

'Aldermaston . . . Symbol of our Unity of Purpose, but London is the Centre of Political Power'

WHICH ROAD FROM ALDERMASTON?

LAST year's march to Aldermaston was a simple, moving, demonstration to the people of this country and the world that some of us viewed human survival as more worthwhile than national pride. For by advocating unilateral nuclear disarmament for Britain they were in effect declaring that they were prepared to see this country excluded from the Executive of the Big Powers, and relegated to the ranks of the third-rate powers without a voice in the political "destinies" of the world. As a gesture, as an example for others to follow, the March was imaginative and positive.

Yesterday the marchers were again on the road. This year however they started in Aldermaston; their destination, London. For, in the words of the organisers

Aldermaston, the source of the weapons we oppose, has become a symbol of our unity of purpose, but London is the centre of political power which controls Aldermaston. This year, then, we march from Aldermaston to London.*

If Aldermaston has become the symbol of "our unity of purpose" what will London, "the centre of political power" become? The symbol of disunity?

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IF the March is not to become simply an annual airing for our consciences, a routine "must" for progressives, which will be as deadly and ineffectual as are the official Labour May Day parades, then it is more important that this year's March should be the occasion for earnest discussion among the marchers themselves than a demonstration to fire the imagination and win the support of the bystanders who will be met *en route*.

Since last Easter, the "unity" of the Campaign has been disturbed by

*Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Bulletin. January, 1959.

Fact or Fiction?

CLAIMING THE MOON

WASHINGTON, MARCH 6

The State Department's chief counsel, Mr. Loftus Becker, gravely informed a congressional committee today that neither Russia nor anyone else could claim the moon merely by planting a flag on it. Members were not convinced, however, and urged the conclusion of an international convention to govern "territorial claims" in outer space.

What was the position, they asked if private companies wished to launch satellites? The best advice Mr. Becker could give them was: Hire a lawyer.

The committee was in some geometrical difficulty about what would happen if national boundaries were extended into space. Senator Keating (Republican, New York) argued that, because of the curved face of the earth, extended boundaries, in the form of an "inverted cone", would overlap, with the result that more than one nation would be occupying the same air space.

Another member felt, on the contrary, that, if boundaries were projected upwards like columns, gaps would be left between them. But, asked Senator Keating, would not the rotation of the earth cause the columns to get mixed up?

A Republican colleague gave him "the full weight of my scientific ignorance", and the committee was about to vote on "gaps or overlaps" when someone thought of approaching the National Geographic Society for a ruling.

The Times 7/3/59

a small, active body of people calling themselves "The Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War" whose first public action directed to the Missile base at North Pickenham last December was given front-page prominence in the National Press and caused the respectable and responsible Executive Committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament such acute embarrassment that they found it necessary to issue a statement disassociating themselves from the rebels. It is worthwhile reprinting the statement for at the same time it summarises the Campaign's own position.

Supporters of nuclear disarmament have been widely criticised in the Press for abandoning the methods of persuasion and undertaking civil disobedience at the week-end demonstration at North Pickenham. I would, therefore, like to make the position of the Campaign clear.

We aim to change public opinion and the policies of the political parties through the usual democratic channels. We work in friendly co-operation with a number of other organisations, including the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War which was responsible for the demonstration at North Pickenham.

It is an entirely independent organisation with which we have co-operated on many projects, including the Aldermaston March and Vigil.

The National Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is not in favour of civil disobedience or sabotage so long as reasonable opportunities continue to exist for bringing democratic pressure on Parliament. It recognises that those taking part in the North Pickenham project did so in full knowledge of the risk involved of violence or legal action. We also realise that many who support our aims have been encouraged to take part in such activities through the failure of a great deal of the National Press to report either fairly or adequately our legitimate activities.†

Spurred on by the success of their first venture, the Direct Action Committee (which is composed of Pacifists, and whose vice-chairman, Hugh Brock, is editor of *Peace News*) has now launched a Voter's Veto campaign which aims at persuading people to vote only for candidates who declare that they will support the campaign for nuclear disarmament in the House of Commons irrespective of Party Whips and party policy. Where no candidate in a constituency is prepared to give this undertaking voters will abstain from voting altogether. North Pickenham was a youthful escapade which a disclaimer and the passing of time would help everybody to forget. But the Voters' Veto was really putting the cat among the political pigeons. On the brink of a general election these irresponsibles were launching a campaign which, if successful, would operate against the Labour vote and thereby assist the Tories into a third term of office!

†C. for N.D. Bulletin. December 1958.

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Not only did the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament issue a 4-page supplement to its February Bulletin reprinting the Direct Actionists' letter to the *New Statesman* and Benn Levy's reply which they stated "has the general support of the Executive Committee of the Campaign" but a number of "pacifist" and sympathetic M.P.s have expressed themselves, some of them more in anger than sorrow, in the columns of the *New Statesman* and *Peace News* on the dangers of the cam-

aign for a voters' veto.

It is significant that the circular letter addressed to all M.P.s and prospective candidates of the three main parties asking them whether they supported the unilateral nuclear disarmament campaign by Britain and if so whether they would be prepared to vote against nuclear weapons in the House of Commons "defying if necessary the Party line", has brought only 86 replies. Of these only 34 (31 Labour and 3 Liberal) M.P.s and candidates said they supported the policy of unilateral disarmament but only 6 Labour and 1 Liberal candidates said they would be willing, if necessary, to defy the party whip. Not one of the nine Labour M.P.s who replied in the affirmative to the first question would do likewise when it came to defying the party whip. And these nine include household names among pacifists such as Frank Allaun, Fenner Brockway, Emrys Hughes, Victor Yates and Reginald Sorenson!

In their canvassing of electors in the S.W. Norfolk by-election (the

Continued on p. 3

THE FALL-OUT IS FASTER

WHAT is known about the effects of nuclear explosions is bad enough. One of the frightening aspects, however, about the testing of nuclear weapons is that they are carried out precisely in order to find out what happens when the abominable things are exploded.

The scientists don't know. So they have to contaminate the atmosphere in order to find out about contamination of the atmosphere. It's rather like taking poison in order to find out what happens to you when you take poison.

And when they do find out, they don't tell anybody because the assumption is that the 'enemy' does not — or might not — know, and therefore their knowledge is top secret. We are not allowed to know what 'our' scientists are doing to us in case the scientists on the other side find out what they are doing to their own people. As if any of them care.

Little by little they are accumulating their grim knowledge. When they are sure the other side know it already and they feel it can be reassuring to the public they release it; when they feel the reverse, they hang on to it.

Desire to Boast

For the politicians, whose interest in scientific achievement is to be able to boast about it and use it to 'negotiate from strength', it is very galling at times to have to keep their mouths shut. Such a situation has just been relieved in America, where information has just been allowed to be released about a great achievement by American scientists.

Six months ago, in last September, the Americans carried out what they called 'Project Argus'. This was the explosion of a nuclear weapon at a height of 300 miles, and it has been

regarded as a historic project. Just what it adds up to in terms of anything worthwhile remains to be seen, but anyway those American politicians who knew about it were very frustrated at not being able to tell the world—or at least tell the Russians.

Now that the news has been released, however, it has been rather spoiled by being accompanied by more information regarding the rate of fall-out from nuclear explosions.

Information Suppressed

And this newest information has turned out to be disturbing for the inhabitants of North America. Disturbing not only for its content but also for the fact that it was originally suppressed by the U.S. Defence Department and Atomic Energy Commission.

Last week the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee (which is a joint committee from the House of Representatives and the Senate) declared that the American public was 'entitled' to certain information and forthwith released it, blaming

the Defence Department and the Atomic Energy Commission for suppressing it.

There seems to have been something odd going on in this whole business, for the information was originally given to the Congressional Committee by the two government bodies who then proceeded to suppress it! Yet when the Committee sought permission to release the information, it was granted!

It is all very odd, and can be explained only by the disturbing nature of the revelations for the people of America, for what they are now being told is that they are receiving on their heads a heavier concentration of radio-active fall-out than any other people anywhere in the world, and that Strontium 90 is falling-out much faster than was originally thought.

Maintaining Strontium 90

This information was given to the Congressional Atomic Energy Commission by Major-General Herbert Loper, a special adviser on atomic energy to the Secretary of Defence,

and by Dr. Willard Libby and Mr. A. R. Luedcke, both of the Atomic Energy Commission.

It consists mainly of the following points:

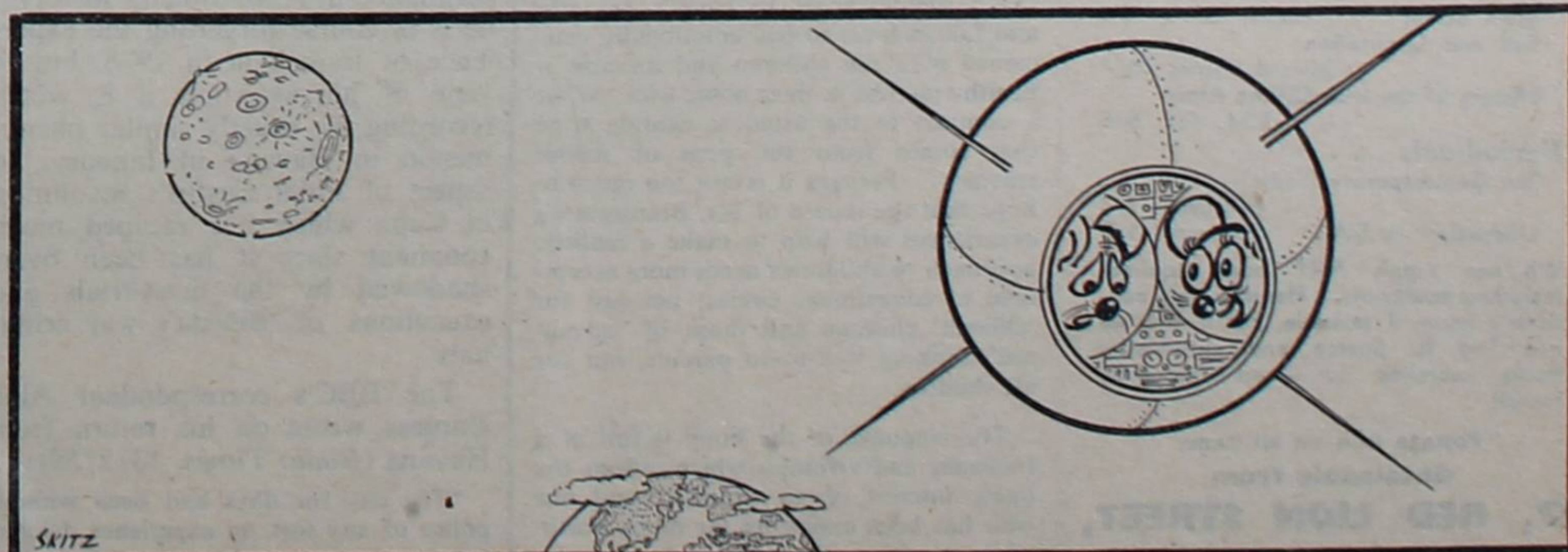
1. *Strontium 90, supposedly the deadliest radio-active by-product of nuclear explosions, stays up in the stratosphere not for seven years (as the A.E.C. has consistently maintained) but probably only for two, for four at most.*

2. *When it falls out, its concentration is heavier on the surface of the northern area of the United States than on any other part of the world.*

3. *Half the debris above the earth's atmosphere falls out in two years, another quarter in the next two years, and the rest in not more than another two years.*

4. *The existing density of Strontium 90 in the atmosphere can be maintained by discharging "about six megatons of fission products per year." In other words the amount of radio-activity would not increase, no matter how many nuclear tests were made if they did not in all release more than six megatons of fissionable products.*

Continued on p. 4



'Relax, Buster, it could be worse. They could have given us cancer!'

BOOK REVIEW

Brave New World Revisited

ALDOUS HUXLEY has a brilliant brother, Julian. They are the sons of Leonard Huxley who was the son of T. H. Huxley, so it is not surprising that one of Aldous Huxley's characteristics is a greater intellectual content than his creative work can sometimes stand.

After a succession of cynical "daring" novels he wrote, in 1932, "Brave New World" which was acclaimed as the first of the anti-utopias. The theory was that the socialists, the communists, the eugenicists and the scientists had written their Utopias and they had not seen the dangers therein. Huxley with his imaginative insight, wit and scientific background merely extended the lines of development and arrived at a "Brave New World" of eugenic conditioning, soma, hypnopedia and the managerial revolution. Those who have studied this matter know that Zamiatin's "We", Samuel Butler's "Erewhon" and much of "Gulliver's Travels" had already mapped this territory.

In *Brave New World Revisited** Huxley says that it was only in 1932 that Stalinism began to degenerate and he saw the rise of totalitarianism in Germany. Many of us, not least the anarchists, saw the seeds of destruction in 1919 and was there not Mussolini?

"Brave New World Revisited" presents the appearance of a series of magazine articles on the same theme strung together to form a book.

Huxley's main problem is the population question which he claims leads to over-organization and the decline of freedom. He has heard of the oral pill, but he does not think that this method of

*Chatto, 12s. 6d.

birth-control is widely practicable. Also he would seem to have little hope from methods of quantitative or qualitative improvement of food production.

On the other hand, Huxley sees a danger in the dysgenic growth of population through the introduction of wider health services which ensure the survival of the unfittest and the destruction of the system of checks and balances which lead to the growth of a sub-standard population. We have seen the growth of 20th century plagues of T.B., cancer, duodenal ulcers and neuroses which seem to be the diseases of civilization; it is possible that we are not, on balance, as healthy as we think we are. It is highly probable that the free society will have the problem of dysgenics to work out on the only safe basis: that of the parents and the child.

Huxley finds in this over-population the cause of the popular acceptance of the 'Power Elite' form of government. It is arguable whether the industrial revolution produced the large population or the large population the industrial revolution. In any case a measure of responsibility can be placed at the doors of Nationalism and the Catholic Church with their doctrines of large families. He points out his agreement with Fromm, that we live in a sick and insane society and since the advocated cure seems to be 'adaptation' this is merely hiding the leaf in a forest.

Propaganda is, Huxley notes, a need of this age of mass-media of communication. He laments the growth of mere distraction into a form of 'opium of the people'. He stresses the factor of the irrelevance of the 'mass media'. (In dealing with this book before the London

Anarchist Group I specifically stressed the point of the triviality of the Press, in the presence of a reporter from the *Evening Standard*—for their confirmation of this, see their report of the meeting!)

Huxley goes on to examine totalitarian propaganda—and picks as an example, Hitler. But Hitler had great admiration for American advertising and Bolshevik and British war propaganda. Hitler was not a *tabula rasa* on to which new ideas which were thrown; he merely used the ideas which were available already. Josef Goebbels, the Minister of Enlightenment was trained by the Jesuits.

Motivational research was the gift of the psychologists to the only art which the second half of the 20th century has produced: the Art of Selling. Huxley refers to Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, Ph.D. as the alliance of business and psychology in selling 'hope' to the public. He instances the growth of the singing commercial as a development of the singing devotional—the hymn and the psalm, the singing military-marching song, the singing patriotics for promoting group solidarity. The application of the commercial art to the political field has made Hux-

ley's dictum that 'self-government is in inverse ratio to numbers' fully true.

The further development of propaganda is investigated by Huxley in his examination of brain-washing with its examples in Korea. This is shown to be a further development of Pavlov's conditioned reflex theory. This is an accepted technique. Huxley refers to chemical persuasion and to the growing use of tranquilizers which seem to have been foretold by 'soma'.

The next point examined by Huxley is the possibilities of subconscious persuasion, in particular the mechanism of subliminal projection. This technique has been spectacular enough to call 'halt' from the liberal press, but Huxley points out that whilst this method is only in its experimental stage the uses of persuasion-by-association is commonplace. The association of cheese-cake and cleavage, of puppy dogs and of country scenes with commercial products is as blatant an exploitation of the subconscious as the evocative symbols and slogans of political leaders.

Hypnopedia, or sleep-teaching, has been used, finds Huxley, on a limited scale and with the limited possibilities of hypnotism. A development of the same field of research is, in medicine, the provision of placebos (a substance which the patient believes to be an active drug)

which has been found to relieve a large proportion of patients.

Huxley sees all these tendencies developing in the Brave New World of today and believes that the individual is nevertheless, still the important factor rather than environment or society. He believes that individuals are widely differentiated and that societies are only *ad hoc* machines for collective living. An education for freedom should stress the value of individual freedom, and diversity, the value of compassion, and the value of intelligence, "without which love is impotent and freedom unattainable. This set of values will provide us with a criterion by which propaganda may be judged." He stresses that individuals should be trained to analyse propaganda.

It is unfortunate from the anarchist outlook that Aldous Huxley believes that one can legislate for freedom. He believes that the mind should be legally protected from assault. He believes in a *habeas mentem* as well as a *habeas corpus*, but it is precisely the legislators who are assaulting the minds of the people and who is to legislate against them?

He feels that the problem of large populations is almost insoluble. This is, I think, too pessimistic a view. In his final examination of problems he concurs with the anarchist advocacy of decentralization and the book concludes:

"... Meanwhile there is still some freedom left in the world. Many young people, it is true, do not seem to value freedom. But some of us still believe that, without freedom, human beings cannot become fully human and that freedom is therefore supremely valuable. Perhaps the forces that now menace freedom are too strong to be resisted for very long. It is still our duty to do whatever we can to resist them."

This book has been attacked by the *New Statesman* and the *Daily Worker* as being too pessimistic but I do not feel this to be a fault for as Thomas Hardy says, "If a way to the better there be, it entails a full look at the worst" and anarchism has long looked on the worst that the State can do. J.R.

Concentration Camp Victims

DEAR EDITORS,

May I draw the attention of any FREEDOM readers who may not know of it to the work of the Ryder Cheshire Foundation for helping concentration camp victims?

After 14 years of peace, 1100 of these are still in camps in deplorable conditions and with a hopeless outlook. The RCF is organising a mass protest to the German government, and is trying to get 8,000,000 signatures.

Full details, and forms for collecting signatures, can be obtained from Rev. R. Stanley Roberts, 7, Market Mews, London, W.1.

Fraternally,
Birmingham, Mar. 15. A. R. LACEY.

A GOOD TEACHER

TO SIR, WITH LOVE, by E. R. Braithwaite. Bodley Head, 13s. 6d.

READERS of FREEDOM will probably have heard of a state school in the East End of London where the late headmaster, on taking it over at the end of the war, tried to put as many of the ideas of free education into practice as the situation permitted. It is to this courageous experiment that 'Greenslade School' of Mr. Braithwaite's narrative bears close resemblance.

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Periodicals . . .

The Contemporary (India) February 1/3
Liberation (U.S.A.) February 1/9

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He is a Negro from British Guiana, and had hoped, after being demobbed from the Air Force, to make a career in skilled engineering. Then came disillusionment. Believing in the tolerance and fairness of the British people (they had not objected to Negroes on air crews!) he experienced the shock of being turned down for posts for which he was well qualified, and refused more lowly employment because of his intelligence. For a long time no solution seemed possible, until at last a chance acquaintance suggested that it might be worth trying teaching. To his surprise, his application was readily accepted, and he was appointed to Greenslade School.

The interest grows more intense as he traces the progress of his relationships with his class of forty East End children during their last year before leaving school. The headmaster made punishments out of the question, but the reactions of the pupils to Mr. Braithwaite's first attempts to teach them led him to adopt a stern attitude at times. Despite this, his sincerity and understanding made it possible for class and teacher to arrive at a good relationship from which both obviously derived great benefit. The sufferings which must have forced themselves into the life of an intelligent and qualified man rejected by potential employers seemed to help him to understand the problems of the teenagers he was teaching.

Interwoven with the unfolding of classroom experiences are comments on the life of a Negro in England, and the story of his love for one of his female colleagues, whom he eventually marries. It is a wonderful experience to read a book of this type, both for the sake of the man behind it, and the trend which it might represent.

The author writes as if it were a perfectly natural thing for a Negro to be teaching in an English school, and apart from nationality, as if it were natural for a schoolteacher to have a sex life and fall in love; to feel emotionally concerned with the children and to show a healthy interest in their home lives. What a contrast to the usual nauseating tripe that comes from the pens of school teachers! Perhaps it is not too much to hope that the record of Mr. Braithwaite's experiences will help to make a realistic approach to children's needs more acceptable in educational circles; not just for 'difficult' children and those of "advanced" thinking well-to-do parents, but for all children.

The language of the book is full of a freshness and vividness which reflects the lively interest of an explorer, and one who has been exploring far more worthwhile territory than the more popular variety. If only there were more such teachers! P.H.

Non-Conformist Christians

THE EVANGELISTS, by G. W. Target. Duckworth, 12s. 6d.

AN interesting aspect of contemporary English novels and plays is the way in which they reveal the diversity of culture and tradition within English society. It remains to be seen whether an author will be found to throw some light on the relationships between these traditions, but a whole series have described independently, on various levels, the worlds of the "debs", of politicians, of modern business men, of homosexuals, and of angry young men. For his first novel G. W. Target has chosen to depict an episode among a set of people who have been declining in numbers and influence for half a century—non-conformist Christians, about whom we have been reading so much recently.

The principal character is a missionary returning to England on leave, to discover the Message, and the movement to which he has given his life, in the all-pervading grip of an American evangelist using the high pressure techniques of big time advertising. The developing tension in the mind of the dour pastor runs through the story. There are several very dramatically written passages in which he is tormented by thoughts of the hatefulness and spiritual deadness of the crowds seeking a "nice time" in the evening streets of London, reminiscent of the Free Cinema film, and he regards the message of the evangelistic campaign as

a part of the deadness. Anarchists can say the atheist equivalent of "Amen" to that, but would hardly agree with the implication which seems uppermost in the book, that there is a relative depth and satisfactoryness about the ordinary chapel type of religion.

At times the conversation seems artificial, with everyone talking in protracted metaphors and biblical quotations; but deducting a little for exaggeration the shallowness and one-track way of thought of these kinds of people is clearly brought out. One is reminded that there are still whole sections of people where church-going, chastity, and spanking of children are regarded as 'normal'. What the novel lacks most is a variety of characters. Besides the clashing evangelists, all but two are pillars of the faith, and these are neither sufficiently free from it nor given sufficiently full roles to hold the interest of a reader not particularly interested in the internal problems of non-conformity. In compensation, the simplicity of plot and concentration on the most important person led to a quickly moving story, difficult to put down.

To anyone who has spent a couple of childhood years in the company of non-conformists Mr. Target's book evokes vivid memories of their typical good and bad points, but I am not sure whether it would do so to one completely strange to this 'sub-culture' of England. P.H.

CUBA

Brief Honeymoon with Anarchy

ONE of the remarkable things about the 1956 revolutions in Poland and Hungary, noted by the Oxford economist Peter Wiles (who was in Poznan at the time of the riots and in Hungary as soon as the Austrian frontier was opened), was what he called their astonishing moral purity. "Poland had less of a chance to show this than Hungary, where for weeks there was no authority. In a frenzy of anarchist self-discipline the people, including the criminals, stole nothing, beat no Jews, and never got drunk".

When Mr. Wiles declares that "the moral achievement is perhaps unparalleled in revolutionary history", he is of course forgetting the experience of Barcelona in 1936, but in view of his assertion it is worth recording the exactly similar phenomenon in Havana in January, an aspect of Fidel Castro's revolution in Cuba which has escaped much comment since it has been overshadowed by the mass-trials and executions of Batista's war criminals.

The BBC's correspondent Alan Burgess wrote on his return from Havana (*Radio Times*, 13/2/59):

"The city for days had been without police of any sort, an experience delightful for everyone. Motorists—and considering that they were Cubans this was miraculous—behaved in an orderly man-

ner. Industrial workers, with points to make, demonstrated in small groups, dispersed and went home; bars closed when the customers had had enough and no one seemed more than nominally merry. Havana, heaving up after years under a vicious and corrupt police control, smiled in the hot sunshine".

Similarly Robert Lyon, Executive Secretary of the New England office of the American Friends Service Committee, declared (*Peace News*, 20/2/59) that "There are no police anywhere in the country, but the crime rate is lower than it has been in years."

When the new régime of President Urratia builds up its own machinery of repression it will do so announcing the necessity of maintaining order and avoiding chaos, and people will cherish the interregnum of elation and spontaneity merely as a memory of a time when, as George Orwell said of revolutionary Spain, there was "a feeling of having equality and freedom" when "human beings were trying to behave as human beings."

You might think that in the study of human behaviour and social relations these moments of time when society is held together by the cement of human solidarity alone, without the dead weight of power and authority, would have been studied and analysed with the aim

of discovering a new kind of 'norm' whose preconditions could be set out as a desirable goal for people seeking an increase in social spontaneity. These moments are surely of immense interest at the very least, if only for criminologists. Yet you never find them discussed in the texts of social psychology, and you find them described in the journalists' accounts, only as a background to some more sensational aspect of a revolutionary situation.

In his address to the conference on *Art, Science and Education* last year, James Hemming remarked that,

"Up and down our society—and beyond it, between the nations—we can observe a rampant competition for status and power. Every day is tormented by endless, uncouth, and often ruthless jockeying for position. You cannot have power relationships and love relationships at the same time, and the power relationships have it."

The power relationships have it, and though one could hardly describe the brief revolutionary euphoria of Havana's honeymoon with anarchy while the tommy-guns rattled behind the sports stadium, as a triumph of love relationships, it provides a glimpse, as such moments always do, of a *different kind* of behaviour between human beings. C.W.

Which Road from Aldermaston?

Continued from p. 1

results of which will be known only after we go to press) they seem to have had more success, with 165 supporting voters' veto and a further 104 who support Nuclear Disarmament "considering withholding their votes" out of 1,186 people so far canvassed. But for voters' veto to be more than a symbol, the Direct Action Committee would need thousands of canvassers operating throughout the country simultaneously. And we believe that long before that situation was reached voters' veto would have become redundant!

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WHILST it is not difficult for us to feel much sympathy for, and closer to, the workers in the Direct Action Committee than for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, we must recognise—with regret—that basically both organisations have not only aims in common but rely on the same means for achieving them. However much the Campaign for N.D. disowns the civil-disobedience and decries the voters' veto campaign of the Direct Actionists both organisations look to Parliament to legislate for unilateral nuclear disarmament. The Campaign for N.D. talk of "changing . . . the policies of the political parties through the usual democratic channels" while the D.A. Committee in the opening paragraph of its most recent statement on the "Political Implications of a Voters' Veto" declares

The campaign against nuclear weapons is a rebellion against a national policy based on preparation for genocide . . . the H-bomb is the supremely important moral issue of today. But this is a political as well as a moral issue. Eventually it is a British Government acting in the name of the British people that will renounce the Bomb. The rebellion has got to be taken directly into politics. (Our italics).

Where the two organisations disagree is on the tactics to be adopted at this Stage. The National Campaign for N.D. on the one hand

is not in favour of civil disobedience or sabotage so long as reasonable opportunities continue to exist for bringing democratic pressure to bear on Parliament . . . (our italics).

The Direct Action Committee, on the other hand, declare:

Not only have we been disenfranchised to a large extent, but so also have our representatives in Parliament. Vital decisions are made in closed meetings . . . In this situation the people must take action, and assert their right to have a voice in matters most vitally affecting them. Where the constitution ceases to give them this right, the people are only exercising their democratic prerogative in taking non-violent action to exert pressure on the Government. (Our italics).

It seems clear to us that, on paper at least, they disagree on tactics because they cannot agree as to how democratic or undemocratic are the Parliamentary- and Party- machines!

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WE think it not difficult to chart the course of the National Campaign for N.D. So long as the money comes in it will proceed in a vicious circle of hope in Labour, and once Labour is in power (and Mr. Bevan eloquently pleads for the H-bomb as the most potent weapon for world peace in his armoury), the Campaign will be split from top to bottom and die from neglect!

Much more difficult to prophesy

is the future of the D.A. Committee, for its course is uncertain. North Pickenham was a carefully prepared and admirably executed demonstration which not only drew attention to the building of a missile base, but, more important, showed how precariously balanced is Authority with all its forces of law and order, and its armed forces. A mere handful of determined people refusing to play the game according to the rules could upset them all from the Home Secretary to the magistrates, from Chief-Constables to ordinary coppers! Imagine the effect of a hundred North Pickenhams every week, requiring fewer people than will be marching from Aldermaston this week-end!

Whatever may have been the motives of the organisers of the N. Pickenham demonstration, its impact was a moral, a-political one. It made people aware of the power that is in each of us if we choose to use it. And because the demonstrators were ordinary human beings, some with families (and all that is implied in the way of "responsibilities") who were prepared to spend a public holiday in prison, their action could not but give strength to others through their example. This to our minds is the seed of rebellion not just against nuclear weapons, but against authority, of which Parliament is the living symbol.

For this reason it is difficult to find a connecting link between N. Pickenham and Voters' Veto. One can only suggest that the success at the Missile Base went to our friends' heads! For the first action depended on the determination of those who took part, whereas the second requires a huge political machine and a millionaire's Press if it is even to dent the Establishment. The first is within the compass of any determined human being; the second smells a bit of political vanity and ambition. And if Voters' Veto is in fact a political campaign then it is doomed to failure (surely, the response to the D.A. Committee's circular letter to M.P.s and candidates should convince them of that?) . . . and the Direct Action Committee with it.

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WE imagine that only a few of those of us taking part in the Aldermaston March have any illusions as to the influence such a demonstration will have on British "Defence" policy. On the other hand, we are not suggesting that since it has no effect on the government it is a waste of energy. There are times when the importance of an action is for oneself. For some the very fact of having broken away from the routine pattern of life to take part in this March; for others the effort of will needed to join in a demonstration for the first time in their lives, are all positive steps in the direction of "rebellion" against the Establishment. But for the rest of us, as we suggested at the outset, this March though in the opposite direction is along the same road as last year: A.4 for the motorist, the reformist road for the majority of progressives! Last year it got us nowhere, and unless our thinking follows other roads it will get us nowhere this year!

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THE prospect of abolishing nuclear weapons in a foreseeable future is remote indeed, even assuming that one persuaded the Government of this country to disarm unilaterally. The threat of fall-out from tests, or annihilation as a result of nuclear war between Russia and the United States remain. Even assuming that all countries agreed to nuclear disarmament, that is no guarantee, for as Bertrand Russell pointed out in the House of Lords debate on the subject last month

I have said over and over again, although I do not seem to be noticed when I say it, that it is not enough to ban nuclear weapons. If you ban nuclear weapons completely, and even destroy all the existing stocks, they will be manufactured again if war breaks out. The thing you have to do is to ban war. . . .

The Aims of Anarchism

ANARCHISM (from the Greek an-, and archia, contrary to authority), is the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government—harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilised being . . .

—"Encyclopedia Britannica", 11th Edition.

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THE desirability of a society without authority has found expression throughout human history, from Lao-Tse in ancient China and Zeno of Kitium in classical Greece, to its first systematic formulation in William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* in 1793, and its elaboration in different directions during the nineteenth century by Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin. Today small and scattered groups of anarchists exist throughout the world, from Siberia to South America. Their numerical strength is impossible to ascertain, for the anarchists are not a party, membership cards and voting papers do not appeal to them. Since they are seeking not power but personal autonomy, they are not concerned with counting heads, or crosses on ballot papers, but in awakening men and women to personal and social independence and responsibility.

Looking at history, the anarchists see two recurring tendencies: the tradition of authority, hierarchy, the state, and that of liberty, free association, society. The distinction between the state and society, between the political principle and the

social principle is crucial to anarchist thought. In Tom Paine's graphic anti-thesis:

"Society is produced by our wants and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness positively by uniting our affections; the latter negatively by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. The first is a patron, the last a punisher. Society in every state is a blessing; but government even in its best state is a necessary evil . . . Government, like dress, is the badge of our lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradise."

The anarchists go further than this, seeing government as an unnecessary evil, and to the objection that anarchy, however desirable, would only be possible if all men were angels, they reply with William Morris's phrase that no man is good enough to be another man's master. It is precisely because all men are fallible, that none should be trusted with the government of others, and that none should surrender their power over themselves to others.

Different Trends

Three main trends can be seen in classical anarchism: that of *anarchist-communism* associated with Bakunin and Kropotkin, which beside the usual criticism of the state, its punitive and property systems, postulates the *commune*, the local association for the organisation of social amenities and services as the basis of a free society through territorial and regional federations; *anarcho-syndicalism* which reached its greatest constructive success in revolutionary Spain in 1936, which sees the struggle for workers' control of the means of production as the key to the transformation of society; the *individualist anarchism* which puts its emphasis on the autonomy of self-realisation of the person. In this trend several schools of thought can be discerned, that of pure individualism represented by thinkers like Thoreau and the German philosopher of "conscious egoism" Max Stirner; another developing from the American Josiah Warren whose ideas, blended with the *mutualism* of Proudhon and the individualism of Herbert Spencer, formed the basis of the thinking of Benjamin Tucker, while there is also the trend of ethical or religious anarchism represented by Tolstoy.

What unites these differing trends is their repudiation of the state and of the political struggle for the control of the state machine. Most would accept Marx's definition of the state as "the executive committee of the ruling class" but all would repudiate the Marxist metaphysics of the conquest of state power as the precondition of its "withering away". (And

I. War and Peace

One of the characteristics of governments is their maintenance of what Martin Buber calls the "latent external crisis", the fear of an external enemy, by which they maintain their ascendancy over their own subjects. This has in our day become the major activity of governments and their biggest field of expenditure and effort, reaching the stage in which they propose to decimate each others populations at the touch of a button. War is the trade of governments, and obviously the anarchists support, in common with the pacifists, all anti-war activities, but they can hardly be expected to see anything but illusions in the calls for a "summit conference" or the signing of petitions. The petitions go to the wrong address; they should be addressed not to governments but to people.

We have to build up a disobedient and unreliable public, widening and deepening the impulses which find expression in campaigns like that for nuclear disarmament. War is not the result of the H-bomb, the H-bomb is the logical outcome of war, which in turn is only possible because governments are able to harness their obedient peoples to it. But there are deeper causes: not merely the clash of ideologies, the division of the world

the history of the Soviet Union confirms Bakunin's prophetic analysis of the future of Marxism in his disputes with Marx's faction in the First International in the eighteen-seventies). In other respects the teachings of the classical anarchists differ. Proudhon, for instance, first attacked the notion of private property with his famous dictum "Property is theft", but later took the view that "property is freedom", though it is obvious that in the first instance he was talking of the private ownership of social assets, and in the second, of a man's possession of his house or small-holding. The important thing, however, in the consensus of anarchist teachings, is not the notion of *ownership* but that of *access* to the means of production. Similarly, on the question of exchange: some anarchist thinkers have repudiated the idea of money, others have regarded money as the most convenient mechanism of exchange but have repudiated the notion of interest, others have evolved systems of 'labour tickets', while others have boldly proclaimed, like Kropotkin, that there is enough of everything for everybody, and have supported the principle of "to each according to his needs, from each according to his abilities."

Changing Emphasis

Different stages in the social evolution of various countries during the last hundred years have reflected themselves in the changing emphasis in anarchist ideas. Free associations of independent producers, mass movements among industrial workers designed to culminate in the syndicalist theory of the social general strike, independent co-operative communities, campaigns of civil disobedience and war resistance, the formulation of social utopias, have all been responses to current social and political conditions, as were the desperate struggles of the anarchists in actual revolutionary situations in Russia and the Ukraine, Germany, Mexico and Spain.

Today it is not possible to speak, with the confident revolutionary optimism of our nineteenth century predecessors, of the imminent elimination of capitalism and the state, and of the ending of the triple tyranny of warrior, jailor and priest over mankind. The experiences of our own day have given us a healthy suspicion of rhetoric and of universal panaceas. We have seen too many and we know too much.

What are we to say, here in Britain in the second half of the twentieth century? We are a tiny minority of disaffected citizens in the centre of a diminishing empire, whose economic structure is still geared to its obsolete role as 'workshop of the world', a junior partner of one of the two contending power-blocs, whose war machines are geared to the mechanics of mutual destruction, while internally two equally balanced parties squabble over whether or not the steel industry should be in the hands of private capitalism or of state capitalism. What is the role of the anarchists in such a society? Can we draw up, not a programme, but simply a list, of those fields where anarchist activity will be useful and where, according to personal predilection or opportunity, we can promote our ideas?

into haves and have-nots, nor the problems of over-population which drove, for instance Japan into imperialistic adventures, but the deep disatisfactions and frustrations that make war preferable to peace for millions of people. Every day you meet people who look back to the last war not as a remembered horror but with a fond nostalgia. The general state of opinion on minor wars like the Suez invasions or the Cyprus war which was switched off like a light when it suited the government, will tell you that war is tolerated because it is found tolerable. We have to uncover the dulled and muffled nerve of moral and social responsibility which will make it intolerable.

2. The Person and the Family

The mass of mankind, Thoreau observed tartly, lead lives of quiet desperation. Is this why we tolerate war—as an exciting break in meaningless routine? And yet who but ourselves has decreed the situation in which work is drained of meaning and purpose except as a source of income or status, marriage and the family a trap, leisure a desperate attempt to stave off boredom? Look around you

Continued on p. 4

The Fall-Out Is Faster Continued from p. 1

It would not increase, but it would clearly not decrease either. But in any case, what concerns us is not the radio-activity in the atmosphere at any given time but the amount of radio-active material which finds its way to earth and passes into the soil, to eventually find its way into our food and into our bones.

If the Strontium 90 in the atmosphere is maintained, it is so only by replacing (by releasing not more than 'six megatons of fissionable products') that which falls to earth.

Only 1 in 500,000

However we should feel reassured that the effects do not add greatly to the normal hazards of modern life. In concluding his evidence to the Congressional Committee, Major-General Loper added:

"The danger of carbon 14 and cesium 137, other radio-active by-products of tests, has also been examined and the immediate possibility of any one individual being affected is about one in 500,000... the risk of damage resulting from the testing of weapons, is therefore extremely small and much less than other everyday occurrences such as X-rays, automobiles, chemical contaminants, household cleaners, etc. However, the probable casualties attributable to radio isotopes from weapons testing, when summed over the population of thousands of years, creates a moral issue that could be of considerable propaganda importance."

It could indeed, and that of course is precisely why the government departments hesitated so long in releasing this new information.

Unfortunately, making propaganda seems to be more important than doing anything to halt the contamination of the atmosphere and the earth. Both America and Russia have used the issue of H-Bomb tests to make propaganda against each other, Russia particularly cashing in on its announced and hypocritical decision to 'suspend' tests a year ago.

Propaganda Fraud

As was pointed out at the time, the Russians made their announcement after the completion of a long series of tests. They would in any case, therefore, have sat back to sift, collate and digest the information those tests provided.

How much a fraud their 'suspension' was became clear last October, six months after their announcement, when they embarked upon another series of tests—and this time of H-bombs so 'dirty' that it is alleged they increased the concentra-

tion of Strontium 90 in the atmosphere by nearly 50 per cent.

This was claimed by Dr. Libby who is now speaking from a moral position, since the USA announced last September that they were suspending nuclear tests for a year!

In presenting this information, Dr. Libby also noted a new theory that radioactive debris from nuclear explosions near the poles drifts down to the earth much faster than fall-out from explosions near the equator. If the theory is correct, strontium 90 and other harmful isotopes from Soviet tests in October will sprinkle the earth heavily during the next several months, while the radioactive rubbish from American and British tests—both made nearer the equator than the Russian ones—will be spread over a longer period.

As long as it remains within the Earth's atmosphere, what goes up must come down. We get it anyway and it makes no difference whether it results from one of 'ours' or one of 'theirs'. What would make a difference would be for sanity to prevail and these filthy weapons to be abolished altogether.

No Bids for Krupps Empire

DURING their occupation of Germany, the Allies made an order aiming to prevent too great a concentration of economic power in the hands of the industrialists—like Krupp—who backed Hitler.

Five years ago Krupp was given five years' notice to sell part of his vast empire. The time has now expired but, as was to be expected, Krupp has found no bidders.

The only firms who could bid for Krupp properties are themselves—like Thyssen and Kloeckner—in the same position. No smaller German industrialist would risk displeasing Krupp by relieving him of part of his property.

In any case, now that the West is concerned to have a strong Germany, complete with army, again, nothing will be done to weaken the firms who have most experience and resources.

When Germany became sovereign, responsibility for enforcing the sale devolved on the German Government. It has done nothing about it, except to put pressure on the ex-Allied governments to squash the order, which, anyway, allowed for two extensions of one year if no buyers appeared.

Within another two years the order will be squashed, Krupp need have no fear. The international solidarity of the capitalist class can be relied upon to protect his interests.

Calling Subscribers!

During the past fortnight we have sent out more than 500 renewal notices to readers whose subscriptions to FREEDOM have expired. An encouraging number of readers have already replied but we are still waiting to hear from many more. Please give this matter your early attention and so help to ensure that FREEDOM carries on its regular publication.

..& Sympathisers

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The Aims of Anarchism Continued from p. 3

at the domestic resentments, the glum faces emerging from factory and office into the tedium of the rush-hour journey home, the frantic consumption at the behest of the Ad-men. How desperately we need to find different ways of life which will liberate instead of imprisoning the individual. And how we need the anarchists to experiment with new ways of living, a new assertion of individual values, more dignity and more satisfaction in daily life.

3. Work and Industry

At one time, forty years ago, there was a strong syndicalist stream in the trade union movement, calling for workers' control of industry. It died away, as the industrial workers pinned their faith on the Labour Party's programme of nationalisation and concentrated on winning a bigger slice of the capitalist cake. One of the most formidable tasks before us is to rekindle the urge for responsibility and autonomy in industry: to put workers' control back on the agenda. In this we should draw on the findings of industrial psychologists, and seek as allies, automation and the new sources of motive power, which make great concentrations of industrial units obsolete. The means for achieving workers' control in industry will follow the emergence of the demand for it.

4. Crime and Punishment

To anarchist thinkers from Godwin onwards, crime has been, not the manifestation of individual wickedness, but a symptom of social disease—of material and spiritual poverty and deprivation. From Kropotkin, with his study of *Organised Vengeance Called Justice* and his dictum that prisons are the universities of crime to Alex Comfort's modern studies of delinquency, the anarchists have opposed the system of retributive justice which creates more criminals than it cures, and have sought the identification and elimination of the causes of crime. A multitude of empirical and experimental evidence has been gathered, even officially, in support of this view,

and there is here an immense field for anarchist effort in changing the social climate and public attitudes.

5. Education

The topics already mentioned all have implications in the world of education, which is everybody's business. There have been in this century great changes in educational theory and practice, which represent a partial and incomplete, if unacknowledged victory for ideas which are libertarian in origin. We are however, at present in a period when the more sophisticated educational theorists are almost joining hands with those who never got that far, in reacting against the alleged influences of the advocates of freedom in education. Social pressures and parental 'status-anxiety', together with a new-found official concern over technical education which is a reflection of international industrial competition, are already impinging on those partial advances, and are even affecting the primary school curriculum. The anarchist movement, which has included some very acute educational thinkers, needs urgently to re-define and re-assert its educational ideas in the light of modern research, and to counter the counter-revolution in educational thought, pointing out that the trouble with 'child-centred' education is not that it has gone too far, but that it has not gone far enough, and, in fact, in many schools, has not even started.

6. Decentralisation and Autonomy

The modern state is infinitely more centralised and ubiquitous than that of the time of the classical anarchists. It has also usurped many of those functions which belong to society, and which Kropotkin, for instance, in his *Mutual Aid*, listed as evidence of the innate sociality of man which makes the imposition from above of state organisation unnecessary. In social organisation and in industry, and consequently in the distribution of population, centralisation has been the great characteristic of modern life, and

one which militates against the possibility of an anarchist society. The tendency itself is, however, one which changes in means of communication and in sources of motive power have already rendered obsolete, and there is a wealth of sociological data to demonstrate how undesirable it is in human terms. The anarchists and those who think like them on this issue have to change the centralising habit of mind for one which seeks decentralisation and devolution, pressing for more and more local autonomy in all aspects of life.

7. The World Outside

Nothing stands still. The great monolith of the Soviet empire is by no means so monolithic as it was. A generation is growing up who are bored and dissatisfied by the chanting of Marxist slogans, and who are equally unimpressed by the "free enterprise" of the West. The workers' councils which sprang up in Poland and Hungary in the revolutionary period of 1956, Tito's fears that his officially-sponsored version of syndicalism from above will get out of hand and turn into the real thing, the "silent pressures from below" in the Soviet Union itself, indicate how tendencies which have more in common with anarchism than with socialism are ready to spring into life sooner or later. The tendencies in India represented by Vinoba Bhave's *Bhoodan* movement and Jayaprakash Narayan's departure from politics to the more 'real' field of community development, the moral example of Danilo Dolci's activities in Sicily, all such movements indicate a possible role for the anarchists as "the conscience of the left" outside of and independent of the struggle for power which canalises the activities of so many socially conscious people into sterile political posturing.

In the newly independent countries, and in those still struggling for independence from colonialism, anarchism represents a fruitful alternative to the enormous waste of human effort involved in seeking to imitate the rival governmental system of East and West. As they struggle to raise their people from poverty and hunger, how can we persuade the educated minority in these countries, looking to the privileged nations for aid and for ideas, that, better than the aim of becoming Attorney-General or boss of the Sugar Industry in some nominally independent nation-state, with its air force and its national anthem, is the task of building autonomous communities of independent men and women, seeking to run their own lives and control their own destinies, a task which is that of the anarchists everywhere? C.W.

'A Heart-Warming Success Story'

Adventure Playground

An article in our issue for Sept. 6th, last year, described the origin and growth of the "adventure playground" movement in this country and abroad, and mentioned the highly successful activities of the Lollard Adventure Playground in Lambeth. We reprint below an account of this playground which appeared as a leading article in the *Evening Standard* recently.

ON a cleared bomb-site off Lambeth Walk a playground for the young reaches out to help the old. When the Lollard Adventure playground opened four years ago on the desolate rubble-strewn space where Lollard Street School had once stood, it was just a different kind of place for the local children to play.

The difference was remarkable enough. The new playground made use of its

desolation. It was no asphalted swing-park, but a place where children could dig and light fires, build and explore—a playground that was in fact, a challenge.

Building Operations

The bigger boys built their own hut there which they fitted out as a workshop. In the summer children of all ages camped in tents on the turf they had laid themselves, cooked over their own fires and built two-storey wooden houses under the watchful eye of the warden. Mr. Herbert Turner.

The emphasis has always been very much on do-it-yourself. Painting, pottery, woodwork, gardening and carpentry have taken their places alongside football and cowboys and Indians as playground pastimes. There are holes in the ground to crawl through, a sandpit for toddlers and a hut which is used as a nursery for small children whose mothers do not want to drag them through the crowded Lambeth streets as they shop.

Recently Mr. Turner, a cheerful ex-schoolmaster with an untidy mop of greying hair, has begun a new chapter in the playground's history. The older children no longer come to Lollard Street just to amuse themselves. They come willingly and eagerly to serve the community in which they live.

Decorating Teams

Old age pensioners are their special concern. Teams of boys go out from Lollard Street to redecorate pensioners' homes, repair their furniture and do small building and electrical jobs in the little yellow-brick houses of Lambeth and beyond. Girls make curtains and chair-covers and do mending jobs. They do the work for nothing—and even pay for the materials from a fund which they save themselves.

The tale of the children who came to play and stayed to serve is an unusual and heart-warming success story.

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MAR. 29.—No meeting

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