Kay at Roland Browne & Delbanco at 19 Cork Street, W.1., Way offers oils of buildings that stand like rocks upon his solid earth, and are examples of the good regional painter at his best, while Sutton offers the drifting, shiftless world of the upper middle-class for his colours and his subjects belong to *la Côte d'Azur* and points South, for his flat-chested maidens *née* flappers, giggling upon sun-drenched divans are as gay and as transient as today's noon-day flowers.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

WHY NOT PAPUA FOR THE PAPUANS?

LYING to the north of Australia and the East of Indonesia is New Guinea—one of the world's last frontiers. Both in West New Guinea, administered by the Dutch, and in Australian New Guinea there are still areas whose Stone Age people are free from European control. This is especially true of the Dutch sector where the administrative officers are fewer in number, though better-trained, than their Australian equivalents. Even in Australian New Guinea, however, the natives are not yet all "pacified". The policy laid down in 1950 for complete control by 1955 was too optimistic, and it will still be a little time before administrator and missionary penetrate everywhere.

The primeval obscurity in which so much of the interior was enveloped, naturally was hospitable to every kind of rumour. There were stories of fortunes in gold (some people did actually make a fortune). More recently, Dutch hopes were lifted by the tapping of oil. Other rumours told of inland valleys peopled by Amazons! During the war, New Guinea achieved strategic importance and a place in the headlines. The latter it vacated after the war, regaining them only over the past few months with the antics of Indonesia's power politicians. The former it never lost, at least in Australian eyes. Hence the surreptitious backing given to the Netherlands by Australia on past occasions when the issue of West New Guinea cropped up.

The basis of Indonesia's claim to West New Guinea, or West Irian, is that it was part of the Netherlands East Indies Empire and, as such, should rightfully be given up by the Dutch. Accordingly, Indonesia expressed willingness to negotiate about the territory's future only on

the basis of a transfer of sovereignty. The Netherlands, on the other hand, was initially prepared to negotiate only on the basis of the rights of the Papuans to self-determination being protected, though in the face of Indonesian military superiority it seems to be backing down from this position. Incidentally, the Hague Agreement of 1949 provided for the Republic of Indonesia to comprise the Netherlands East Indies Empire except for West New Guinea. Throughout the 1950's, the Indonesians have advanced claims to the territory but none before the present occasion were of so determined a character. It is quite likely, therefore, that 1962 will witness a solution.

Indonesia is a backward country. Productivity, education and social services all need developing urgently, and it is hard to understand how West New Guinea could be considered so desirable a gain. Already, Indonesia is so lable to disintegration through separatist tendencies that over half the budget is spent on arms. Hatred of the Dutch, always carefully fostered by the Soekarno régime, is a partial explanation.

Certainly, Indonesia would find West New Guinea a liability, just as the Netherlands is. Thus exports fell in value from 31.1 million guilders in 1954 to 23.2 million in 1960. By contrast, 1959 imports were valued at 80 million guilders. Probably the Dutch hoped to discover rich resources but already oil returns are diminishing. Wood, copra and crocodile hides, the other main products, are on the increase but do not yet offset the drop in oil receipts. Most of the economic development of the territory is very recent, and it has taken place unevenly with the towns and their hinterlands being favoured. Education, too, has been late and uneven. Technical training is given but is no longer promoted so vigorously as it was a few years ago. The reason: the economy

couldn't absorb all the tradesmen who were being trained.

Nearly all the economic development in West New Guinea dates only from the 1950s. Political development, too, is very recent and can be attributed to the Dutch desire to convince world opinion that Papuan interests are being promoted. Thus, in 1957, the Netherlands-Australia Agreement provided for both administrations to work toward ultimate self-government. In conformity with this ideal, a system of regional councils whose members are elected is now functioning in place of the earlier appointed councils. Moreover, the new bodies enjoy legislative competence; the old ones were advisory only. The high point of the new structure of government is a New Guinea Council whose functions take in the whole territory. This body is, in effect, a proto-parliament. Of its 28 members, 16 are elected and 12, representing areas not yet sufficiently "pacified", are appointed. Only five members are Dutch. This body was formally opened as recently as 5 April, 1961, after elections in which 40,000 people voted. As is common in colonial and formerly colonial countries, the politicians are drawn from a westernized fraction of the population (most of them had been teachers or minor civil servants). The New Guinea Council, incidentally, compares favourably with the territorial legislature in the Australian sector, which has only 11 Papuans among its 37 members.

The Dutch are developing West New Guinea economically and politically in order to take the wind out of Indonesian sails. If the Papuans are in the way to self-government, then Dr. Soekarno's claims to sovereignty contain even less moral force. One effect which the Dutch mightn't have expected is the growth of a Papuan nationalism which, at present, is directed against Indonesia but which could turn against the Netherlands, assuming the Dutch are still around in two or three years from now. The political innovations have given the Papuans a new frame of reference, wider by far than their old one. And economic development, by drawing peoples of subsistence economy into a money economy and precipitating migration to places of work, has also extended horizons. Con-

sequently, a new national consciousness is taking the place of the old local consciousness. This process is, of course, familiar from colonial territories all over the world.

If West New Guinea avoids the Indonesian yoke, self-government should be granted some time during the 1960s. Nationalism, once awake, quickly becomes a dynamic force, too dynamic for most colonial administrations to bring under control unless heavy investments are at stake, as in Southern Rhodesia. But the poor resources of the territory are scarcely the basis on which decent living standards and social services could be built. In the culture contact situation, the New Guineans have acquired new needs and aspirations. Their country could, in the past, maintain a primitive subsistence economy; without heavy capital investments from outside I doubt whether the standards which people in the modern world expect can be achieved. The best solution, though outside investment and technical aid would still be needed, would be federation with Australian New Guinea. This, in any case, is the kind of development which Papuan nationalism will probably be calling for soon. On a New Guinea-wide basis, a viable economy could be built.

Australian fears of Asian expansion southwards, and Australian fears for investments in New Guinea are the only serious blocks to federation. Already, there are 25,000 whites in Australian New Guinea. Their influence will be directly opposed to Papuan self-government, let alone federation of all New Guinea. The race conflicts of East and South Africa, though possibly in more muted form, seem a likely outcome. A colour bar is manifest in Australian New Guinea (discrimination is scarcely noticeable in the Dutch part) as proof that these particular colons aren't very different from their counterparts anywhere else. The next few years should be full of interest.

Dutch, Australian and Indonesian politicians and propagandists are seldom short of rhetorical phrases of the kind of "ultimate self government", wisely promoting Papuan interests, "our legitimate rights", "destroying the last vestiges of Dutch colonialism", etc; underlying this rhetoric are the realities of power politics. Sometimes one suspects that the Papuans are the forgotten people of their own country, pawns to be moved here and there about the board in the interests of non-Papuans.

K.J.M.

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LETTER

'Thou Shall Not Kill'

DEAR COMRADES,

I find Arthur Moyses' objection to calling "Thou Shalt Not Kill" an anti-war film rather hard to understand. It certainly isn't an anti-war tract. The objector, Cordier, is not idealised. Certainly he accepts the authority of the army and state at the beginning. He matures during the course of the film, and at his trial he takes a much more radical stand than he did when he first refused to put on the uniform. I understood that between his first act of resistance and the court martial a period of several months at least had elapsed. We are witnessing a young man growing up.

Furthermore the story is based on an actual case. So that it has to follow events as they happened. This is the story of an objector, not the account of an ideal objector intended as an object lesson on war-resistance.

It certainly is not true that the priest is "completely unconcerned though standing only a foot or so from the condemned men". He is obviously in a state of high nervous tension.

There are degrees of evil that we all accept to a greater or lesser degree, but, having accepted the first and second degree, we must expect to have our values suspect when we name our own stopping point.

But good heavens! Isn't this how all radicals, revolutionaries or reformers start, by objecting to one particular thing and extending their range? How else is one to do it? First one accepts the world one knows and then gradually comes to question it. If Cordier is not to do this what is to prevent him becoming a soldier, or even (in due course) a genocider (if I may invent a new word)?

There has to be some point where one strikes out a path for oneself, away from the main road. But if one feels, "Well, I have accepted authority, the state, etc. up till now, therefore I have no right to stop accepting them at this point." How is one to become a rebel at all, against anything?

Finally, if everybody says, "Why me?" there will be no more wars. However, individuals cannot wait for everybody to join them. It is quite legitimate surely for them to contract out on their own, and wait for others to follow them. A general strike against war would be the ideal thing, but does it seem likely at present?

Yours fraternally,
ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

BAD TASTE

THE *Guardian* of April 5th carries a story from its Melbourne correspondent, that the Western Australian State Education Department has withdrawn Maxwell Anderson's "Winterset" from the syllabus of fourth and fifth form studies.

The Department considers some pas-

sages crude. The principal of a Perth High School complained because his teachers had said the play was "in bad taste" and they would not like "to teach on it to mixed adolescent classes".

Mr. G. Seddon, lecturer in English at Western Australia University who originally approved the play for study, described it as a modern "Romeo and Juliet" and if it were considered objectionable "Romeo and Juliet" would have to be considered objectionable.

The Australians are notorious 'wowers'; that is, seekers after that which they might censor and this might be dismissed as just one of those things but for the fact that "Winterset" written by Maxwell Anderson in 1935 is based upon the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

The play, which is in verse, won the New York Drama Critics' Prize in 1936 is Anderson's second play on the Sacco-Vanzetti theme. It bears more resemblance to "Hamlet", than "Romeo and Juliet" since Mio, the hero, is seeking evidence that will prove his father, Romagna, innocent of the pay-roll robbery for which he was executed. He is on the track of a gangster, Trock, who he believes to be the guilty man. His path crosses that of the trial judge, Gaunt, who has gone insane with self-questioning of the justice of his verdict. He says, for example, "... it's quite as well, after all, to be rid of anarchists. Our rights as citizens can be maintained as rights only while we are held to be the peers of those who live about us. A vendor of fish is not protected as a man might be who kept a market."

Mio also speaks of his father's chance to prove his innocence in court:

"What chance? When a court panders to mob hysterics, and the jury comes in loaded to soak an anarchist and a foreigner, it may be due process of law but it's also murder!"

It is significant that Elliot Nugent and the late James Thurber wrote a play, "The Male Animal" the central theme of which was the suppression of Vanzetti's final speech from the English class in a University.

The legacy of Sacco and Vanzetti still goes on with its heritage of abuse and censorship.

J.R.

MONEY

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT APRIL 7th 1962

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	£	£
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BBC

ANARCHISM ON THE AIR

April 27th. Listening Group, 17a Maxwell Road, S.W.6, 7 p.m., to hear Discussion (B.B.C. Home Service 7.30 p.m.) "What's the Idea?: Anarchism".

Positively Jumble

Jumble Sale will now be held (positively) on May 5th at 17a Maxwell Road, S.W.6 at 2.30. Please leave Jumble at Maxwell Road or phone REN 3736 and we may be able to collect.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

GENERAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at
The Two Brewers,
40 Monmouth Street, WC2
(Leicester Square Tube)
Sundays at 7.30 p.m.

APRIL 15 Jack Robinson:

Causes of World War II.
APRIL 22 No meeting: on pilgrimage.
APRIL 29 John Pilgrim record recital: War, Rebellion and Resistance in Folk Music.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

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

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

Please note that the meetings at Donald Room's are now on the third Wednesday of each month, not Thursday as hitherto. (Next meeting 18th April).

RE-FORMED GROUP

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

JAZZ CLUB

This season's meetings are being held at 4 Albert Street Mornington Crescent NW1 at approximately monthly intervals.

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