

# FREEDOM

'By no process can coercion be made equitable. The freest form of government is only the least objectionable form.'

HERBERT SPENCER

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AMERICA'S last minute decision to put an embargo on all arms supplies to South Africa once existing contracts have been fulfilled, was taken we imagine not out of sympathy for the struggle of black Africa against the apartheid policies of Dr. Verwoerd's party, but as a strategic move in the cold war and the propaganda and economic struggles. Thus by this action America wins favour with the 32 strong African bloc in the United Nations, and also hopes thereby to persuade them to reduce their demands for more drastic measures

# No Arms for Verwoerd?

against S. Africa, such as expulsion from the UN and the application of economic sanctions; America also hopes to counteract Russian propaganda, and can now point to the fact that the S. African government is obtaining small arms from Czechoslovakia and East Germany as well as trading with countries

which support resolutions for boycotting S. African goods; and finally there is no reason to suppose that if America can see her way clear to capture some of Britain's African markets, she will hesitate to do so.

The American embargo on arms was taken without prior consultation with Britain, the reason given being that Mr. Adlai Stevenson received his orders from Washington only a matter of hours before he addressed the Security Council. While Lord Home declared, as he left for Mos-

cow last Saturday, that Britain had agreements for mutual defence with S. Africa that had to be honoured and "that we shall continue to supply arms such as ships which are legitimate weapons of self defence, we shall certainly oppose any suppression of the natives by arms". It would be interesting to see how they draw the line between defensive and offensive weapons.

Apart from the fact that an arms embargo can only be effective if complete, and rigorously imposed—

an impossibility in the world we live in today, the immediate effect would be for the S. African government to set up its own arms industry, and in fact there are already unconfirmed reports from Johannesburg that Verwoerd when he makes his major address to Nationalist Party supporters later this month will use the occasion to launch a fullscale attack on the American decision and to announce "a crash programme to manufacture all major arms requirements."

## ANARCHISM AND THE WARFARE STATE

(A statement issued by the Glasgow Federation of Anarchists)

This Federation calls on all libertarian elements; anarchists, revolutionary syndicalists, militant pacifists and anti-nuclear direct actionists to unite and struggle for a new social order, based on the free access of all to the means of life.

It advocates that all methods of struggle and means of organisation shall be based on voluntary co-operation and free from any centralised or bureaucratic control. It encourages organisation and activities on the social, educational, cultural and industrial planes that are in harmony with its aims. It advocates that the government of men should be replaced by the administration of things.

Until this is achieved many skirmishes will take place between official society and the struggling cells of the people. We therefore support any activity which we consider necessary for the material, moral and intellectual advancement of the individual and the masses.

ity on immediate issues as well as its final goals. We promote a policy of an international General Strike against monopoly capital and its offspring, WAR.

We embrace all sections of society which agree with our aims but accept that the industrial working class are the most favourable section as they distribute and produce the basic essentials of life. DIRECT ACTION in industry and on the social plane are our main features of struggle. Circumstances influence our methods—we are, therefore, flexible in our actions but they are always in harmony with our aims.

In the past the state was the executive committee of the ruling

class, but, in modern times, it is a class in itself, capable of influencing strongly all other classes in a "democratic" society and is the ruling class in the totalitarian countries. The state is, therefore, primarily responsible for war since wars are essential to the ruling classes to aid them in the subjugation of the masses.

Years of authoritarian and centralised government have culminated in the production of the nuclear bomb, the threat of which is used by those in power to keep the masses subservient to them. The nuclear arms race is being run by the State machines of the world against the people everywhere. We advocate as strong an opposition to nuclear weapons as we do to the exploitation of man by man, inherent in all governmental societies.

IT'S NOT ONLY THAT,  
DR. VERWOERD,  
BUT IT SO HAPPENS  
THAT WE NEED  
ALL OUR SMALL ARMS  
TO FORCE THROUGH  
DE-SEGREGATION  
HERE!



## The Power of a United Community

WHEN South African security police came to the small town of Rehoboth in South West Africa to arrest the local doctor, a Coloured man from Cape Town, whose name seems to have been mentioned in documents seized during a raid on a house in Johannesburg last month, the Baster Raad—or council—ordered the bells of the old church to be rung to call the burghers together and their spokesman, Mr. Hermanus Olivier, announced that a human blockade would be formed to protect Dr. Abrahams.

The *Observer's* correspondent goes on to describe what happened: "We will not sit here with cold hands," he told the police. "You will have to shoot and walk over us before he will be arrested." Colonel T. J. Crous, deputy commissioner of the police in South West Africa, acted

wisely and withdrew.

Dr. Abrahams will be allowed to continue in practice, at any rate for the time being.

That will not be the end of the matter. Dr. Abrahams is awaiting the result of an appeal against his recent conviction for entering South West Africa illegally.

In the meantime the Basters have gained courage from their stand. They have the support of both the local African nationalist movements.

That was a fortnight ago. Last Monday a *Reuter* report from Windhoek quotes the police as saying that Dr. Abrahams had "left the area", and a Durban paper the *Sunday Tribune* claims that he has gone to Bechuanaland "together with four others" and was believed to be en route to Ghana. Dr. Abrahams' wife and children have arrived in Francistown, Bechuanaland from S.W. Africa.

## INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

# Industrial Action in the Building Trade—NOW!

No further offer was made when Building Trade employers and union negotiators met on July 30th. Outside the employers' headquarters after a meeting, Harry Weaver, the general secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, told building workers that although no offer had been made, there was no deadlock and further talks would be held some time during the next fortnight. Only after the unions were satisfied that further talks would be pointless, would industrial action be put into operation.

July 30th not only saw another round of unrewarding talks, but also an impressive demonstration of support for the 1/6d. an hour pay rise and the 40-hour week by 2,000 building workers. The demonstration, which was organised by shop stewards and militants assembled at Speakers' Corner. Strong support came from the north with 150 delegates from jobs in Manchester, Liverpool, Wigan, St. Helens and Widnes. The demonstration was backed by token strikes on sites at Downing Street, Royal Festival Hall, Europa Hotel, West London Air Terminal and the Paternoster development project.

We marched towards Oxford Street, with a pipe band leading us. However the procession was directed down a side turning by the police just by the Cumberland Hotel instead of going straight up to Oxford Circus as on previous marches. The police told the organisers the week before that this route could not be used because of the work now in progress at Oxford Circus on the new Victoria underground line. When a shop steward pointed out to the police on the morning of the march that this

obstruction stretched only a short way down from the Circus, they invented a story about a fire at a store in Oxford Street. They said that the road was blocked by fire engines, but no fire engines were seen or heard by any of us.

When we finally reached the headquarters of employers' federation in New Cavendish Square, we found that the front half of the procession had been directed round into Portland Place by the police. By the time the section that I was in had reached the employers' headquarters, we realised what had happened and at once stopped and refused to move on. Marshals were threatened with arrest if they didn't get the march going again. There was a lot of arguing but no one moved. During this time, the stewards handed in resolutions in support of union demands. After this we moved off, but the full impact of the demonstration had been prevented by the police.

The march continued to the Conway Hall, where we packed it to capacity. Delegates from Liverpool and Manchester spoke of the campaign for our demands in their areas. In Manchester, the campaign has official support from area union officers. Strikes and bans on overtime have already been operated with a great deal of support. A lot of emphasis was given to backing union

leaders when and if they call for industrial action.

Two union officials said how impressed they were by our demonstrations but were critical of workers who spoke from the floor about union betrayals and calls for unofficial action if union leaders were unwilling to fight the employers for our demands. Many workers felt that now was the time for action and that we should go back to our jobs and organise it, unofficial if need be.

There was also the call for unity from a large number of workers, who wanted us to back our union leaders no matter what course of action they take. There was open discussion from the floor and points of view on the unions and strike tactics were thrashed out.

The Building Stewards Committee have done a good job with this campaign for our demands. Their policy is one of the meeting of the full claim, with no widening of the differentials between craftsmen and labourers and no three year "spread-over" of wage increases. This has gained wide support as the demonstration has shown. This show of support has told the employers and our union leaders that we

## STRIKES IN SPAIN

Over the last two weeks, reports of strikes in Spain have been appearing in the national newspapers. As before, the strike began in the northern province of Asturias in the coal mines and there are further reports of stoppages at ship-yards and some factories.

Reports vary from 5,000 to 10,000 miners on strike who are demanding a further payment of bonus which is due to them. Other demands are trade

mean business and that we will not sit back and accept whatever they deem to give or negotiate for us. We have been let down too many times in the past. We have heard their militant speeches, but when it comes to action, nothing is forthcoming. The deadline was reached on July 30th but a further round of talks are planned.

An unofficial movement for our demonstration has been built by militants and stewards and this is gaining rank and file support. This movement must grow, broaden out and bring more of the rank and file into its ranks. Our campaign has to be carried onto more sites. A start has been made but more work and support is needed. Workers in other industries should know of our demands and not just have the capitalist press view of them. We need workers' support in other industries for our interests are the same.

Rank and file support of both craftsmen and labourers on jobs needs strengthening and liaison between sites built up and maintained. We must run the show ourselves if we are to win our demands. Union leaders have failed; it is now up to us.

union rights, with the right to strike and the release of workers jailed during previous strikes. In the Oviedo region, 6,000 miners have been sacked for taking part in the stoppage.

Once again the miners of the Asturias have struck in defiance of Franco's fascist dictatorship. This dictatorship has not crushed the spirit of revolt in the Spanish workers. -P.T.

## ANARCHY 30:

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# THE OUTCAST

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONARY:  
Victor Serge.

THIS is a very fine book. One which I would recommend to anyone who believes that the end justifies the means.

It is the story of a man who went through the period of anarchism in Paris at the early part of the century. Went to Russia when the revolution broke out and watched the hopes of his generation crumble away under the ruthless régime of Stalin. Finally leaving Russia and going to France where he only just succeeded in escaping the Nazis when they marched in.

It is the story also of men who refused to believe what they did not want to believe, of men who sided with a party that they knew was as rotten as a pear and of loyalty to a cause that was obviously the wrong one.

It is difficult to feel sorry for men like Zinoviev and Trotsky and yet one does somehow. They seem such unhappy people, fanatical to the cause of Marxism, one feels that men like these must wish to lose themselves in the struggle because they are so mixed up psychologically. They were such bad liars too, they couldn't have had any sense of humour or they would have laughed themselves at the idea that anybody might have believed their stories of the Kronstadt rebels being "whites" who were trying to destroy the revolution.

Marxists are certainly strange characters; I've never been able to understand them, and after reading this book I'm even more bewildered. They twist and turn everything inside out. One day for this the next day for that, and it's all done with such astonishing rapidity. Abolish the death penalty. Bring it back. Legalise Abortion. Make it a crime.

One thing in this book that made me smile was the way that these characters were always falling into little factions even when they were in the government. It reminded me of the tiny little insignificant left wing parties in this country. Everyone jockeying for position.

One of the things about this story that struck me as being strange, was why didn't those who were finally arrested and shot for Trotskyism in the thirties get out while they had the chance. I don't think they thought that anything could be changed at the time, even though many of them did think the masses (marxist phrase) could be rallied at first. They just all seemed to be suffering from self pity and were certainly morbid and suicidal.

The thing about these strange people was that they seemed to have so much in common, yet were always at one another's throats (not Serge he seems to have been different from the others). All of those who were in the wilderness (and it appears that you could be in the wilderness even if you were near the top of the party pyramid), talked of more democracy. But the Zinovievs and Trotskys had their chance in the early days and were responsible for setting up the machinery that finally crushed them. The lies that Trotsky told about Kronstadt were no bigger than the lies Stalin's prosecutors told about those who were butchered in the great purges of the thirties. They were more irresponsible however, for the revolution could have been saved then or at least saved from the excesses that came later.

Serge says, that the régime could have been different if a more open way of running the government was used. People accused of treason in the early days

should have been judged in the open and allowed some defence. If this had happened, there would have been no power such as the G.P.U. watching everyone and shooting innocent people without any trial whatsoever.

Loyalty is a thing that I for one talk rather a lot about in anarchist circles, but loyalty like everything else (except Honesty) can be taken too far. Victor Serge was guilty of loyalty to the party when he knew that it (the party) was suppressing the truth and murdering the best of the revolutionaries, who were being killed because they refused to see the truth tramped under the feet of the party bureaucrats and careerists.

Serge was still feeling loyal right up to the late nineteen twenties seeing one crime mount on another and standing helpless as the tide of reaction rolled in. He felt he must stand by the party because it was the only party that was left, and none of the others had a policy at all except that of social democracy.

Not having lived through the experience it is impossible to say anything about this or to pass judgment. There was nothing he could do in my opinion except try to survive, and this he did.

Serge's life seems to have been the story of a good man who wasted himself on a cause (bolshevism) that was bad. He admired Trotsky but more or less admitted that Trotsky was authoritarian and behaved like a spoilt child when he couldn't get his way. As you turn the pages you see all the characters not as great revolutionaries but as rather stupid childish little men. Just like their followers in this country today. All having one aim, that being to get their ideas rammed down the throats of everyone else. Willing to ram them down with a rifle butt or a bullet if necessary.

The tragedy of this century is that so many good men like Victor Serge have died so that some other bastard could seize power and wield the cosh over the people in the name of a cause.

JACK STEVENSON.

# LETTER FROM SWEDEN

(From our Correspondent)  
Göteborg 15/7/63.

I BUMPED into Sven a young syndicalist I hadn't seen for some months owing to the fact that he had been in the Swedish U.N.O. "peace" army in the Congo. A tennis-ball in the international game of power politics in Africa. "Eighty-five pounds a month into the bank here for me for the whole period I served there," Sven stammered, "It was like bloody hell in the sunshine keeping those 'bloody niggers' under control" He looked at me and smiled. "They try to decorate the class struggle with almonds and icing sugar in this bloody country: workers categorised as 'social group' one, two and three, big wage packets for U.N.O. soldiers, abortions for 'maladjusted' mothers, deep frozen foods and they keep telling us we have it so good. Even if there is anything to protest against it's forbidden to hold a demonstration."

I crossed the road and went into the syndicalist bookshop and asked for a copy of "Brand" the anarchist paper—I received the reply that they didn't send it to them any more. However, I settled for a copy of the fortnightly syndicalist paper "Arbetaren". On the front page we were greeted with the headlines "There are spies among us", together with a discussion as to whether Khrushchev is or is not welcome to this country. On another page we have an article moaning as to how "untidy Sweden looks" when the public throw their litter around the countryside. This is followed by a short article about the dangers of a recent smallpox scare here. On page 5 a letter appears which really amazed me—considering that one expects a syndicalist organ to be removed from petty and trivial chit-chat so character-

istic of the bilge and twaddle handed out by many women's magazines. A Mr. C. J. Björklund writes: "There is no table in his English hotel room, a nail in the chair, too much noise from the pub across the way, doors are slammed too hard. Another hotel in Scotland only had a small lamp and he had to get out of bed to put the light on, etc., etc."

Midst advertisements from the savings bank to ladies' hand bags, one can still find enjoyable articles within the pages of "Arbetaren" in comparison with the other organs of mass communication and what passes for "free speech" here. It would seem that owing to the paper in question's very small circulation, an effort has been made to make it "popular"—thus the enlisting of advertisers and "topical" articles. Under the heading International a quotation appears from FREEDOM's 1/6/63 issue "Liberation of Africa". Editor Helmut Rudiger seems to suggest that FREEDOM's attitude is perhaps too "revolutionary". The last sentence in his article also has its points: "In the same way we can criticize the new African régimes, yet we wait for the new leaders (or their subjects) to change their ways to bring about the new free socialism."

When "Arbetaren" talks of free socialism which hasn't been put into practice yet even in Europe—one wonders if the concept of, shall we say socialist governments in Africa is less repugnant to them? Particularly when that which passes for "socialism" today treats governments and the idea of the state with reverence and awe. How then can anarchists compromise themselves in any alliance with today's "socialists" without becoming hypocritical?

During a debate with the bourgeois Harold Wilson some years ago in Oslo I pointed out the danger of a new African ruling class and aristocracy emerging from each new independent African state. Mr. Wilson pooh-poohed my remark and accused me of being a defeatist—and yet when one looks around Africa at such places as Ghana, Nigeria or Liberia we see the result which strips Wilson's optimism bare. Middle class intellectuals like Wilson clinging to his background and apron strings of reformism—still believes it's possible to change the rules and fake the scores of capitalism, and he still has a starry-eyed belief in African "leaders". If we are to wait for the dominating political figures of Africa to "change their ways" it seems we will wait for ever. Politicians are politicians all the world over.

The political clap-trap and simpering from the Liberals and the so-called Communists as to who will rule and be the "leaders" in Africa are all very careful to avoid the question as to who will free the African worker from the yoke of political servility. These apologists for capitalism dress up in all sorts of disguises: People's Party, Welfare State, Co-operative Democracy, etc., etc., they ignore the class struggle and when all other excuses fail they bombard their workers at home with "race" propaganda.

## LETTER

Atheistic anarchists need not worry about the Catholic religion taming Catholic anarchists. We would not be anarchists in the first place if we were in any danger of allowing the clergy to do our thinking for us.

Also in this same issue there was a discussion of pacifism and the assertion that violence is not practical now but may be when we have converted the masses to be anarchists. The masses are being converted into dupes of the welfare state and there is not the remotest chance that we anarchists can gain a large following, let alone a majority among them. The government has the biggest bomb so we are outnumbered before we start. We can't fight Santa Claus: all we can do is to raise the ante of what can be expected of a responsible man. We Catholic anarchists are of course pacifists, but even an atheistic anarchist should realize that violence cannot win. Alexander Berkman told me in Atlanta prison in 1917 that the workers would win by their solidarity and not by violence.

PETER LUMSDEN  
AMMON HENNACY

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#### DEAR FREEDOM COMRADES,

The review of a book about the Moral Rearmament movement was timely. This group is the biggest fraud of anything in modern times. As the reviewer noted it calls for those of the left to change their lives, but those of the right are to remain as they are. In a recent full page ad. in the *New York Times* they list sixteen ideas which they are for, and sixteen correlated ideas which they are against. Thus they are for peace but against pacifism. They claim to be absolutely pure and make this as an excuse to uphold rent, interest, profit, and the armaments of capitalism, and boast of the labour leaders and Communists whom they have turned from a wrong way of life. They claim to be absolutely honest yet they finally paid \$100,000 for air plane fare which they cheated the U.S. government out of, that is when they got caught at it. We never hear any of them leaving their lives of luxury and joining picket lines or freedom drives. I knew one of them in Milwaukee in 1942. He was a machinist and wanted to be classified as a conscientious objector, the reason being that he could continue in war work and

## Atheists not to worry

keep radicals from going on strike. The government saw through this trick and made him go to war like others.

In the same issue of FREEDOM a leading article chides those who would think that the encyclicals of Pope John XXIII were revolutionary. The Pope did not direct his messages to anarchists, but to the general run of men who still believe in good wars, as mistaken Catholic dogma has taught since the time of Constantine. We Catholic anarchists of course never accept the words of any Pope on political and economic matters as being, at the best more than a sincere effort to stem Communism, and at the worst, as political manoeuvring to bolster their power which is slipping all over the supposedly Catholic world. Rather than follow any Pope who accepts exploitation, capital punishment and war, we believe in the teachings of Christ which supports the return of good for evil, which would then do away with courts, prisons and war.

# AROUND THE GALLERIES

THE fashionable prostitute of the hour, small-time thieves, the representatives of the press and the uninvited representative of the Home Secretary's personal bête noire met and mingled with the scum of London at the private view of the paintings of Stephen Ward at the dingy Museum Street Gallery. We mingled and we mingled and we of the small fry endeavoured to drink our fill of the free wine while the toast of the gutter press desperately sought an unoccupied camera to leer into for the amusement of the bar-bound rabble, the comfortable horror of the professing pious and the academic interest of posterity file it under London Life; Low.

Of Stephen Ward's sketches there is little that can be said in their favour for they are but inconsequential trivia that any competent student should be able to turn out. He can catch the superficial appearance of his model but beyond that he cannot go for these sketches lack any depth of character and like any hack cartoonist he can outline the terrain of the face without recording the passions that animate it. Yet these simple sketches, worth at the most a few shillings, have had their sale for prices that ranged around the two hundred pound mark apiece and one can only question whose misery or whose heart-ache made possible the coins that could

be thrown away in a few brief moments for such unimportant work. Yet while many a Bond Street dealer is busily lifting his skirts to show the world that he will not muddy his expensive hem in that particularly muddy gutter, they could do well to examine their own easy consciences and question the rubbish that so many of them have deliberately foisted onto gullible fools knowing full well that aesthetically and financially it was completely valueless. What a fool or a poseur does to win the applause of the drifting world of fashion is unimportant but when the price that they pay for their public clowning is the third-hand misery of the men, the women and the children living in physical fear within the crowded slums of London and all only a ten minute bus ride from these fashionable rat-walks then we have a right to protest at those who live by pandering to the whims of the slum landlord and all their lily fingered associates, for it is the grubby and sweat-covered coins collected by the hired thugs that back the clean white cheques that pay for the pretty daub of the moment.

After the Stephen Ward exhibition the Bacon-Moore exhibition at the New London Gallery, 17 Old Bond Street, W.1. seems rather passé, for Bacon is a painter whose shock tactics have in

the past been an almost certain guarantee of a full gallery and a singing cash register, but the reiteration of his screaming heads and mindless and deformed men frozen within the empty canvases no longer have the same impact. Familiarity has dulled the edge of horror and Bacon must, despite his dealers, be judged as a craftsman. It is here that he fails for he has always managed to cover up his bad work by blurring the image yet, for all that, it is impossible to deny that he is the most influential painter of this generation and many an academic hack and small time professional avant garde hireling owes Bacon a debt for style and subject matter. But there is a tiredness about the work in this badly arranged and grossly overcrowded gallery and the twisted and broken scabs of paint still form the blotched faces of Bacon's figures and the incompetent foreshortenings still mould the misshapen bodies. But now each canvas, with but a slight deviation, becomes but a repeat of the previous one.

Henry Moore is the craftsman par excellence and there is a tiredness about his recent work for he appears to be working within his own reputation and to be content to produce easy cast pastiches of the sculpture that placed him in the international class. One could hazard a guess that the mounting flood of commissions have taken priority over the inspired craftsman for these cast metal sculptures are but the repeat of the carved stone work that made Moore's

reputation.

Unjoined and bone clean they loil beneath the artificial light of this tatty and crowded basement gallery waiting to lord a barren landscape and like a bleached bone or a solitary pebble they mould the world to their own size postulating no question, offering no answer, silent and dead in a dead and silent world.

And to the Roland Gallery at 19 Cork Street, W.1., where 51 small bronzes by Auguste Rodin are on display. Rodin subjected himself to the discipline of the human form so that, unlike Moore and Bacon, no mistake could be lost within the body of the work. And when Rodin fails as he does with a minority of these works there is no excuse or subterfuge only a badly fashioned limb. Yet, like Epstein, Rodin is a master craftsman who has fought and cast man in all his physical frailty and the queuing agony of the unremembered people that he modelled will speak on our behalf in the future as they now speak for the past.

If it is uncritical pleasure that you seek then with a gay skip and a light laugh to the Hanover Gallery at 32a St. George's Street, W.1. to view the competent sculptures of Reg Butler. Nudes as smooth as bulbous and as rounded as a hanging sack of slop; slack legs that bear no weight; bodies without muscle or sinew; dead flesh to cloak Moore's dead bones.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## WHY NOT COMMUNITY CANNERIES?

THE problems of seasonal surpluses of perishable foods are the kind of problems which could well be solved by community action. Only last week one read in the papers of the glut of cucumbers and french beans in Western Germany, which resulted in imports being temporarily banned. Holland which exports 80 per cent. of its production to W. Germany found herself with thousands of unsaleable cucumbers. One day 600,000 out of total production of 900,000 were destroyed; the following day a further million or 60 per cent. of production were again destroyed, because they did not fetch the minimum price. In Germany growers finding their produce unsaleable on the wholesale market have been selling direct to the public. Cucumbers have been offered at 3d. a pound and french beans at 4d. a pound.

Just as in another connection this month's ANARCHY deals with the advantages to be derived from Community Workshops, we would suggest that as well as the workshops, there should be Community Canneries where for a small sum, or at public expense, anybody could have access to up to date, hygienic equipment for preserving garden surpluses, as well as seasonal market surpluses. Incidentally such canneries could be sponsored by relief

organisations as "War on Want", and "Oxfam". Think of the thousands of tons of fruit that go bad in back gardens up and down the country alone because nature is sometimes too prolific, which could be canned and a scheme devised whereby say half the output was sent to hungry people in other parts of the world.

The relief of hunger is not just a question of money but above all of increased food production throughout the world. The answer to seasonal or regional surpluses is not a reduction in the cultivated area, but either rapid distribution of perishable goods, or their preservation. Airplanes today are being increasingly used to transport cars and machinery. If we were concerned with putting our transport planes to their best use and not their most profitable (in money terms) use, then obviously we would not dream of transporting cars (except across the sea) and would use planes for conveying perishable food surpluses to where they were most needed. Until we do we shall witness the immoral, inhuman business of food being destroyed because there are no buyers, as well as driving more thousands of farmers and peasants away from the land in despair.

## Sacrificing Safety on the Railways?

THE engine-driver who refused to drive his diesel express single-handed and was dismissed by British Railways has since been reinstated but on other duties.

Mr. Robert Hilton, the divisional manager of British Railways, who granted the appeal, stated that Mr. Curtis had given an undertaking regarding the observance of instructions and general conduct. Mr. Hilton had decided to vary the punishment of dismissal to loss of pay for the period while under suspension, removal to shunting duties, and a final warning regarding future conduct.

Mr. Curtis said afterwards: "They gave me a fair hearing. I have to abide by all instructions regarding my terms of duty. I have to take my punishment on the chin."

The case of Mr. Curtis, has not received the public attention which it seems to us it deserves. For he has been arguing that he acted in

the interests of the travelling public, and that in the interests of safety, there should be a second man on the footplate. He rebelled against the "single-handed manning agreement" in operation between British Railways and his union the ASLEF, which has been operating for some time. Surely the public should have some means of expressing its views on questions concerning its safety. It does not seem a great extravagance that an engine driver responsible for the lives of hundreds of people should have an assistant with him in the driving cab just in case of an emergency; and in any case four eyes scanning the "road" are less liable to miss signals than two. The travelling public should beware lest the Beeching economies are carried out at the expense of safety as well as of the services.

## Anarchist Summer School, 1963

THE Summer School this year, while undoubtedly the wettest that this writer has attended, also proved to be the biggest and the liveliest, for many years. Delegates were present from groups in Durham, Glasgow, Bristol, Oxford, the Southern Federation, and of course, the FLA who organised the camp. Together with the individuals who attended over one hundred people were present, an attendance that proved conclusively that the awakening interest in libertarian ideas that manifested itself in the "Easter Rising" on the last leg of the Aldermaston March this year is still growing, and was not merely a result of frustration and dissatisfaction with the institutionalisation of the annual trek from Aldermaston.

It was because of the growth of anarchist federations and groups outside London that the FLA de-

cidated to scrap the normal programme of lectures and discussions, and with the theme of "What is the anarchist scene?" devoted the three days to reports from the groups attending and an exploration of the possibility, if the need existed, to set up a national federation, or alternatively a coordinating group, to facilitate national as well as regional action.

It became evident at the first discussion, on Saturday afternoon, that many of the regional groups felt that a national conference would also be useful, to provide the opportunity for an exchange of ideas between the regions as to the best methods of maintaining the growth of anarchist ideas, combating the Warfare State, and generally clarifying ideas as to methods and ends. The first day's discussion threw up a great many ideas, but as neither Bristol or the

STEPHEN WARD, punishing himself more than the court which found him guilty could do, fled where the vultures of Fleet Street could not follow. Fleet Street's period of living on immoral earnings came to a halt. Viscount Astor said, "Stephen Ward possessed remarkable gifts of healing which he exercised skilfully, conscientiously and generously. Those who were fortunate to have been treated by him will remember him with great gratitude. His readiness to help anyone in pain is the memory many will treasure." . . .

"CLEOPATRA" came to town. The Daily Leader carried on its crusade to found 'a daily newspaper that puts emphasis upon the good instead of the evil, the pure instead of the corrupt; the heroic instead of the mean; the generous instead of the selfish; upon high ideals instead of depravity; upon the stars in the sky instead of the mud in the gutter.' It quotes the words of St. Paul:

*"Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable,*

*Whatsoever things are just; whatsoever things are pure"*

*Whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report;*

*If there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.*

Paul was writing to the Philippians at the time and the word was not copyright in this translation. Unfortunately for Eyre and Spottiswoode the new translation is, if not divinely inspired, protected by law. Penguin Books will produce a paper-back edition of the New English Bible in the spring. In Sheffield another Penguin product got into trouble. Policemen took away from newsagents copies of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, *Lolita* and books by Agatha Christie among others. A police official gave it as his opinion that L.C.L. ought to be banned. Last May in Sydney I learn that the police brought a prosecution against an art gallery for displaying for sale an obscene statue. It was a Melanesian statue from New Guinea, it depicts a bird-faced man squatting on his haunches and what joins head and body, claim the police, is a male genital, the defence claims it is a flute. Herbert Read appeared for the defence, when asked if the statue could rouse a religious emotion he said: "Possibly. It depends on the religion." A psychiatrist said that anyone who saw in the carving a sexual significance was very ready to see such a significance. Mrs. Frances Parkinson Keyes, the novelist, had an argument with the publishers over her paper-back editions for showing lurid covers. It was agreed between Mrs. Keyes and her publishers that on the covers of her books the man and woman would always be at least two feet apart. A seventeen-year-old in Texas bought a copy of *Tropic of Cancer*, paying for it (\$7.50) with quarters and halves. On being questioned he replied "Oh, a bunch of



us have often gotten together and formed this club so we could afford the book." John Wain, in the *Times Literary Supplement* said, "If lust disappeared from the human consciousness, the race would be extinct in a few years. If violence and cruelty disappeared—i.e. were channelled into harmless activities such as games—who would be the worse?" . . .

TO TURN from the pure to the just. Of the twenty men in Louisiana's 'Death Row' in Angola prison, three have been in the condemned cells five years. All are negroes. The 'Death Row' prisoners are never allowed out of the 8 foot by 6 foot cells, even for exercise. The Warden said he had not got suitable quarters nor sufficient staff. A Glasgow policeman was remanded in custody charged with the murder of a man found dead in a police-office cell. A man who had complained about conditions at Durham Prison (which complaint led to an inquiry which found little substance in the complaint), was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for forging, breaking into a garage and other charges. He asked for 49 other offences to be considered. A 61-year-old man was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment on four charges of indecently assaulting two girls of 10. He was said to have 22 previous convictions, many of them being for similar offences. An Army Sergeant was cleared in the Courts-Martial Appeal Court for offences in Cyprus, his defence was that he was the victim of a 'frame-up'. Aloysius 'Lucky' Gordon won his appeal in the Court of Criminal Appeal against his conviction and sentence for assaulting and harming Miss Christine Keeler. The International League for the Rights of Man and Amnesty International have asked the Moroccan Government to end hundreds of unjustified arrests, accompanied by torture. The State of New York has abolished the death penalty as an obligatory sentence for premeditated crime. Seventeen people are at the moment waiting to go to the chair. Their sentences may be commuted to life imprisonment. The Security Branch of the South African police has trebled in size since last year. A barrister, Mr. John

Collins, in a booklet "Summary Justice" published by the New Orbis Group, a liberal society says: "Injustice is done in British Magistrates' courts not just on extremely rare occasions, but every day." On Friday the Home Secretary rejected requests from both sides of the House of Commons that he should order an enquiry into the Hanratty murder trial on the grounds that Mr. Fenner Brockway had uncovered further evidence and "a confession" which convinced him that Hanratty may have been wrongly executed. Mr. Chuter Ede (Labour Home Secretary at the time of Timothy Evans' execution) said, "the traditional British belief in the infallibility of the legal system no longer exists. . . .

FROM THE just to the honourable. Mr. Martin Ennals, secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties said that plain-clothes policemen have been ordered to dress and behave like demonstrators listening to what is being said and then making arrests. The N.C.C.L. has eight reports of police activity of this sort. A CND official said, "During the Greek State visit we identified eight policemen in plain clothes, under the command of another, who mixed with the demonstrators." 44,000 Indian Central Government employees have been punished for corruption, bribery and misappropriation during the past five-and-a-half years. The South African Department of Justice is investigating allegations about corruption over army purchases. An East German border guard who defected to the West, states that guards are now instructed not to shoot refugees who actually succeed in getting over the East Berlin border, this is a consequence of the indignation aroused by the shooting of Peter Fechner, last year. . . .

OF GOOD REPORT is the news that the House of Commons Estimates Committee have advised the Home Office to withdraw its pamphlets instructing householders on what to do in the event of a nuclear attack. The Committee's report says that the average householder will not form the impression that the Civil Defence measures taken by the Government are of any value whatever. The *Sunday Telegraph* reports that Civil Defence experts are conducting time-and-motion studies to test the practical value of the advice in the handbook. The aim of the tests is to find out whether an average family would be physically capable of carrying out the handbook's instructions. The work involves piling up sandbags, moving heavy furniture to barricade windows, and filling boxes with large amounts of earth. . . .

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY men have applied for six posts as lighthouse keepers cut off from civilization eight weeks at a time. "Think on these things".

JON QUIXOTE.

Freedom Press Group were represented it was decided to leave any concrete decisions until they had arrived. Amongst other things the production of an internal bulletin was proposed to act as a linking medium between the regions and to provide a platform for the working out of internal discussions. It was generally felt that such a paper would relieve FREEDOM's back page of the sometimes over prolonged

weekly" caused a quite unwarranted amount of fur to fly in all directions. (It should be pointed out here that the meeting on Monday had everyone wondering quite how this heat had been generated).

Most people present at this meeting expressed a desire for some form of Federation and as most groups on the exact form that such a link-up were without a mandate to decide on the exact form that such a link-up of regional groups would take, it was decided to appoint a national co-ordinating secretary, for the ensuing year, to act as a clearing house for groups throughout the country. This satisfied both those pressing for a federation and the individualists and "Stirnerites", who, rightly, wished to avoid both the centralised bureaucracy and a paper organisation consisting of "one man turning the handle of a duplicator". It was decided in addition that regional groups might wish to know of international events rather more quickly than a weekly paper can inform them, and to this end Margaret Hart, from the Notting Hill Group, agreed to act as a clearing house for international information and to issue emergency bulletins should the need arise.

It was agreed that further discussion on the form of the national federation would be carried on after delegates had referred back to their groups, although as everybody recognised the necessity of regional groups remaining autonomous, many people felt that a co-ordinating body

was all that was required. Jack Stevenson agreed to act as co-ordinating secretary and Jeff Robinson, 126 Lollard Street, Kennington, agreed to take over the administration of the "Sit Down or Pay Up Fund". Finally a provisional date, the first weekend in the New Year, was set for a national conference, to be held in London.

After the main conference on Sunday broke up various working groups formed to discuss the form that federation should take and a decision was taken to produce the projected internal discussion and news bulletin to aid the co-ordinating secretary. John Chamberlain of Romford and Hornchurch Anarchist group agreed to bring out the first edition of this bulletin. (Note: any information meant for the newsletter should be set to Jack Steven at 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, and earmarked "newsletter").

On Monday a final winding up meeting took place amid a general feeling that several hurdles had been successfully (and non-violently) surmounted, and the statement issued by the Glasgow Federation of Anarchist was adopted as broadly expressing the views of most of the people present. The meeting also felt that an expression of our appreciation should go to our hosts who had offered every facility, including the use of their house, to over a hundred wet, muddy and rather noisy people.

J.P.

**Flights of Fancy?**

DEAR EDITORS,

Jeremy Westall talks about anarchists resorting to violence when they find that non-violence is getting them nowhere. Questions: where will they get enough efficient lethal weapons to take on the armed forces of the State? How many anarchists will know how to use the weapons effectively? Will they be able to conduct a successful battle against the State without having a leadership and submitting themselves to obeying orders without question?

Does not one have to be prepared for such action? Would it not in effect mean having a POLICY of violence? In just the same way, if Jeremy would shoot anyone who was about to "press the button" he would have to be armed; revolvers don't materialise out of thin air!

It seems to me that J.W. and the editorial writer indulge in greater flights of fancy than yours truly when they talk about using violence successfully without the necessary weapons.

I hope that these questions will induce some comrades to take note of some of the things I have been saying in these columns for some time past.

Best wishes,

Slough, July 23. ERNIE CROSSWELL.

**Bomb-throwers?**

DEAR COMRADES,

Although I am mindful of Charles Radcliffe's plea for an end to the violence *versus* non-violence controversy, I feel that an article like J.W.'s can only strengthen the popular Brookian conception of present day anarchism being every bit as bad as the 19th century bomb-throwing variety. Since FREEDOM is read (in Bristol at any rate) by many non-anarchists I feel this is very dangerous, and that it cannot be left uncountered.

I firmly believe that in Britain at least, advances towards a free society can only be made by non-violent means. We cannot deny that war breeds leaders, even if they do not exist already, and

**LETTERS**

that leadership always evolves into dictatorship or bureaucracy, both of which are surely abhorrent to anarchists. Even if our violence is only self defence we still provide the State with an excuse, a moral escape clause, for its repression and punishment; but if it is forced to use these against peaceful protests what clearer indication do we need that it is really threatened by these, and that only a slightly harder push will topple it?

The crux of the problem is numbers. Until we have the great majority of the population on our side we must admit that one of our main purposes is to gain support. With State or State slanted monopolies of the mass media this will prove impossible by violent means. Of course, if our numbers were so large that we were independent of bad publicity then violence as a tactic would be worthy of consideration, at least in self-defence. But the whole point of non-violent action is that when support is vast enough violence becomes superfluous. If you hadn't been so anti-non-violent editorially you might have given more coverage to the great successes of the Southern negroes, where by economic boycott and peaceful but militant protest, violence, which would bring in the military on the side of the racials, has been totally dispensed with. If we had strength enough for a military revolution we would also have strength enough for a General Strike, which coupled with a boycott of the ruling class would enable us to starve them out of existence. Of course all this may be 50 years away, but violent revolution would be no quicker.

In realising this one sees that non-violence is already close to becoming a principle instead of a tactic, for it is

when an idea is vindicated in practice that it can be elevated to a principle without being a dogma. But I still hesitate myself to raise it to this level. I too would probably shoot the prospective button-pusher in the unlikely event of being faced with that dilemma. However, I do not see that this necessarily invalidates non-violence, either as principle or tactic, for one often acts irrespective of one's principles when emotional or other stimuli get the better of one. Nor is this necessarily bad. When a general principle is claimed to have no exceptions at all my immediate reaction is to distrust it.

Non-violence has weaknesses certainly, but has advantages too. It is a means that is also an end. It will not eliminate hate and replace it by love where there is none already. It is not easy to live up to cases of extreme provocation, but as a personal and group discipline it is entirely life enhancing and consistent with the end one hopes to achieve. The most serious disadvantage of violence as a revolutionary or defensive tactic is that its adherents simultaneously desire both it and its abolition. I don't imagine that advocates of revolutionary violence in the anarchist movement seriously want it to be a permanent feature of their new society, and so they must cherish the myth that it can be dispensed with in "the future". This is pure utopianism. What you are not prepared to forswear *now* is of little interest except on a purely academic level. The advocate of violent self-defence must therefore be prepared to accept a "free" society based on the principle weapon of the forces of tyranny and oppression. The paradox is inescapable, and perhaps this is why it is so widely ignored. Human life must be—to human beings—the supreme thing. As far as I can see the man who takes another life denies this. He can only vindicate it again by sacrificing his own. Kaliyev realised this, so did many of the Terrorists, it is a pity that it is not more concisely appreciated by the contemporary advocates of anarchist violence.

Yours sincerely,

IAN VINE,  
Bristol, July 26.**Look for Constructive Opportunities!**

THE EDITOR,

I should like to take up a point arising from the doubts expressed in Michael Shayer's letter in FREEDOM of July 20th, which seems to me to be important for the development of the anarchist movement either now, or in the near future.

True, in the urban aggregations of our society, if the police force, and other organs of enforcement, together with the bureaucratic administration, suddenly vanished, chaos, not freedom, would very likely ensue, temporarily at least, to be followed probably by a new authoritarianism.

This, however, would not be an anarchist revolution—there are not enough anarchists, libertarian ideas are not sufficiently widespread amongst people not committed to active anarchism, and, above all, there is neither a sufficient social structure in such areas, nor, in many cases, the germ of one in the experience of the people, which could be expected to grow given the opportunity. (To qualify, however, the current rent-racket exposures seem to indicate that tenants' associations offered more protection than the police). If the breakdown of conventional 'law and order' had come about as the culmination of a genuinely anarchist struggle, these conditions would necessarily have been fulfilled.

The point of Mr. Shayer's criticism remains, however—the anarchists' usual whole-hearted condemnation of the police, justified as it is by experience and history, will continue to appear somewhat hypocritical to non-anarchists, and tend to block acceptance of anarchist ideas, unless, both in their thinking and in their action the anarchists are seen to be deeply concerned with building up the foundations of a social structure in which such institutions are unnecessary.

It cannot be hypocritical to condemn the conventional form of treatment for a disease as wrong and harmful, if one is advocating, and practising whenever possible, an alternative treatment, even if one is prevented from putting this treatment into general application.

This would seem to suggest a field in which we should be active, a form of activity only part of the significance of which is contained in its value as propaganda by deed—those forms of action which may, with reservations, be summed up as re-structuring society.

In other words, the attempted encouragement of mutual aid organisations, the development of areas of free communal activity, the encouragement of local initiatives leading to direct action to solve some local problem—even, say, filling in some pond, or covering a dis-

used shaft, recognised to be a danger to children, but about which the local authority cannot, or will not, take action. This last may be a very unspectacular example, but, without wishing to detract in any way from the value of the work done by our comrades in anti-nuclear demonstrations, it is more genuinely direct action than such demonstrations, even though it may be argued that the latter must have first priority at the moment.

I do not want to suggest that local anarchist groups should make a practice of doing things for people, rather than the anarchists should support and encourage such activities, where necessary (and possible) taking the initiative in an attempt to act as a catalyst in the process of building up community structures in our largely disintegrated urban culture.

Perhaps the anarchist groups which appear to be active in a number of places could devote some of their time to finding areas in the life of their local community in which it would be possible to encourage such activity, to instigating it where possible, and to gathering, expanding, and communicating examples of such activity which they come across.

I put this idea forward only as worthy of discussion (possibly within groups, in the first instance), since I think it perfectly reasonable to argue that our immediate task is to communicate our ideas, and the fact of our existence, to people who are already disposed to anarchism, did they but know what it is, and that at least the beginnings of a movement exist.

However, I do feel that certainly very soon we must broaden the aims of our propaganda in an attempt to influence people who are less ready to be convinced, otherwise we may well lose the impetus which the movement at the moment appears to have gained.

JOHN D. MCEWAN.

Manchester, July 27.

**READING AREA**

Anyone interested in forming an anarchist discussion group in READING, BASINGSTOKE AREA should contact

R. ADAIR,  
Upper Redlands Road,  
Reading, Berks.**SHEFFIELD AREA**

Any anarchists or readers in the SHEFFIELD AREA are invited to contact Peter Lee, 145, Ecclesall Road, Sheffield 11, who is interested in the possibility of forming a group.

**Let's Commit Ourselves!**

DEAR COMRADES,

Unlike Comrade Uloth, I think that there is everything to be said for having "isms" in the anarchist movement, anarcho-syndicalism in particular. It is the best part of a process combining positive CONSTRUCTIVE alternatives to capitalism with the maximum libertarian activity, "it" being the anarchist movement.

For one thing I do not think that the issue of authoritarianism is such a bogey as our "anarchist" (?) would have us believe, if anything it is the social and political set-up in this country which is the all pervading influence we feel and act against, and in as much as authority is an issue e.g. police violence, the courts, etc., it becomes so because people stand up and hit back at the state machine. Not because they have an abstract dislike for authority but because they are immediately prevented from doing certain things such as demonstrating or meeting. It is the purpose for the meeting that brings people, not the after effects, though it is then that the important actions are taken and the real lessons are learnt.

That is why I think that when the "non-violent" types turn up on these demonstrations and begin shouting their platitudes about "peaceful demonstrations" they should be the first to get clobbered, all they do is confuse others at a time when we should be giving the police a bit of their own medicine and getting the right to assemble by fighting for it, not being pushed around from street to street. This only demoralises our ranks and makes authority all the stronger. If Comrade Uloth dislikes "authority" then perhaps he should think again about the best way to oppose it, equally about how to end it.

This brings me on to my second point about those "isms" our hero dreads. Now if we are against capitalism and its state machine (I take it Comrade Uloth is) what if any is the best way to end that state of affairs, also what, if any, is to take its place. Dare we try to envisage something better, or would that be "committing" ourselves? It is not good enough to be sympathetic to the non-violent type of activities of certain members of the 100 (here I should like to point out that not every member is non-violent, I refer you to the Greek Visit, the Cuba affair, and others); nor to praise the Committee's negative attitude towards a programme, etc., that is a weakness which they would do well to overcome. We all know how rotten the political parties are in this country, every one of them, so why shouldn't we attempt to make the 100 a libertarian AND positive movement against the Ratchmans and "good" government? Though apart from the 100 which is mainly student, there is a much more important and vital force (dare I say it?) i.e. the working class. These millions, organised through their unions, who are the historical heirs to the future, if any, can and will provide the material and force with which capitalism and everything it stands for can be destroyed. And after? Socialism. And how? Through their class instruments—the unions (anarcho-syndicalism). And what? The maximum liberty and movement, without any state restrictions (the state would have been destroyed— anarchy), and mankind finding itself, getting up from its knees.

Now where does the anarchist movement come in here? Well, we can either stand on the side-lines and watch history pass us by, or we can dive into the coming struggles, yes commit ourselves, and be a part of the way of life that is the only thing that means anything in this world.

Point three. I don't see why Comrade Uloth hasn't, "much use for a philosophy which cannot be practised." Obviously he is referring to anarchism, and here there is some confusion. How is it possible to "practice" anarchy unless the change has been made, and violently at that, and that capitalism is negated over a large area of the world? Assuming that it is necessary to destroy the state machine and change society, are we to go and do that right now to prove to Comrade Uloth that anarchist philosophy works? Well I will try if Comrade Uloth is in front of me in the march up Whitehall. Though I feel sure that with a partner as confused as Comrade Uloth appears to be we would spend all day trying to get to Whitehall, let alone storming it.

Fraternally,

Edgware, July 21. TERRY M. MURPHY.

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