

'It is only by making the ruling few uneasy that the oppressed many can obtain a particle of relief.  
JEREMY BENTHAM.

## GLORY for GOYA: PRISON for IBARROLA

THE way the resignation of Lord Mancroft from the London Board of the Norwich Union insurance group has hit the headlines should make every thinking person suspicious of what is behind it all. The circumstances of his resignation seem undisputed. The Arab office for the Boycott of Israel threatened the Norwich Union that Arab interests would withdraw their premium business from them if Lord Mancroft remained a director. The Union, considering what effect this would have on their business interests, and their profits, decided that the continued presence of Lord Mancroft on the board would be a liability rather than an asset. This surely is how big-business operates, and the fact that Lord Mancroft happens to be a Jew has surely no bearing either for the Boycott office's pressure or the Union's decision to ask him to resign. One assumes that the Union knew when they appointed him that Lord Mancroft came from an old-established Jewish family in Norwich, and one assumes also that the Boycott office knows that many firms which are not blacklisted have Jewish directors, shareholders or executives. To seek to raise the cry of anti-semitism in this case only serves to obscure the real issues as well as cover up the real cases of discrimination, on political as well as racial grounds that are occurring all the time, and which are hardly ever considered newsworthy.

Those who are not giving the Mancroft affair a racial twist, are instead concentrating on what they call "trade blackmail" which they consider "intolerable". The *Observer's* line is that "it is within the rights of the Arab States to boycott whomever they choose", but that "when they try to compel firms outside the Arab States to submit to their wishes, as with the Norwich Union, it should not be regarded as the concern only of the company involved. It touches on national interests; therefore the British government, and not private firms should judge what policy to adopt".

This concern with the "national interest" is quite meaningless since nobody can give a definition of it to which every thinking person could subscribe. We much prefer the Norwich Union's line: "our sole object is the promotion of the business interests of our policy holders and every decision of the board of directors is made in the light of these interests . . . we would welcome the co-operation of any body which is concerned to remove those political impediments, but we ourselves must be governed in the first

# No honour in business

place by the interests of our policy-holders".

Lord Mancroft's resignation from his £1,000 a year (one day a month) directorship will not prejudice his future. He is in any case a director of Sir Isaac Wolfson's GUS group (incidentally Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum satisfied the boycott rules by selling off their joint subsidiary Shell Company of Palestine guess to who?—why a group headed by Sir Isaac Wolfson. Did this "capitulation" to blackmail hit the headlines? or that Sir Isaac, a prominent member of the Jewish community, was a party to it?). But in the motor car industry, for instance, a worker who by his trade union activity earns the label of "agitator" or "trouble maker" knows that if he is sacked he will be blacklisted by all the motor manufacturers in the land. It is the knowledge of this fact that makes car workers so "victimization conscious" and willing to come out on strike when such sackings are threatened. But how many "agitators" in the smaller firms are being sacked every week, on the excuse of "redundancy" but in fact because of their political views? How many workers sent by Labour Exchanges to a job are told by their prospective employer that he is "fixed up" when he isn't, simply because he doesn't like the colour of their skin or certain facial characteristics? To how many people is advancement in their jobs barred or hastened because of their political or religious opinions coinciding, or clashing, with those of their employers?

We recall that at the time of the Spanish civil war a highly successful pro-Republican illustrated magazine had to cease publication because the

catholic directors of the old-established firm of wholesalers, which had been distributing 20,000 or more copies of each issue, when their attention was drawn to it, gave instructions to their staff to stop distributing it. This same firm today refuses to handle or display best-sellers which have been involved in litigation because of realistic references to sex, even though the courts have given them the stamp of respectability—or at least of being good literature. These distributors take their orders, presumably, not from the Arab boycott office but from the Vatican censorship office! Where are the headlines or the questions in Parliament?

Government intervention to solve the problems of real discrimination is as unrealistic as it is time-wasting, but even if it could do something, the only action that is effective and durable is that which is initiated by the people themselves, by their own efforts, and which governments are forced into accepting.

★  
THE boycott is still an effective weapon in the hands of a united community, even against the massive corporations and monopolies of our day. It will be noticed that the Big Boys are using the boycott against each other in the Trading Stamps war. Sainsbury's have banned Garfield Weston's products from their shops while the Cadburys have stopped supplies to the Tesco chain. The trading stamp war has a lot to teach anarchists and other radicals and "right-thinking" people who cannot understand why their ideas make such slow progress.

The first lesson of the stamp war is that in a determined struggle, it

matters little whether the issue is principles or profits, you must be prepared to make sacrifices, which in terms of the trading tycoons means profits, in your case and this writer's it may mean time, or money, or some comforts, or liberty—or all of them. The anti-stamp tycoons are spending vast sums in publicity as well as cutting their profit margin and, in the case of manufacturers, their sales outlets, to win. The pro-stamp tycoons are doing likewise.

And the stamp companies themselves, at least for the time being, will present a united front, as well as spend important chunks of their profits on advertising to counter the anti-stamps blast from Sainsbury and others. (But as forecast in FREEDOM the stamp companies will be obliged in due course to fight each other to the death—there are now more than 34 stamp companies in the field!).

Continued on page 3



## INDUSTRIAL NOTES

# PAY INCREASES AND THE BEECHING PLAN

WHAT will be the outcome of the talks next Friday between the British Railway Board and the railwaymen's unions? This week, Dr. Beeching, head of the B.R.B., has expressed his willingness to grant a wage increase of 5-6%. On the whole, Dr. Beeching seems pleased with the way things are going with his "modernisation plans". The cost of this pay rise could be covered by this year's increase in productivity and the further increases which are expected next year. This, it is estimated, will reduce the operating deficit from £104m in 1962 to about £97m this year, although the gross revenue is down 1.2 per cent for the first nine months compared with the same period last year. Cuts have been made in the number of services, but the biggest economy has been the reduction of staff. Since October, 1962, 39,000 men and women have been struck off the B.R.B. pay roll. Most of these were employed in the workshops.

The "modernisation" and economies which are now being brought into operation are only a beginning. Up to now, only one branch line has been closed and even bigger savings, in cash that is, can be expected when Beeching's closure plan really gets under way. There is no doubt that when it comes to management on capitalist terms, then Beeching certainly is the man. With his "stream-

lining" plans, his "Imp Specials" and, now this week, a 54 wagon oil train, he will soon make the railways a paying concern. In fact the estimated date for the railways to break even has now been brought forward three years to 1967.

As part of these plans, Beeching wants a higher paid staff. This is not for any personal benevolent reasons, but with a view to making the railways more efficient, for the rise in wages will help to build up the morale of the men. It looks as if Dr. Beeching's offer next Friday will be above the "guiding light —3-3 1/2%" policy of the Government. The B.R.B. will no doubt argue that the railways fall into a category of "special cases" for which the Government makes exceptions. The Guillebaud Report of 1960, commissioned by the Government, said that railwaymen should receive wages comparable with those of workers in other industries, whose wage rates are far ahead of those of the railwaymen. This gap, according to the National Union of Railwaymen and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, stands at between 9% and 10%. The third railway union, the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association reckons that their members' wages are 4% behind.

While decisions for higher pay are seen by Beeching as part of an over-all plan in his management of the railways,

the Government only sees it, at the moment, as a breakaway from its dogmatic policy, which recently took a heavy knock with the engineers' pay award. There is a difference of opinion between the Government and the managements that it appoints, and no doubt the B.R.B. after drawing up plans and calculating the wages to be paid, doesn't really like the Government stepping in to remind them of the "guiding light" policy. To their way of thinking they have a job to do, that of managing effectively, and Government interference can prevent this. The management wants to settle the wage question as quickly as possible, and to do this, it has by-passed certain stages of the negotiating procedure.

What Dr. Beeching has in mind as a pay offer is no doubt below that of the unions, but there are further promises of wage increases, for the Board must have the co-operation of the unions to carry out his "modernisation plans". Higher wages, bringing the rates in line with those paid in other industries, are the sweeteners to the workers who will remain under these plans. Dr. Beeching still has a big task ahead of him. So far the sackings have all been in the workshops, and this has brought an annual saving of over £25m. on the wage bill, but next year the closing down of unprofitable lines will start in earnest.

So far, there has been hardly any

opposition from the unions. They want higher pay for their members and, for the men who are sacked, they will negotiate severance and compensation money, but this will be about the extent of their action. Has all the opposition petered out after six months, as Dr. Beeching said it would? Of course the railwaymen need higher wages and they have every right in demanding the same rates as are paid in other industries. The staff left to run Beeching's "streamlined" railway will probably get these rises, but what about the employees who will be sacked. These jobs should be protected and lines should not be closed just because they are not showing a profit.

Throughout the country public transport is in a chaotic state. Because profit is the "be-all" and "end-all", a service for the public becomes of secondary importance. Decisions that affect our daily lives are taken by the Government and the B.R.B. The interests of the passengers and the railwaymen are the same and they should have a say in the running of their own lives and there should be a greater participation by ordinary people. All organisations, which are run and controlled by the people are another step towards the breaking down of the power of the state.

In areas, where line closures will cause inconvenience and hardship, joint co-operation of passengers and railwaymen could be organised to defend their joint interests. These organisations could defeat the closures and the sackings which will be taking place in the New Year. P.T.

## ANARCHY 34:

NOW ON SALE, IS ON

# SF

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# Anarchism & Syndicalism

THESE are two very often used words in this movement. But are they the same? In my opinion they can be, but sometimes they're not.

We must always remember when we speak of syndicalism that it's only the tool, or rather I should say a tool that can be used in the struggle to achieve an anarchist society. In other words you must be an anarchist first and a syndicalist a very poor second. Syndicalism is not a philosophy by itself, and if it claims to be it is as dangerous as any marxist dogma.

To be dogmatic is a luxury that we as anarchists cannot afford. If we are

to go forward at all we must feel our way slowly, trying different ideas that come to hand. Our greatest weapon should be the open mind, at least about tactics.

New tactics are always of use for they catch the authoritarians with their trousers down as it were. There is no point in flogging the same old horse again if you're getting nowhere with it.

Syndicalists believe (at least appear to) that nothing can be done without the workers. All power lies at the point of production. This is so, but when the workers do not appear to be interested in running the factories and taking over

the means of production?

One would suppose that they would either give up or keep on plugging away till the workers did listen. But no. One of the things I have noticed about some of our syndicalist comrades is their likeness to politicians. They seem to be very concerned that every one should think like them. They leave trying to convert the workers who are not politically affiliated. Then try to convert dissident marxist groups, who unlike the workers play no useful part in society.

Why is this? It is because they cannot reach the workers and are so impressed with numbers that they try to get these people in? I would say that people in these marxist groups are the last people we want in this movement.

People usually join the movement that suits them psychologically that is. Someone who wants to join a party like the S.L.P. or The Small Party of Good Boys will never make an anarchist as long as he lives. I know there are exceptions, but these only prove the rule.

I can understand a shop steward joining the Labour Party or even the Communist Party and making a genuine mistake in so doing. He may be so involved in action that he barely has time to think. He may on the other hand just join out of cussedness because they represent the enemy to the capitalist press. It's a stupid idea but an understandable one.

The folk in these tiny groups are a different matter altogether, they are people who thrive on trouble. They spend their lives arguing just for the sake of it.

When I was in Trafalgar Square during the last anti-apartheid demonstration I noticed how the trots sneered and spat at the communists (the party that most of them came out of) the hate on their faces was something remarkable to see. They certainly hate each other more than they do the capitalist system.

There are of course some people like this in the anarchist movement sad to say. I know we can't love everyone but we could tolerate other opinions surely. People are far too touchy. Disagreement is after all natural if you want free discussion.

Because of some problems of organisation some comrades would like a

## Rhodesian Newsletter

A FORTNIGHTLY paper which is published in Rhodesia entitled "Newsfront" represents unofficially the opinions of the ruling Rhodesian Front Government. The other week it was claiming that Harold Wilson was a Communist, and the most recent issue to hand provides an example of hysterical neurosis that would disturb even the most experienced psychiatrist.

In its heading the paper claims that a multi-racial state is unacceptable to both blacks and whites. "The whites reject it" the paper asserts "because they know it doesn't work anywhere in the world. But the blacks because they know that all things being equal the whites would always come out on top." One thinks immediately of the recent West Indies victory over England in the cricket test series, of the negro contribution to jazz which puts any white performer in this field in the shade, of the top-selling work by James Baldwin

"The Fire Next Time", of the negro successes in athletics, boxing and basketball, of the world renowned poetry of Leopold Senghor and Langston Hughes, of the sculpture, art, literature of Africa. One thinks on these things and reflects on the ignorance of this heading to "Newsfront".

The truth is, of course, that if the African population here had an equal say with the white minority, the latter would come to realise the ineptness of their contribution to society.

One turns the page of this paper to read a contributor discussing the black/white conflict in Africa. "Let there be no illusions," writes the person in question "The struggle is not over apartheid, colonialism or discrimination. It stems only from greed. They (the blacks) want Africa—the richest part of it—Southern Africa, and Southern Rhodesia is now regarded as the soft under-belly, ripe for conquest, but now the RRAF stands in the way." This comes from the mouth of a representative of some of the greediest, most deluded and rich people in the world.

A REVIEW OF Patrick Keatley's book "The Politics of Partnership" speaks of "factual errors" in his book without quoting one example. The idea that Jameson used germ warfare against Lobengula is dismissed as "Astounding, original and completely stupid" without any justification for the remarks made. And then the reviewer thinks Mr. Keatley can be dismissed as "a slick writer" who succeeds "only in being destructive."

These writings would not deserve any sane person's attentions if they did not speak for the the majority of the Europeans in the Rhodesias; as such, Sympathetic views on apartheid and South Africa indicate that if the white minority had the chance they might well attempt to implement apartheid in Rhodesia.

ONE TURNS WITH RELIEF from "Newsfront" to the African magazine "Drum" which manages to capture the spirit of jazz in its pages and includes some of the most brilliant photographs I have ever seen. "Drum" is to some extent a victim of the personality cult but I would recommend it to anyone looking for the real feel of Africa. The lead article in the current issue is of the activity of Lovemore Chimonyo, but let "Drum" tell the story: "Through the beery gloom in the saloon bar of a Salisbury hotel a black face appeared, others followed. Talking ceased. The all-white customers, mostly in open shirts or shorts gazed in surprise or horror. An old-timer, whom some claim hadn't moved from his stool this century, spluttered in his beer and staggered out the door.

"May I have a beer?" said the black face.

"Sure," said a gruff voice. "Have mine." And a hairy white arm shot out a full glass of beer—sploosh—in a direct hit.

"The black face of Lovemore Chimonyo glistened and the beer ran rivulets down his beard.

"Mr. Chimonyo, the All-Conquering Bottom, had marched again."

The scene described is captured in a magnificent photograph.

The ideas of this brave, good man are worthy of note: "I believe in freedom, and I mean every kind of freedom: the right of everyone to say what they want, and go where they want, and do what they want. I've always felt this, strongly."

It is quite a change to see the activities of someone deserving praise being gene-

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## FREEDOM

conference where these things could be talked about. Are we capable of quietly talking things over? I for one doubt it. The recent controversy in FREEDOM on Spanish Tourism pretty well proved this to me.

I've been thinking over things a great deal lately (conference) and I would say: "Form a Federation if you want". But don't have a conference.

I'm not opposed to a conference for any reason other than these doubts I have. I advise against it because I'm sure that something would happen to destroy all the work that has been done

over the past year. Why do I think this will happen? Because there is a lack of tolerance. Because there are some comrades who believe they know all or most of the answers. They would not co-operate with others who disagree.

So to my comrades who are very much in favour of a conference I say: "Think on these things" before you drop a clanger. To the impatient syndicalists I would say: Why are you in such haste? After all you already have a Federation haven't you?

JACK STEVENSON,  
Co-ordinating Secretary.

## HERE IS A MAN DEEPLY COMMITTED TO FREEDOM

BOOKS

"MAKING DO", by Paul Goodman. (The Macmillan Company, New York) \$4.95. (Collier-Macmillan Limited) (Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., Toronto, Ontario).

GOODMAN picked his epigraph from "Lock Lomond": "The weary-hearted ken/nae second spring again, tho the wae'ful may cease from their greetin'." His last sentence is: "The Lord has yet more light and truth to break forth," as John Robinson said to the Pilgrims embarking toward America.

Between these two statements, Goodman describes the reaction of a lawyer to his client in one paragraph: "He bent his head and hastily pulled out his handkerchief. The tears of joy were rolling down his cheeks. When he raised his eyes to meet hers, he threw his head back and let out the first loud and free laughter that he had enjoyed since the last time they resumed testing the atom bombs."

As the dust jacket states, "Making Do" is Paul Goodman's first novel since the publication four years ago of "The Empire City": during that time he has published five highly praised social studies." Despite the claim of "fiction" by the publishers, it would be reasonable to assume, based on his previous writings, that much in "Making Do" is autobiographical. This reviewer does not believe in repeating the dehydrated précis contained in the dust jacket's inner flap blurb. The story stands on its own feet. It is about real people in our time. Many of them are anarchists.

The opening paragraph of Chapter One ("hammering out a rule of thumb") sets the scene: "Amos, Meg's husband, swore he'd come back one night and shoot her, and we felt that this was

was probably for real. Amos was crazy, more than the average, and he did have a gun. Yet we were anarchists and pacifists and didn't believe in policemen, we did not want them messing in our lives which were innocent but in many ways illegal. We knew from experience that if you call a cop, one thing leads to another."

The titles alone of chapters 17 through 20 will appeal to anarchists: "17. election day; 18. shit; 19. a conference on democracy; 20. Policemen." And no anarchist (or even a sympathiser for that matter) should miss Chapter 12 in Part Two—"the mayor of Vanderzee." These 8½ pages, along with Chapter 5, will warm the cockles of your heart, simulate your ganglions and convinced this reviewer that the \$4.95 which he stole from the mouths of his children were well spent indeed.

Goodman is a philosopher, in the original sense: a lover of wisdom. All of his themes are in the book. In that his fiction restates his non-fiction, he reminds me somewhat of Unamuno.

The last time I saw Goodman, he was delivering an address on "Loneliness" to a group of teenagers attending the National Ethical Youth Organization's conference at Hudson Guild Farm in Andover, New Jersey. As a Youth Group Advisor to these embryonic Ethical Culturists I was pleased at their choice of a speaker. Some of the adults were appalled at his speech, the keynote address, but the youth were challenged and stimulated. I remember thinking at the time what a fine novel must exist somewhere inside Goodman. It did. It is "Making Do". I urge you to read it. You could cut out the photograph on the back of the jacket, pin it on the wall and label it, "Here is a man deeply committed to FREEDOM." D.

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## Glory for GOYA: Prison for IBARROLA

ON Friday the 6th of December the Royal Academy staged the private view of the most comprehensive exhibition of the works of the Spanish painter Francisco Goya ever to be assembled outside of Spain and with the blessing of General Franco the wilting flower of our two kulturs flowed up the wide marble steps of Burlington House to grip paws with Sir Charles Wheeler its bemuddled president. On that day Agustin Ibarrola Goicoechea a Spanish painter was lying in solitary confinement within a Burgos prison for being one of sixteen signatories to a letter addressed, and transmitted through the official administrative channels, to the Spanish Minister of Information, Don Manuel Fraga Iribarne a recent unwelcome guest to Great Britain. For signing that letter Ibarrola and the fifteen other men were given forty days solitary confinement.

Among these imprisoned men is a sculptor, a musician, a writer and two painters, and those who parade the halls of Burlington House must of necessity be reminded that the personification of the evils that the painter Goya condemned, even at this moment, lie like a running scab upon the captive body of the Spanish people and that those who primp through the grey London streets to dally away a passing hour with Goya's world, do so by cynical permission of those who in their turn butchered the Spanish people within their own homes, hired political mercenaries to bomb their own towns and loosed German, Italian and Moorish troops to beat the Spanish people into surrender before handing them over to the external and internal prison of the Church and State.

Yet even with this exhibition of Goya's work there is that touch of political manipulation that corrupts by omission, for Goya's Black Paintings, the Execution of May 3rd and others, were left behind in Spain so that we are offered Goya as a melancholy Hogarth acting as the mirror of his age forever

standing at the edge of agony but unwilling to be committed. And with this in mind let us be thankful for the opportunity to see the magnificent portrait of Don Ramon Sature, for here is the quintessence of Goya's art. Here is the camera's eye, the unconventional and indifferent pose and the huge silent areas of black moulding the solid flesh beneath. For like his master Rembrandt, Goya could show the fool behind the garb of pomp, the all-too-human figure within the tailored pantaloons, the sired clod behind the creaking breastplate and beneath the feathered helmet. When Goya was old and deaf and sickened with his native land he was given official sanction to depart and the old man fled the black garbed thugs of the Holy Church but no such act of grace is offered to Agustin Ibarrola now serving the second year of his nine year sentence in Franco's jail.

AT the rear of the St. George Gallery, at 3 Cork Street Mews, W.1., is an exhibition of the drawings of this imprisoned Spanish painter organized and presented by the Appeal for Amnesty in Spain. The irony of this exhibition is that Agustin Ibarrola has no knowledge that his work is being shown, for each small drawing was smuggled out of his prison, sheet by sheet. On paper no bigger than a man's two hands, with black crayon and black ink he has recorded the inhumanities behind his Spanish bars. His figures are faceless for he delineates his companions with a few brief swift lines and gives them a third dimension with a black and shading chalk and for that reason they bland into their background of stone and bars; and like the figures within Goya's etchings they are men without hope. There is none of the sour humour that one associates with the prison writings, drawings and paintings of English prison artists. Only a sense of timeless misery. Ibarrola's companions parade for their

meals within his drawings like cowed animals, they weep in solitary corners and they die in groups, for they are the victims of men without mercy, dogs in authority in love with death in art as in life, humble only before an arrogant priesthood that despises the mercy and the humility of Christ. Agustin Ibarrola is thirty-three years of age, the son of a metal worker who in his turn served a sentence of hard labour for having fought to defend the Spanish government. Ibarrola worked to become a painter and after receiving an art scholarship from the municipal authorities had his first one-man exhibition. His life could have followed the familiar pattern of the competent craftsman labouring within the Establishment seeking its small rewards and accepting with but a minor protest the conditions of his times but Ibarrola protested and protested. He protested at the deliberate suppression of the Basque culture, the State's boycott of its exiled artists and in 1962 the logic of his protests made him protest the treatment of the Viscaya miners.

Ibarrola and his tortured companions now lie in solitary confinement but even from his closed cell Ibarrola has managed to speak for Franco's damned. Their letter to Don Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the Spanish Minister of Information, is a roll call of but a few of Franco's victims and tells of beatings, broken bones, twisted testicles, burst ear drums, suspension by the arms for hour after hour, torture by electric current resulting for some in paralysis and attempted suicide, and all inflicted by welcomed guests to this country who hold their own fellow countrymen in thrall. Ibarrola's smuggled drawings in their turn illustrate these evils. It is your privilege and your pleasure to view the carefully selected paintings by Goya at Burlington House and your duty to examine Agustin Ibarrola's pleading drawings from his Spanish prison.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

# FREEDOM

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## GUNS AND LAWS

IN the opening paragraph of his London Diary in the *New Statesman* a fortnight ago, C. H. Rolph links the high murder rate in the United States with the fact that something like 30 million American citizens carry firearms. He also points out that in Dallas (where Kennedy met his end), New York "and a dozen other towns" "the annual murder rate exceeds that of England and Wales, and most of the killing is with guns". And if we understand him correctly, his opening sentence "There never has been a more ghastly illustration of the iniquity of a public control system that willingly allows 30 million American citizens to carry firearms" the "ghastly illustration, etc." refers to the assassination of President Kennedy.

A moment's thought must surely expose the superficiality of Mr. Rolph's arguments and diagnosis. For, if there are 30 million gun-carrying Americans and, let us assume, that there are even 50,000 people murdered in the United States each year, it can surely be convincingly argued that the overwhelming majority of gun-carrying Americans, in fact never use their guns. In Switzerland, where every adult male after completing his compulsory military service, keeps his rifle or revolver and ammunition at home, as part of the nation's defence strategy, and therefore virtually every household is armed, the murder rate in Switzerland is 50 times lower than in the United States and three times less than in Britain where, for all intents and purposes, no civilian is armed.

Neither in Switzerland where every adult male is armed and accustomed to handling arms (for every ex-conscript remains a reservist who has to spend so many days every so often on military exercises) or Britain where, but for the brief period of conscription now ended, only the huntin'-and-shootin' fraternity and the frequenters of shooting galleries have experience in handling these lethal arms, have the heads of states ever met the violent end that has been the lot of four American presidents. Our leading politicians, likewise, have all died in their beds, or in plane crashes or car accidents, which is more than can be said for a number of their American counterparts.

So, if we are to draw conclusions from the evidence we would say that the murder rate by shooting is lowest where either *everybody is armed* or *everybody is disarmed*, and that the trouble in the United States might well be that *only 30 million citizens are armed*. And we say this in all seriousness.



THE individual who possesses a gun acquires power which transcends that of reason. When you argue with a gun it surely indicates that either the party you are arguing with is not amenable to reason or that you are not being reasonable yourself. The triumph of reason is only possible among equals. Superior intelligence is a form of power and can sway those of lesser intelligence but it is no barrier to the equality anarchists demand for all. The exploitation of man by man is not, as some would have it, the result of some being more intelligent than others. Whatever the American Constitution may say about all men being born equal, everybody knows that this is not so. Inequality is built-in to the legal, political, social

and economic framework of all authoritarian societies. A privileged minority remains in power not by its superior intelligence, or its superior powers of reasoning, but by holding on to the means of production, by controlling the nation's wealth, and seeking to stabilise, and consolidate its privilege by means of a complicated series of laws, with corresponding punishments for those who transgress them. And ostensibly in the interests of "law and order" the privileged minority surrounds itself with law enforcers, professional soldiers and other armed mercenaries.

It matters little that the Law should be universally applied, without fear or favour, when it exists to protect the interests of a minority in society. Legalised injustice however impartially administered by the judiciary remains an injustice for all that. In South Africa *apartheid* is the law just as segregation is in a number of American States. In some African States Africans are barred from voting by law, just as others are entitled to vote if they satisfy certain conditions which are not applied to the whites. We call this an injustice because we make no distinctions between human beings, least of all the colour of their skins. Thinking, reasonable, human beings have throughout the ages opposed privilege as incompatible with Man's claim to being civilised, and have sought to persuade their fellow beings by reason and moral arguments to build a world where all men are free and equal as of right. Among them have been the reformers who look to the legislative machinery to achieve their ends. However good their intentions, the results are disappointing, when they are not catastrophic. In this country where reformers abound, nearly a century of reformism has landed us in the situation where "the rich are richer and the poor poorer". In other countries reformism has been nipped in the bud by the simple expedient of a military *coup d'etat* (e.g. Spain 1936), or by less drastic but equally effective counter-measures such as the wholesale export of capital.

What distinguishes anarchists from socialists and other progressives is not that we believe all men are equal but that unlike the others we see in all governments the instrument for the perpetuation of existing privilege or for the creation of a new privileged class, and therefore our reason obliges us to reject all attempts at social change by legal reforms as worthless, and instead advocate revolution, direct action, aimed at destroying the power of the privileged class completely and utterly. And equally important is it for the people to reorganise society, to ensure that no new privileged class can establish itself in their midst.

## TWO WEEKS TO PUT THINGS RIGHT!

There are only two weeks left to 1963. Readers who have not yet paid their subscriptions for 1963, have therefore been receiving our publications for the past 50 weeks without paying and have two weeks to put things right! There are also a number of people who have ordered books, and bundles of FREEDOM and ANARCHY who have still not paid for them. A modest guess is that these outstanding items if settled would bring in not less than £700 (\$2,000) in the next two weeks. A glance at our financial

54% OF THE St. Marylebone electorate thought there was nobody worth voting for in their constituency. There was some obscure political violence at the declaration of the result. According to a 'socialist witness' in the 'Independent' Express, Mr. Hogg the New M.P. (née Viscount Hailsham) punched a Liberal heckler in the face. . . .

A GUARD was placed on Mr. Harold Wilson after a letter from Bolton saying that he was "going to be assassinated before 9 p.m. on Saturday". The Pope on his visit to the Holy Land will be escorted to the Israeli coast by a squadron of Italian jet fighters. Marina Oswald is reported to have told G-men that her husband boasted of taking a shot at ex-Major-General Edward Walker, the right-wing extremist of Montgomery, Ala. fame. This claim to fame is not confirmed by the F.B.I. A 45-year-old man was committed to the Old Bailey for sending a letter to the Queen which he handed to a clergyman at communion in St. Paul's. It read: "O Heavenly Father, this nation has now forced me into a position whereby I have to openly commit myself in your name to shoot Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and shoot to kill, because of the 'cowardice' of this nation in facing this issue between Mrs. Chattaway and myself. If I do not see Mr. and Mrs. Chattaway and their two children this year, 1963, according to your covenant, O Heavenly Father, this nation shall be destroyed. A man was arrested in Washington charged with having made an oral threat against the life of President Johnson. Later he was in hospital with a 'compression fracture of a vertebra'. Among the testimony in the investigation into the background of Lee Oswald is that of a Bronx probation officer that ten years ago Oswald, then aged 13, was brought before a Children's Court, judged to be a 'persistent truant' and was diagnosed as a 'potentially dangerous' character by the Court's consulting psychiatrist but his mother turned down the Court's recommendation of 'intensive psychiatric treatment'. The Express's caption to a picture "Today it is necessary for even a princess to be able to handle a sporting gun. Here is the Duke of Aosta second in line to the non-existent throne of Italy, teaching his fiancée, Princess Claude of France . . . youngest daughter of the Comte de Paris". . . .

680 PHEASANTS FELL to 12 guns, in a shoot on the Chatsworth estate, where Princess Margaret and the Earl of



Snowdon were guests of the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire. At one stage birds were falling so fast that the Chatsworth-Baslow road was blocked to traffic to enable helpers to clear the birds from the road. Mr. Krushchev went shooting outside Moscow with President Brezhnev and President Kekkonen of Finland, they shot one boar each. Sir Alec Douglas-Home wore a five-inch strip of plaster on his cheek to protect him against recoil when shooting. His shooting-party bagged 362 pheasants seventy-nine partridges and twenty hares on a Lincolnshire estate. 268 young seals have been shot by the Scottish Department of Agriculture and Fisheries on the Farne Islands. Fishermen have claimed that the seals were killing salmon and white fish. An animal-lover planned to become a human shield by interposing himself between the seals and the gunmen. . . .

BRITAIN'S NEW nuclear-powered 'killer' submarine was launched. A clergyman asked a blessing. The Prime Minister in reply to a question by Mr. Dryberg said that the Australian and New Zealand governments had expressed concern to the French government about the danger to health of people in the Cook Islands and other British territories by French atmospheric testing in the South Pacific. Five victims of the atom-bomb on Japan lost their 10-year fight for damages. A Tokyo court ruled that the bombing of Hiroshima was a violation of international law, but individuals were not entitled to damages under existing laws. It is estimated that 230,000 people are still suffering from the effects of the two bombs. The claimants stated that the Japanese government which relinquished war claim rights under the San Francisco peace treaty of 1952, was responsible for paying damages caused

by illegal conduct in war by the United States under the 1868 St. Petersburg declaration and 1907 Hague Convention. The Judge said there was no provision under international law for claims by war victims. But even if such a provision existed, Japan waived any claim under Article 19 of the San Francisco Treaty. The United Nations observed Human Rights Day. . . .

THE NORWICH UNION insurance group capitulated to pressure from its Arab clients to urge Lord Mancroft (a Jew) to resign from its board of directors. Mr. Raymond Cohen, leader of the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra who participated in a concert given at Jackson, Mississippi said the orchestra realized that segregation existed in the South but "we were not aware that it extended to cultural activities". Mr. Geoffrey Raphael, the Marylebone magistrate dismissed charges of using threatening words and insulting behaviour against eleven people who were picketing a Brixton public-house where 'some form of colour-bar' operated. The magistrate said, "To be dealing with a case where a form of apartheid is being kept in a public place in this country is revolting and repulsive". South Africa plans during the coming session of the South African parliament to give the State complete control over the employment, residence, and movement of all Africans outside the reservations. Coloured people in Malmesbury about thirty miles from Capetown will have to leave a town where they form about 80% of the population because it has been zoned for whites. Fifty-two African labourers and two Europeans were killed when the lorry on which they were travelling fell into a river in Angola. . . .

A GERMAN soldier on trial for abusing military authority by using harsh treatment in the training of paratroopers, said he had a far rougher time in his own training than he had given his soldiers. He would not, however, go into details because his honour would not allow him to betray his former comrades. . . .

THE ORGANISER of a Bristol Committee for the Abolition of Capital Punishment protesting against the proposed execution of two men on December 17th, said, "Christmas? What a time of the year for twin hangings. We are against hanging at any time, but this is just making things brutal." JON QUIXOTE.

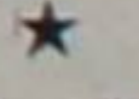
## No honour in business

Continued from page 1

The second lesson is that unity is strength. Garfield Weston and Lord Sainsbury may well create the impression of being rugged individualists, but it's the Dai Evans' and the Owen Davies' ploughing their hard and lonely furrows and competing with each other, who are the stubborn individualists. For the Sainsburys have the power that comes from a thousand Evans' and Davies' uniting in a common enterprise. Evans was persuaded that he could hold his own against the Sainsburys and increase his sales at the expense of Davies down the road by giving Yellow Shield trading stamps to his customers. Little did he know that Mauve Shield trading-stamps would come to Evans and spin him the same yarn, or that in due course Sainsbury could drive them both out of business by price cuts (in the language of capitalism — sacrifices) which neither Evans or Davies could match.

The third lesson is that real unity is based on co-operation, an identity of interests, equality. The trading

stamp war has been engaged not because the small traders used them but because the tycoons were not united among themselves, and could not trust each other. Though they agreed not to, first one supermarket chain, then another entered the fray. It is said that there is no honour among thieves—or in more conventional terms, "among capitalists". Capitalists are "united" when attacked by the common enemy—the workers demanding better conditions and a bigger slice of the cake of production, a threat to profits and the "interests of shareholders". When they are not, they cannot resist the desire to gobble each other up. For whatever they and the Martells may say to the contrary, what capitalists fear as much as workers' demands, is competition and free enterprise.



THE Mancroft affair is no more the concern of exploited workers (who must really work for five weeks to be paid what the Norwich Union was paying him for one day's attendance at a Board meeting) than

is the Sainsbury-Weston stamp war. Apart from rejoicing when the exploiters fall-out, and being encouraged by their disunity, let us learn not to be distracted and bamboozled by the mass communicators into believing that their struggles matter to us; that we must take sides; or that the sordid dealings of the Insurance tycoons are in the words of the *Observer*, matters of "national interest". These, and the crocodile tears shed when leaders are hoist with their own petard, or the mock indignation when a blatant injustice is actually publicised, are no more than a smoke-screen to make us forget our daily grievances against a society whose foundations as well as its Laws have been designed and enacted to perpetuate them. When will we open our eyes to the problems that matter to us the discriminated against majority?

## RHODESIAN NEWSLETTER

Continued from page 2

rously and intelligently assessed. For once the right person is being loved. IN BETWEEN "NEWSFRONT" and "Drum" politically is the "Central African Examiner"—the "Guardian" of Central Africa. The "Examiner" is a fairly good monthly and it has been maintained with some courage by those involved with its production. The current issue brings news of George Nyandoro who was found to have a TB infection of the spine after spending four years in detention and restriction in Southern Rhodesia. He is now in hospital, in Britain, "In the middle of a long ward with about 30 patients—strung aloft with a contraption of weights and pulleys—lying in what looked like a flying canoe. In this, while his spine remains fixed at rest, he can swing at will from the horizontal to the inclined plane, and sideways." Perhaps his plight is one of the finer examples of the workings of "partnership" in Central Africa—the end result of a truly noble experiment. KALL.

## NEW YORKERS PLEASE NOTE

P.S.—New York readers who normally purchase their F.P. publications at Rutkin's news stand may not be able to do so as from the beginning of next year because our old friend doesn't pay his bills—and he owes us \$200 at least. So if you want to get FREEDOM press Mr. Rutkin to pay his bill!

THE EDITORS.

Didn't it matter?

DEAR COMRIDES,  
It seems to need an assassination to bring out the difference between my idea of anarchism and that of the editorial writers in FREEDOM. The last occasion was the attempt by David Pratt on Verwoerd, assassins seem to be great stirrers of the emotions. Hate appears to be the most popular—compassion almost nowhere. In something like eight columns of vilification I find (being generous) about three lines that express (again being generous) sympathy. None by the way for officer Tippitt who wasn't mentioned at all. As well as being a policeman he too was a husband and a father—ah well, occupational hazard no doubt, he shouldn't have joined. A tragedy when men die of course—but how many by assassination? surely a greater shock and one where we all bear some guilt.

Kennedy's death "irrelevant" and "doesn't really matter" politically no, as you say, but let us show a little more compassion for his family than a piddling couple of words, and a cynical remark about fatherless children having money in the bank. Money must have greater powers and gifts than I ever expected. Where and what was the sense in the first line, second paragraph of N.W.'s column? What was "good for our sanity", what came after or before this sentence. This must have been a bit of satire I don't get.

Was N.W.'s hero Huxley so superior I wonder, how do we judge? One brand of courage, physical, which we can say Kennedy had, and one moral, which N.W. says Huxley had. How much suffering did Huxley's heroism cost him, not a great deal I imagine, it would have been greater perhaps if his writings had been refused publication for years.

And I do condemn anyone that goes out and does what I don't talk of doing, I do not take the murder of anyone so lightly. It was a pity that N.W. did not ponder long over the quote by Britten above his article especially the last word—"violence".

I fail to see the parallel between Lee Oswald and Sacco and Vanzetti, the writer must have more insight than I. Though I can see that Oswald being a marxist, with a contempt for the individual and that the end justifies the means—could be guilty of such a crime.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Which brings me to the so-called motive. In the beginning we have a person of a "sound mind" with a "burning motive" which becomes after two paragraphs only a "slender one". May I point out the obvious! There are many people with as strong a motive as Oswald who find it just as difficult and more to make enough money to keep their families, myself among them, but do not feel the desire to murder.

For his unhappy childhood I feel pity—he is one of many, but I will not condone or excuse the violence this may breed. That is our own responsibility.

Yours sincerely,  
Newport, Dec. 3. MILWARD CASEY.

EDITOR'S REPLY:

[There are points of detail in our comrade's letter which in the interests of truth cannot be passed over without comment.

(1) "I do condemn anyone that goes out and does what I don't talk of doing". What impertinence! In FREEDOM we have never advocated that others should do what we are not prepared to do ourselves. For this reason, we do not advocate assassination. But it does not mean that we should not defend those who are provoked to the point of attempting to assassinate dictators and other tyrants.

(2) We only made comparison between Lee Oswald and Sacco and Vanzetti because we believe that both were victims of a frame-up, and that had Oswald not been quickly eliminated, in circumstances which, to say the least, were very suspicious, he might well have "risen to heights of nobility and greatness" of which ordinary people, such as Sacco and Vanzetti, in such circumstances reveal themselves to be capable.

(3) To suggest that Lee Oswald "could be guilty" of assassination because he was a marxist "with a contempt for the individual and that the end justifies the means" is to overlook the fact that anarchists holding neither of the views attributed to Lee Oswald by our correspondent, have been the authors of assassination. Far from showing a contempt for the individual the assassin who is prepared to risk his life in order to eliminate a President or a King, shows very considerable respect for the power of that individual if he is prepared to risk his own life in the attempt.

(4) As to "motive". After putting forward at length our views for believing that Lee Oswald was the victim of a frame-up we then showed how easy it was to trump-up arguments to show that there were "motives" for somebody like Oswald wanting to assassinate the President. We did it so well apparently that comrade Casey swallowed the irony hook, line and sinker.

For the benefit of those like comrade Casey who share the expressed view of the Dallas chief of Police that the Oswald case was "clinched", we should draw their attention to the fact that responsible press opinion in America is far from being so certain. The question "Did Oswald kill the President and if so why" remains unanswered, according to the *New York Times* (Dec. 2) and as for the question of motive if he was the killer, "this is perhaps the most mysterious aspect of the whole case".

(5) "Assassins—writes our correspondent—seem to be great stirrers of emotion [in FREEDOM]. Hate appears to be the most popular—compassion almost nowhere. In something like eight columns of vilification, etc.". Our correspondent has got us wrong. There are assassinations taking place throughout the world (in the Middle East, the Far East, Latin America—none by anarchists be it noted) which we do not even bother to mention in FREEDOM. The theme of N.W.'s article (Does It Matter?) was that Kennedy's assassination "seems rather irrelevant" since he was a figurehead rather than a dictator, and that of the editorial was to suggest that the case could not be closed with the murder of Lee Oswald. Comrade Casey's letter strikes us as being much more emotional than anything that was written on Kennedy in FREEDOM. And as for vilifica-

tion, what is more vilifying than our correspondent's assumption of Lee Oswald's guilt in spite of his declaration of innocence after long hours of third degree, and the "evidence" which to quote again the *New York Times* quoting "criminal attorneys" is "almost entirely circumstantial". Such evidence they said "can only be fully tested under rigid cross-examination, when sometimes a quite different interpretation will develop".

As to the accusation that "hate" is a popular reaction among FREEDOM's editors, this writer gladly admits to hating (as well as to loving). In the dictionary sense of "having a strong dislike of", we confess to "hating" most politicians, church leaders, tycoons, judges, policemen, prison governors, warders, military men, newspaper owners and journalists. And when we have no reason to "hate" them we have a healthy distrust of them. We reserve "compassion" for the follies and ingenuousness of their victims.—EDITORS].

Misleading

THE EDITORS,  
It is a great pity, at a time when anarchism is at last being taken seriously by increasing number of people that you should print a piece like N.W.'s lead article on Kennedy. The whole tone of the piece seemed to show a desire to gain a little notoriety as a result of Kennedy's assassination, a sort of "We assassinated lots of people too" attitude.

Not only was the article extremely misleading to new readers, it was also historically inaccurate. I am not denying that there have been anarchist assassinations in the past but most anarchists would, I think, accept that such methods are completely inept as a method to bring about changes in the structure of society. No matter how many leaders are picked off, the State machine will continue.

It was pointed out in an FLA lecture some months ago that the number of assassinations proven by anarchists could be reduced to four, and the assassination of President McKinley could not be numbered among them. As Drinnon shows in his biography of Emma Goldman, "Rebel in Paradise", the assassin suffered from several delusions, one of which was that he was an anarchist. It is, I believe, a matter of record that the American anarchist press prior to McKinley's assassination had carried warnings against Czolgasz, whom they suspected of being a police spy, certainly he was not regarded by the anarchist movement in America as one of their number.

We cannot deny our past, but there is little point in giving the old stereotype of the fiendish anarchist killer a new lease of life.

Harlech. JOHN PILGRIM.

The fate of Man

DEAR EDITORS,

John Papworth and F.B. (FREEDOM, Nov. 30) have not fully grasped my position. My first letter (Nov. 9) argued that anarchism is incompatible with modern technological "progress"—not with tools or implements (such as improved bullock-drawn ploughs, nor even with machines *per se*). I defined "progress" as "the process of technological development and ever-increasing productivity started by the Industrial Revolution", and stated that this seems to be leading to the absorption of the individual by society. My second letter (Nov. 16) explained that the individual is being absorbed because "progress" expropriates him: society takes over all the means of production, so as to speed the accumulation process (to facilitate which is the sole object of "progress").

Papworth does not tackle this position at all. It does not imply, as he seems to think, that we must "turn our backs on machines", but it does imply, as he himself says, that the scale of modern economic operations is too big. If my position is correct we cannot reduce that scale without turning our backs, not on all machines, but on modern machines, on "progress". Does he dispute my position? If so, on what grounds?

I disagree with almost every sentence of F.B.'s letter. There is no reason to say "nothing short of complete annihilation of the species" can prevent mechanization developing. Who is to be the master, man or mechanization? If man, we can do what we like with mechanization. If not man, why bother with anarchism? There is no reason to think that economic equality would "assure absolute liberty" in a socialized world: economic equality is quite feasible under totalitarianism. Nor is it inevitable that individual owners of wealth should exploit one another; mutual aid is just as possible. Given an enlightened public opinion, laws and regulations are no more necessary with individual ownership than with collective ownership (which in any case is strictly a contradiction in terms). The accumulation process does not "become nonsense when wealth belongs equally to all" but remains a palpable fact, and a socialized world remains socialized however it is "interpreted".

One final point. However many mouths there may be to feed, if anarchism is incompatible with "progress" we must say so. It is absurd to modify or abandon our ideals under the sheer pressure of human numbers. Which is to settle the fate of man—his own aspirations after the good life, or the population statistics? Our task is to promote our ideals. Let the size of the population be determined by them!

Yours sincerely,  
FRANCIS ELLINGHAM.  
Bristol, 7. Dec. 6.

For free children

DEAR COMRADES,

A small group of people is endeavouring to set up an association of parents and others interested in freedom for children—particularly in education. Proposed activities open to suggestion at the moment, but they already run a summer camp, and have hopes of starting a school. Further details may be obtained from:— JACQUETTA BENJAMIN, 156 Bourne Terrace, London, W.2.

ANARCHIST FILM SOCIETY

First Meeting and film-show. Hornsey Town Hall, Small Theatre, Monday, December 23rd at 8 p.m. Members only. Subscribers admission 5/-... Enquiries G. W. McKie, c/o Freedom Press.

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Weeks 47, 48, 49	83	
		1,823
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Weeks 47-49 (14)	16	
		415
		2,238
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