

'England has become a nation of thieves. Everybody is trying to rob everybody else, and that not bravely and strongly, but in the cowardly and loathsome ways of lying trade.'

JOHN RUSKIN

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MARCH 18 1961 Vol 22 No 10

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

AS we write (Monday night) the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, after seven hours of debate on the issue of South Africa's membership of the Club, had not come to a decision when they adjourned their talks until the following day. While we do not think the outcome of these talks is in any way of world shattering importance, it would perhaps be better for world opinion if Verwoerd and his gang were excluded from the Commonwealth on the issue of Apartheid than that they should be extended the good neighbour treatment. That is, since world opinion is influenced by governments, if the Commonwealth countries show their disapproval of apartheid by excluding S. Africa one can hope that racial tensions among the ordinary people of the world will be eased rather than increased. Perhaps the clumsiness in expressing ourselves betrays our complete lack of faith in these top level meetings, or in the real and lasting influences that any pronouncement on the evils of apartheid, by government leaders, will have on the blind racialists in every strata of our society.

We have just been reading a letter in the *Railway Review*, presumably from a railwayman, which breathes

more racial venom than anything Verwoerd has said or believes. It is worth reproducing a few paragraphs from this letter to realise that something more than statements by Commonwealth Premiers are needed to cure the racialists in our midst. The *Railway Review's* correspondent reminds us of all the things the whites have done for Africa; they have "built" the railways, docks, etc., and have "cultivated" the soil, and in his opinion "the land belongs to the people who work it, build it up, get something from the soil" and "not to a few blacks (some more educated than the others) who have been pricked with a red needle".

If the whites had never entered Africa there would not have been so many blacks alive today. The blacks never worked to eat (grow any food) but foraged for wild nuts and berries and wild animals for food. When really short of food, tribe raided tribe for women and whoever they killed they ate.

Today in England, the blacks are being paid to breed and they are to the extent that in a few years there will be 10 million in this island.

Those who come here are 80 per cent full of disease, TB, etc. These people, West Indians, Cypriots and Maltese [note that the Cypriots and Maltese have

## Racialism must be fought by Peoples, not Premiers

now been lumped up with the blacks—EDITORS], will break the welfare state and now are making the cost go up for the working class. They have no intention of paying out such as income tax and living costs, most have high tax numbers for fictitious children abroad and laugh and joke when talking about it [note that in the previous paragraph he was saying that they are breeding like rabbits!—EDITORS].

By contrast with this human monster Verwoerd is a Christian gentleman! After all he doesn't want to live with the blacks, but at the same time he recognises that the whites so far have wanted the best of both worlds: of using the black Africans to do all the hard work and at the same time denying them any rights as members of the community. Verwoerd believes in segregation but at least he is consistent when he tells

his fellow whites that apartheid also means that they will have to roll up their sleeves and do a day's work for a change!. Our railwayman, on the contrary, does not believe that the blacks ever do any work and that they live by gathering nuts and eating women!

WERE we to speculate on the outcome of this Commonwealth Club's membership committee meeting (incidentally that notorious "murderer" Makarios has been unanimously welcomed as the 13th member), we would hazard the guess that Verwoerd will not be readmitted. Apart from the five black African and Asian members who might be expected, for reasons of internal politics, to oppose South Africa's application, we think there

can be no doubt that Macmillan, whatever his "blood loyalties" would command him to do, the economic interests he represents will counsel that the future in Africa is with the blacks—and not the white minority.

However persuasive the Public Relations men who have been plastering the British press with paid advertisements telling us what business with South Africa means to dockers in Southampton as well as car manufacturers in Coventry and Dagenham, may be, the fact remains that Nigeria and India alone, are potentially more valuable markets to Britain than South Africa and a white-dominated Central Africa put together.

The "wind of change" was no more than a tardy realisation by the real powers behind the government that it was no longer profitable for British industrialists to protect a minority of white colons in return for a source of cheap raw materials; that they were now more interested in the "blacks" as markets than as the providers of cheap raw materials. Such a view, we imagine, will be shared by those who "advise" Canada's Mr. Diefenbaker as well as Australia's Mr. Menzies. And we have no reason to doubt that New Zealand's "new boy" will have been told on which side his bread is buttered.

## The Protesters

### I

Seventy men and women picketed the British Transport Commission's headquarters in Marylebone last week.

They were protesting at the banning of a family-planning poster from Underground stations.

The pink, white and blue poster was an advertisement for the Family Planning Association.

It was removed last Christmas, after the Transport Commission received letters of protest.

The pickets were members of the National Secular Society. The society's secretary delivered a petition signed by 2,000 people, asking the Transport Commission to reverse its decision.

### II

A teacher who went on to Hull docks to distribute the weekly paper of the Socialist Labour League, was described as an agitator at Hull and was fined £3 on each of two summonses for dock trespass and was ordered to pay £3 9s. costs.

Mr. E. L. Wright, for the British Transport Commission, said defendant was an agitator whose purpose was to

aggravate and exploit unsettled conditions. He was on the docks distributing leaflets at a time when the dockers were holding a one-day strike campaign each week.

### III

ATLANTA, MARCH 7.

A group of leading merchants and Negro leaders in Atlanta, Georgia, announced today that Negroes would be allowed to eat at most department and drug store lunch counters and would call off their sit-in movement.

The statement, released by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, appeared to be a clear-cut victory for the Atlanta branch of the widespread sit-in movement. The announcement was subscribed to by Atlanta's two major department stores and by 11 chain stores. Also signing were Dr. Martin Luther King, father of the well-known Negro integration leader, and Lonnie King, a Negro student leader. The statement came one day after the Georgia Legislature adjourned for the year. It said:

"Leading merchants have stated that it is their decision to carry out in lunch rooms and other facilities the same pattern as has been recognised and evidenced by the admission of two Negro students to the University of Georgia, the decision of the Atlanta School Board to comply with Federal integration order this autumn, and actions of the late Georgia General Assembly in repealing the State's resistance to anti-segregation laws.

"The Negro leadership has stated that every effort will be made to eliminate all boycotts, reprisals, picketing, and sit-ins and to bring back a condition of complete normalcy as soon as possible."

Accurate assessment of the economic damage suffered by the stores has been difficult but at times the boycott has appeared to be highly effective in a city where about one in three of the population is Negro. The agreement affects about seventy-five Atlanta stores.

The lunch counters will open on Thursday on a segregated basis but will be integrated when the Atlanta public school system is integrated, probably this autumn.

British United Press.

### AFFLUENT ?

## The Hungry Side

TORONTO, MARCH 9.

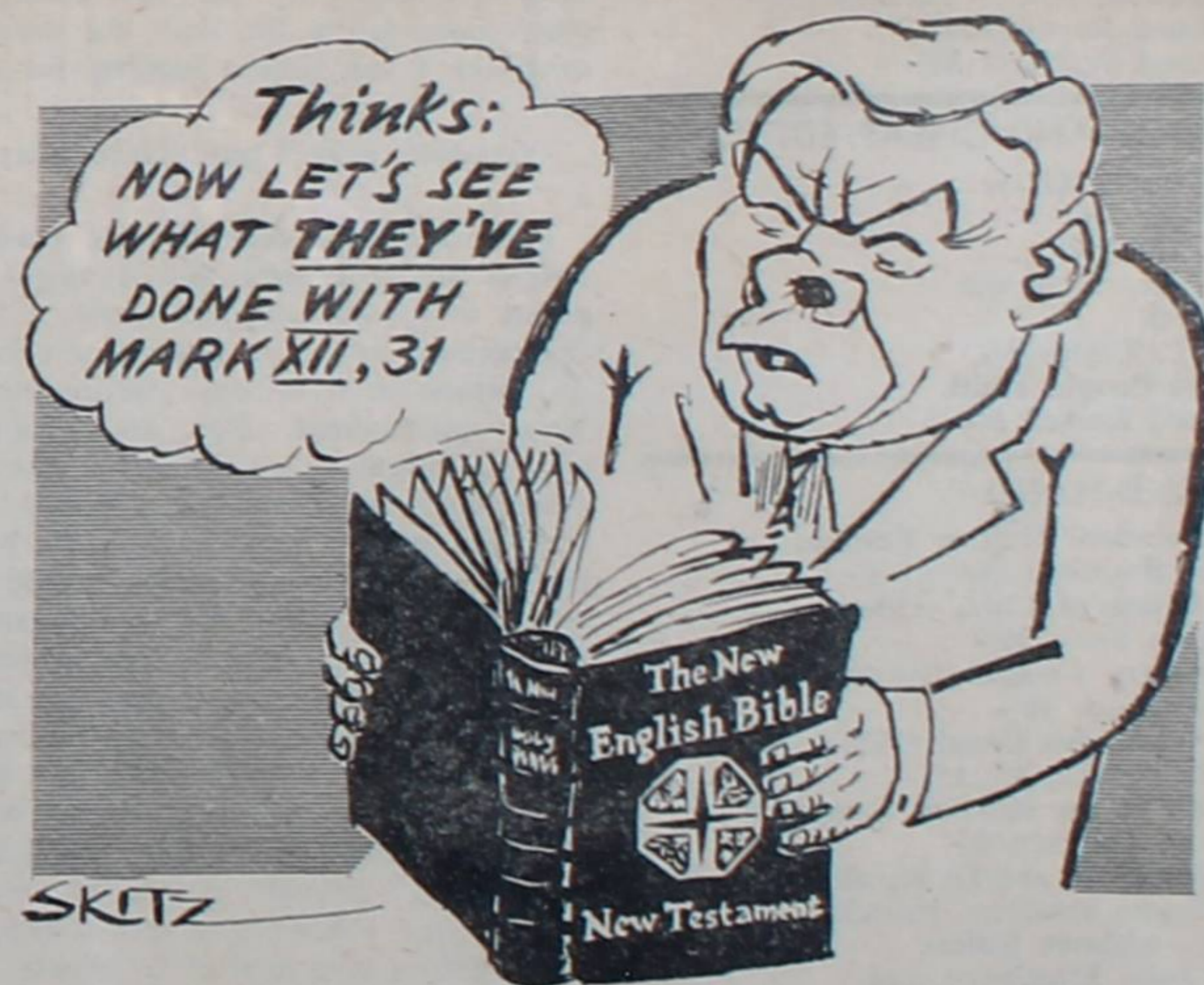
A mission has opened its doors in Toronto to feed hungry children of the city's unemployed. "There are thousands of children starving in Toronto," says Dr. Morris Zeidman, a Presbyterian minister who runs the Scott Mission, which has opened to children for the first time since the last war.

A bowl of soup, a ham sandwich, ice cream, and coffee were offered to children in the mission's chapel yesterday, next door to a large hall where about 500 unemployed ate hamburgers and mashed potatoes. Pickets circled the building demanding Government action to curb unemployment. One sign read: "Children's breadlines, what next?" Recent figures were that about one in every ten of the Canadian working force was out of work.

Dr. Zeidman said the mission could feed up to 400 children a day; about 40 ate at the mission yesterday. He expected that once the programme became known an increasing number of children would queue for the noon meal "No one will be turned away and we will keep our doors open as long as this lasts," he said.

Some of those who went to the mission yesterday were accompanied by their mothers, and others by the eldest child in the family. The mothers sat staring silently in another corner. One or two joined the children at the tables, but most of them just looked on. At one of the tables sat six children, two twins, all of the same family.

At another table sat a pregnant woman with a 12-months-old child on her lap. The woman, the wife of an Italian immigrant who was eating next door, could not drink the chicken soup. "It's probably too rich for her," said a mission worker. "Some of these people have been subsisting on so little that they now find it hard to stomach ordinary food."



### FREEDOM News

## You're working us hard!

EXACTLY a week has passed since you, our readers in Britain, received either our pink or green circular letter and subscription form. Your response to it, to ANARCHY and our new-born FREEDOM has deeply touched us as well as, administratively speaking, overwhelmed us! Replies have been arriving at the rate of nearly 50 a day, and though at the time of writing we have acknowledged none, by the time this issue of FREEDOM reaches you, we hope to have sent out receipts, answered queries and dealt with book orders up to date. But forgive us if all you receive is a printed card. We would like to thank all readers personally who have responded so generously and quickly and approvingly to our own effort to get out of a rut and intensify but it is just physically impossible to do so. May we add to the printed card acknowledgements a collective "Thank you" to all those whose initials appear in the long list of contributions to the Deficit Fund. And you will be glad to hear that the list, at the time of writing,

is twice as long as the one published but we have just not had the time to enter up all the contributions received.

But, dear readers, don't rest on the laurels of others. We don't mind being overwhelmed by your subscription renewals, and if you have not replied please do so now (and don't forget to return the form provided. By doing so you will save us a lot of office work.)

### Aldermaston Number

FREEDOM will not appear next week, its place being taken by ANARCHY 2. But the week after, the April 1st issue will coincide with the Aldermaston- and Wethersfield-to-London March. Last year we sold an extra 1,500 copies on the March, and we are hoping to improve on those figures this year. A number of readers have already written to say they will sell FREEDOM. It will help us to know how many extra copies to print if sellers will write now and tell us how many copies they wish us to supply on a "sale or return" basis.

## ANARCHY 2

will be on sale next week!

Contents consist of a symposium on **WORKERS' CONTROL**

Introduction: Looking for a Movement, articles on the approach to industrial democracy by Geoffrey Ostergaard, the gang system in Coventry by Reg Wright, workers control in the building industry by James Lynch, aspects of syndicalism in Spain, Sweden and USA by Philip Holgate.

ANARCHY is published at 1/6 on the last Saturday of every month.

## MEMORIES OF FREEDOM SIXTY YEARS AGO

# FREEDOM Transformed

THE first sight of FREEDOM transformed, gay with pictures and colour as if proudly sitting up in the maternity ward after delivery of her fledgling, ANARCHY, started a train of memory that took me back nearly sixty years to the first time I ever set eyes on her young unrouged face.

I am wandering up Ossulston Street, St. Pancras, marked rather than lighted by one or two remote gas lamps, the unbroken blank wall on my right studded with couples standing against it careless of the flickers of white betraying their pleasures, the customary penny having been paid to the policeman on the beat—a *mur toléré*, a bit of London as crude as any described by Boswell. That afternoon I had been introduced to a Prince Kropotkin at the old-time *salon* of a friendly friend, Lady Low, identifying him presently as the author of two books I had recently read that set him above all princes. What led to my visit to Ossulston Street was an amazing conversation I heard in which this Anarchist hero of my dreams talked in amicable agreement with Sir Hugh Low, whom I rather scorned as governor of various tropical colonies—and about those very “natives” over whom I imagined the

latter had cracked a cruel whip for many years. I was modest enough to keep my mouth shut and my ears open, so I learned that Sir Hugh's attitude to “natives” ~~over whom I imagined the latter had cracked a cruel whip for many years. I was modest enough to keep my mouth shut and my ears open, so I learned that Sir Hugh's attitude to~~ “natives” was not in the least of that kind; he was asking Kropotkin about the best way for Malayan peasants to organise in order to secure for themselves the profits of rubber planting, which Sir Hugh had promoted by a first shipment of rubber saplings from Brazil. Kropotkin outlined some form of co-operative organisation which might be suitable; I was able to add a word about co-operative production societies in Italy; on which Kropotkin said he thought that FREEDOM might like an article on the Italian societies, and saved me the embarrassment of confessing my ignorance of the publication by turning to Sir Hugh and explaining that it was a paper run by some friends of his; he gave me their names and the Ossulston Street address, advised me to go and see Tom Keell there, adding with a twinkle for Sir Hugh, “the finest type of English native”.

I went in search of them that evening, excited by the prospect of meeting my first English anarchists and writing an article for their press. The Freedom Press, I gathered, must be in some building behind the slummy long row of sordid dwellings facing the *mur toléré*. I looked for an opening, a gateway, a passage to the Anarchist counterpart of Printing House Square. I peered in vain at the numbers on the doors; the gas lamps were far apart; I guiltily struck a match, fearing righteous protest from the wall brigade, and read a low number. A uniformed figure emerged from the gloom. I had never been questioned by the law before; I didn't dare tell a lie; with the greatest misgiving I said I was looking for No. 129.

“Freedom print shop you're after, is it?”

I repeated the number less bravely, chilled by a thought that I might be giving away an Anarchist secret, a feeling excused by my years and the climate of opinion in those days before bombs were nationalised. For all I knew, No. 129 might be an armoury. But the officer knew all about No. 129 and took me there, guided me away from the front entrance to a passage which indeed led to a printing house if not to a square.

A hand press, a case of type, a kitchen chair, two high stools, a dull gas lamp at which a small, bearded man was reading a slip proof. When I told him Kropotkin had sent me he stuck his beard out with half a smile but eyes kindly twinkling. I thought it best to confess at once that I had never seen a copy of FREEDOM—which seemed to please him or at least relieve him for he was able to give me a file of back numbers to read while he got on with his work. And as I recall the impression of those early numbers, memory arises two pertinent questions in my mind.

One. I wonder if young people today get a kick out of any of their free antics such as I got out of the perusal of those back numbers of FREEDOM. I have passed on many later numbers to absolute beginners since those days, and some not without effect, some even reaching my sheer delight of emancipation in the resolving of so many doubts, the answering of so many questions—about socialism, about personal relations, about family discipline, about religion. Even to my eyes, born and bred in a briar-patch of agnosticism as I was, the leafing of those pages was like the pushing aside of one concealing branch after another. Young people are different today, one is constantly told; but I know that they are more than ever scrabbling about in a briar-patch of doubt, which will only lead to “Don't care” if they get out on the wrong side of the rosebed. The metaphor is not mixed—the best of roses grow on briars, and who is not a Brer Rabbit when young? No; young people are not so different; their eyes still open wide to the wonder of emancipation when it is recognised.

Two. I wonder if FREEDOM has the same potential as in those years? A month ago, say, before the incident in the maternity ward, I should not have been quite happy in making a comparison. The pages of FREEDOM in those days of long ago, as I remember them, had a style that captured interest, a consistency that carried conviction, an outlook at once wider, relative to the observable scene, and better focussed. The fact that Peter Kropotkin was behind the paper in those days is easily exaggerated. I used to visit him and Sophie at Bromley—and Sacha, now Princess Alexandra Kropotkin, American authoress; I used to spend hours at No. 129; Peter's contributed articles were sometimes brilliant, but neither he nor John Turner, nor Cores, nor that one-man ginger-group, Guy Aldred, nor anyone else I may have forgotten, had anything to do with the editing and make-up of the paper beyond occasionally proof-reading. The gentle violinist, Marsh, gave it character, aided and eventually succeeded by Keell.

Now the present editors match them well; they are superior in education and experience, equal in devotion, and excelling them in obstetrics. But they lack something, through no fault of their own—something which Marsh and Keell had and they have not.

Think for a moment what London was like in those days, what England was like, what the world was like. The world—contained in Europe, for most writers and nearly all social purposes; England—a country of pacifists where war-mongers were the cranks, the asylum of political rebels, refuge of the persecuted, a country that believed itself to be free, just being roused to the truth

THE article “Rescuing Galbraith from the Conventional Wisdom” in the first issue of ANARCHY was an interesting and lucid outline of Prof. Galbraith's ideas and likely influence. But it seems to ignore the “other side” of the story; Galbraith attacks and exposes some of the myths of the “conventional wisdom” bolstering the *status quo*, which is an extremely valuable task; but it would have been far more valuable if he had exposed the conventional wisdom on which the financial system is based (except that he would probably not have been allowed to reach so wide an audience, had he done so!).

To judge from the article (I have not, I regret, read the original), Galbraith has given no thought to the simple question “Where is the money to come from?” which is used to confound all proposals for economic reform of this nature. Anarchists, and socialists generally, envisage an eventual moneyless society, in which, of course, this simple question would be simply meaningless. But the basis on which the logic of present conventional economic wisdom rests is the financial system whose fundamental propositions are treated as laws of nature, to which all economic reasoning must conform.

Prof. G. proposes that income should be divorced from production, but he gives no concrete proposals for a method by which to achieve this, except that for “cyclically graduated compensation” for unemployment. But if the rules of “sound finance” are not to be broken, the compensation paid must come either from taxation or from bank loans, with consequent increases in “national debt” and interest charges on it. This would do little to solve the basic problem confronting industry, that of finding markets for its products. Most of the present “conventional wisdom” is concerned with rationalising the basic contradictions between financial requirements.

Effective measures for modifying the financial mechanism to permit it to serve society instead of ruling it were proposed by Major Douglas in the 1920's. This proposed remedy, Social Credit was a means of progressively divorcing income from production, and, at least equally important, removing the financial restrictions on the production and distribution



A photo of the FREEDOM office in 1911. Tom Keell is on the left, Marsh (without violin) on the right.

of its own injustice and cruelty at home and abroad; London—a great intellectual centre, the *salon* still existing, drawing-rooms dedicated to intelligent converse, the clearing-house of information about progressive thought and action throughout the world, people who remembered Darwin still living, and Mazzini, and other noble refugees. That brief Edwardian period, in so many ways the blindest and most futile of our history, was an editor's paradise. You couldn't go wrong. There was comparatively little competition; much went unobserved, unmentioned. What you picked out as important, you thereby made important. The popular dailies try to do this now; they succeed by variety, but make no lasting impression because their choice of feature news is guided by transient emotionalism without social insight or public purpose. They know that if they can keep people emotionally, best of all sexually, excited they will not stop to think.

What our editors lack today, compared with yesteryears, is that limited but neglected background of the first decade. The public scene of today is recalcitrant to journalistic treatment,

excepting that of the narrow-minded quality press and the trivial emotionalists. Our editors know that we also must be narrow-minded, being essentially a quality press, not a bar-room looking-glass, and exclude certain news and views which they have no time for, no space, in which we are not deeply and persistently interested. They do their best to see the world as Marsh and Keell saw it—a public scene in which events lend themselves to choice and judgment for reporting and comment in such a manner as to reveal the liberating function within them. Every now and then they do the trick—not missing, as I feared they might, knowing opinions are divided on the merits of CND, the best local story of the year in the ingenious demonstration of the pavement squatters. With their weekly reporting and monthly reflection, with journalistic handling brought up to date in this fashion, FREEDOM and ANARCHY between them are restoring in modern times the potential of early days, and young people's eyes will open wide in the delight of finding answers to questions from which they were just about to run away.

K.W.

of wealth. The Social Credit proposals, though essentially simple, would if adopted have a far greater effect on society than anything Prof. Galbraith has proposed.

Social Credit has yet to be applied: perhaps it may never succeed against the opposition of the financial establishment. But it offers a far greater hope for the eventual achievement of an anarchist society than any of the partial solutions of capitalist dilemmas offered by Galbraith, etc., who all seem to have a curiously blind eye for the dominant place of the financial mechanism on contemporary economics. The same seems largely true of most anarchists.

While the moneyless society is an ideal, the people who are the product of present society simply are not attuned

## Galbraith, Anarchists & Conventional Wisdom

### A Social Credit View

to the idea, and could not operate it were they miraculously reorganised into one overnight. Hence it behoves anarchists to examine the potentialities of reforms as means of reorienting society by degrees towards the libertarian ideals; and one of the most effective of such reforms, could it be achieved, would be the rationalisation of the financial mechanism to operate as a social service.

Those anarchists who know anything of Social Credit generally dismiss it as irrelevant to anarchism and will not examine its analysis of the existing system or the probable effects of the proposed remedy. I would urge them to think again. Certainly S.C. is a “mere reform” and depends upon Government action to introduce it. True, its application would not of itself ensure that the Government would abdicate its power. But I do not accept, as an invariable truth, the dictum that power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

This is a cliché, a shorthand statement of what happens commonly, when men of the type to seek a political career are elected to power. But it does not preclude the possibility of a body of men motivated by a desire to save society from the present psychopathic ruling class, and with a sound understanding of economic and financial realities, being elected and introducing genuinely libertarian reforms. And the point of the Social Credit proposals is that they would allow such a government to relinquish its powers and dispense with control progressively, as the people became ready to accept freedom. For there is no doubt at all that at present the people as a whole are terrified of freedom, as surely as of the H-bomb. Many anarchists, in fact, have despaired of anarchism for this reason.

Most of us agree that there is no hope of achieving anarchism by violent revolution; most also recognise that there is no hope of a radical “change of heart” in the people in the foreseeable future, as long as social conditions remain as they are. But the case for S.C. can be argued on purely economic grounds, as a means of rescuing capitalism from its contradictions and resolving its paradoxes. As such, it has a greater chance of winning public support than an appeal to dispense with government. Even dismissing this possibility, an understanding of the basis of the present financial mechanism would, I believe, lend strength and clarity to anarchist social comment. I must take exception, for instance, to statements such as that “it is the hardship due to unemployment which depresses us”. It is not. It is the lack of income. This may seem a quibble, but it is an unconscious reflection of the “conventional wisdom” that employment is a good thing in itself.

I am not arguing against the anarchist view that worthwhile social changes can only come from below—through the actions of people themselves. What I believe is that the change to a sane financial system would remove a great barrier to the realisation of social change for the better; that the paranoia of present-day governments stems to an important degree from their adherence to a basically unrealistic financial system and the paradoxes to which this gives rise, which affect everyone.

B.L.

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March 18 1961 Vol 22 No 10

## Creativity at Work

A HOST of new professions have grown up during the post war period, concerned with different aspects of making the capitalist jungle work. There is Work Study, a more recent name for Time and Motion; Organisation and Methods, Management Consultancy, Market Research and so on.

The management consultants have been holding a conference in London during the past week, at which a Mr. W. Coultis Donald said during the course of his speech that

"We know that if a man does not do a fair day's work it is generally not due to anything inherent in his nature but to some other influence. These influences have to be carefully sought after and found. How often do we find a sense of frustration among employees? They know that something is wrong and yet they see no means of putting it right. They begin to lose enthusiasm for their job and their work suffers."

(Guardian 7/3/61).

The conclusion of the study that had been undertaken was that "the old idea that it was natural for a worker to shirk was untenable. His desire to create, to reap the benefits of his toil and to think well of himself were more powerful than his propensity to 'swing the lead'."

At about the same time the British Institute of Management published the result of a four year study of absenteeism. It describes the cost of this as being about 5

## Maximum Production - Not Happiness

However, the fact that management studies are providing scientific confirmation of some anarchist theories in the economic field, does not mean that we are moving towards a free society, or that the need for revolutionary propaganda is becoming less. A common feature of the three statements is that they are all written from the point of view of the owner or manager. His problem is how to get the maximum amount of production out of your workers, and their recipe is one which has always had a certain following among bosses: If you treat the workers well you will get most from them.

The classic aim of anarcho-syndicalism has been workers' control of the factories and places of work, with the decisions as to what to produce, how to produce it and what to do with the products firmly and finally in the hands of the men on the job. No one has ever doubted that workers in control of their jobs would give themselves sufficient leisure time, and provide for their own medical attention; indeed the arguments against workers' control have often suggested that they would do this too well, at the expense of the "realistic" necessities of having their noses kept to the grindstone.

As long as a worker is at the bottom of the scale of economic power, he cannot fully realise the need to create, and be satisfied in his work, which revolutionary sociologists and

shillings per week per worker, but one is tempted by the Galbraith theory to ask who lost the 5 bob? The worker had a day at home, and there are still enough goods around for those who can afford them. However, their most striking conclusion was that some firms could reduce absenteeism by cutting down the length of the working week.

Another booklet on "Health at Work" has been issued by the Ministry of Labour and the Central Office of Information, on the experiences of firms which have voluntarily set up medical services in their factories. In its comments, one of the firm announced that while its expenditure on such a scheme during one year had been £8,500, the benefits which it brought in time saved were worth £10,800.

These three statements, coming out as they did within a few days of each other, all have some bearing on libertarian approaches to industrial work. The fact that workers work well when they are doing creative work, and badly in boring repetitive jobs has been urged by anarchists and syndicalists for fifty years or more. The psychologists caught on between the wars, now the management consultants are announcing it as a result of their researches, and perhaps in another couple of decades it will get through to the actual factories.

managers, each for their own reasons, are looking for. It is an essentially degrading position to be a pawn in someone else's scheme even if that scheme includes medical treatment, hygienic conditions, and resident psychologists to see that it is kept interesting and creative. A glance at the situations vacant pages of the big newspapers will give a general impression that half the people are being recruited as management studiers, market researchers and personnel officers so that the other half can do "interesting!, constructive! creative!"; work and derive happiness, money and pensions from it. In fact there is a danger in the new order that it discriminates strongly in favour of the weaker minded people who swallow what they are told about the importance and creativity involved in a boring and useless job that they may be doing, while the more perceptive workers who see through it are clearly labelled as discontents and disruptive elements.

However sincere the managers may be in their touching interest in the worker, they will not be able to alter his situation significantly because they are tied to the wasteful economic system in which we live, and to the power structure of society that goes with it. It is impossible to make the majority of small scale processes in workshops and offices creative while society is geared for non-creative production on the large scale. P.H.

## Held over

We apologise to our readers for having to hold over the second article in the series "Guidance is Good for You", on Moral Re-Armament. Also, to those readers who have sent us letters which have not yet appeared. Our new look seems to have livened everybody up to such an extent that we are now short of space! And the next FREEDOM, being the 'Aldermaston' number, may also make extra demands on that space. Please bear with us. . . .

LAST week's editorial in FREEDOM comments on Mr. Kennedy's 'peace corps' and launches a kite suggesting that the anarchists should form their own peace corps. The origins of the Kennedy pronouncement seem to lie in the coming together of various current streams of opinion in America. Firstly the attempt on the part of the administration to recreate part of the atmosphere of the New Deal, secondly the recognition that American-Soviet rivalry is moving to the plane of a struggle for influence in the 'under-developed' countries, thirdly the reaction to the kind of criticism of US foreign aid and overseas representation that was made in the best-selling polemic *The Ugly American* by Burdick and Lederer, and fourthly the American self-criticism which poured out in a whole series of books and articles during the Eisenhower era, the latest of which (by an anarchist), Paul Goodman's *Growing Up Absurd*, addresses itself in particular to the inability of American youth to find any worthwhile work to do in a society where every occupation seems to be either a racket or a branch of the salesmanship and public relations industry. Kennedy or his advisors have hit on a notion which is calculated to appeal to all these needs and critics as well as those who feel conscious on humanitarian or religious grounds, of the obligation of the world's richest towards its poorest countries.

### The Pitfalls of Moralism

I am sure that, up and down the States last Sunday, several thousand sermons were preached in episcopalian, methodist, lutheran, catholic, etc. churches, on the Christian duty of service which President K. was offering the young, also on Saturday no doubt in a thousand liberal, orthodox and reformed synagogues. (Meanwhile as it happened, the other Mr. K. was speaking on Sunday, urging the young to turn their eyes and ambitions from the fleshpots of Moscow to the good black soil of Siberia, where the climate was cold but bracing.)

I can imagine too, both Mr. K.s declaring, with all those priests, ministers and rabbis, not to mention Lord Hailsham, the New Left, the Archbishop and the Duke of Edinburgh, their agreement with FREEDOM's editor, that we should all seek the reward which

"will be expressed in terms not of bigger refrigerators, bigger Tellies, more wives or bigger incomes, but in the awareness that the specialised knowledge we have acquired has served to bring a little happiness to some less favoured fellow being."

That is always the trouble about being a moralist—everyone agrees with you, all moral systems being much the same, but no-one does much about it, or if they do it is because they have that kind of nature, and not because of the moralising.

That is why I am not worried about Kennedy's peace army. The rulers of the uncommitted nations have learnt that the way to get the big powers to shell out is to play hard-to-get—like Tito, Nehru and Nasser and to play one against the other, so as to get the most from all, in the way of supplies, know-how and technical aid. As Alex Comfort pointed out (FREEDOM 16/4/60) we could wipe out such tropical diseases as leprosy, yaws or malaria, beginning tomorrow,

"if it could in some devious way be represented as a military project, if, in fact, public health workers could conspire to convince the authorities that these diseases were not natural, but put there by the Russians, we all know it would be done in two years, not ten."

### An Anarchist Team?

The generals of the peace army will no doubt be governed by political expediency, but its lower ranks will be filled, if at all, with people who have the urge to do that kind of work anyway, and will be indistinguishable from their opposite numbers among the Quakers, the IVS—or the anarchists. Its actual work in the field will be just as good, or as inadequate, as that of any other existing body. No doubt it will repeat the history of UNESCO—and gather itself a bureaucracy, a huge secretariat and a headquarters by one of the o.k. architects in one of the more exotic capitals—preferably one where the low price of labour ensures plenty of domestic help for the secretariat (FAO settled for Rome instead of UNESCO's Paris). But down in the jungle, its actual projects will no doubt be carried on by people who are as devoted as UNESCO's field workers.

I am not as enthusiastic as FREEDOM's editor about the idea of a specifically anarchist team to fulfil the same functions (though free from the moral turpitude of ulterior aims and empire-building). Firstly because there is a maze of voluntary as well as official organisations

# KENNEDY'S PEACE CORPS - OR LIBERTARIAN LEAVEN?

working in this field already—we make ourselves ridiculous by claiming a monopoly of good intentions or integrity, and I don't favour that kind of separatism and exclusiveness which makes, for instance, the Catholics in some countries institute their own Catholic trade unions, etc. To maintain a team in the field requires a very large administrative and fund-raising apparatus, even without bureaucracy, and if the anarchists could provide this, there is no evidence of it from the extent to which they support their own propagandist and international organisations. Secondly it seems to me better from the point of view of anarchist organisations, I am sure that Virgilio Galassi and other anarchists who belong to IVS in different countries, or those anarchists who work with Danilo Dolci in Sicily, or the two anarchist architects who are working on Community Development Projects in Peru, are more useful for their influence in their own work and organisations, than if they were gathered together in one inadequately supported project.

This kind of work can be divided into camps, and community development. In the first of these there is a vast number of official and unofficial bodies (see "The Booming Business of Relief", *Guardian* 22/2/61, an article examining the thorny question of their administrative efficiency); in the second there is something of a crisis at the moment (see "Work Camps: Way On, or Way Out?" by Gregory Wilkinson (*Twentieth Century*, Nov. 1960). There are 75 active organisations represented in the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps, and the nature of the crisis in the British ones is whether they are to conceive of their role as that of group therapy for the participants or of genuine benefit for the recipients of their aid. It is, says Mr. Wilkinson,

"clearly uneconomic to send out 'conventional' work-camp teams of unskilled students to countries where the prime need is for technical assistance and money, and where there is generally unemployment, not only among unskilled workers but also, surprisingly enough, among Arts Graduates."

"The conclusion reached by SCI and other organisations is that their resources are better spent in sending out indivi-

duals or small groups specially qualified to meet 'felt needs'. In Ghana, for instance, two architects worked as volunteers with the Ghanaian Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. Unlike the experts of say, the UN Agencies, these two lived and worked in the villages. In doing so they provided a link between 'development plans', unimaginably abstract to African villagers, and the facts of village life. Mythical blue-prints became water-towers and pit-latrines, improvements realized and repeatable."

This change of emphasis led to the formation of "Voluntary Service Overseas", after discussion between the existing work-camp bodies. Mr. Wilkinson himself feels that the time has come for less "Utopian rhetoric" and "more detailed planning and briefing of volunteers, inspection and insistence of good work, and in selective recruiting." And he wants what he calls "the sects" to cooperate to find the projects, plan them in detail and raise volunteers and equipment on the merits of realizable plans:

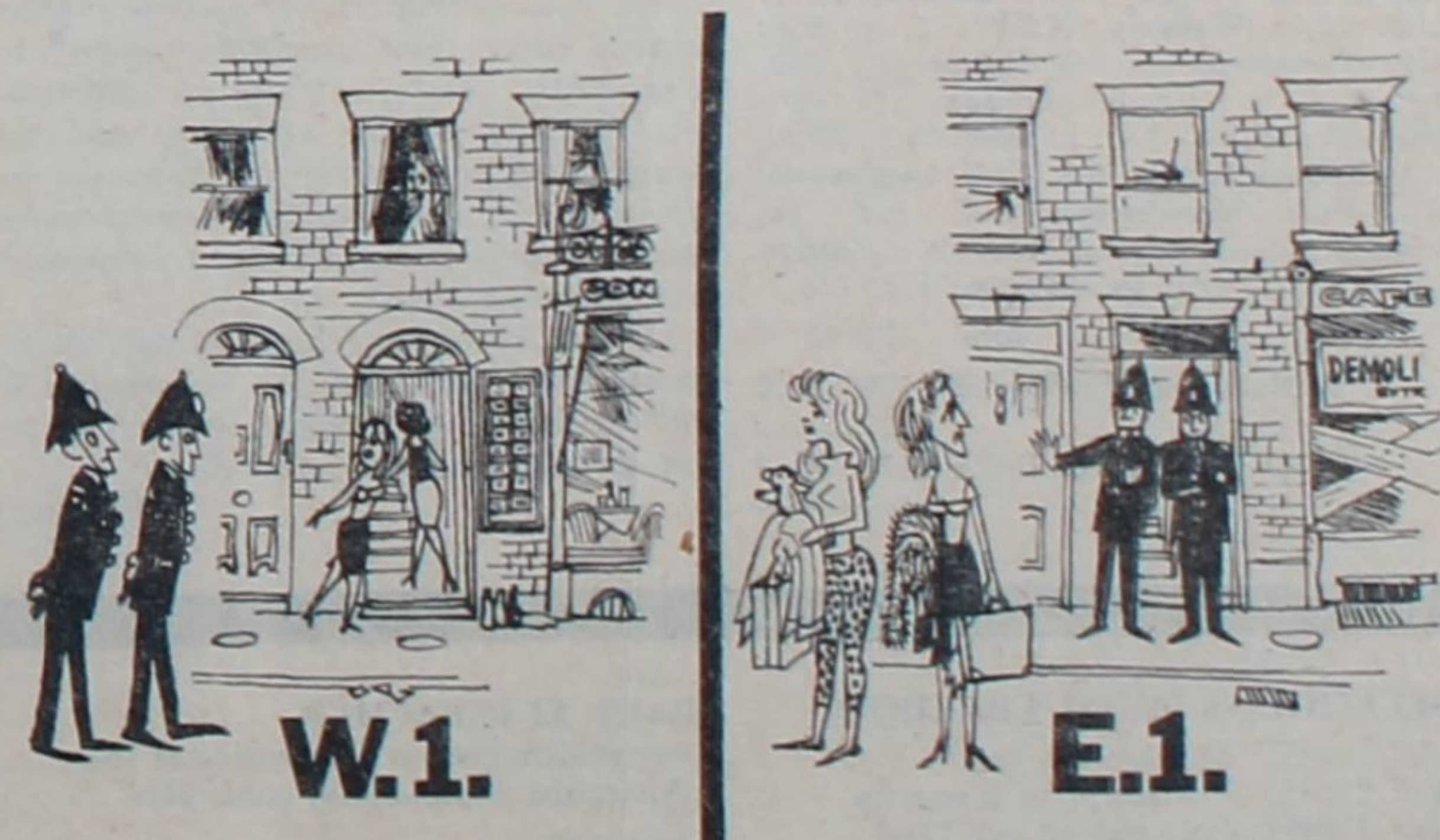
"There is no reason why a consortium of, say, SCI, the Quakers and UNA, whose aims, as far as work camps are concerned, are indistinguishable, should not embark on some much more ambitious and long-term project. UNA has the UN connections, SCI the international organisation, Quakers the moral prestige . . . The project might be selected through a UN Technical Mission, and carried out from start to finish by a combination of skilled and semi-skilled volunteers recruited individually (on VSO lines)."

He believes that unless the work-camp movement moves in this direction "it will remain primarily a fringe activity for footloose altruists."

Thus the work-camp movement is tending to move from being a holiday occupation (for people with sedentary jobs and a consequent inclination to romanticise manual work) to a serious effort in the community development field. Here too we find a plethora of organisations official, semi-official and unofficial—so many in fact that they have a bulletin and a organisation to co-ordinate them. (Community Development Clearing House, Malet Street, W.C.1.)

A broad too, beside the governmental agencies, there are "people-to-people" community development programmes organised from Sweden, Holland, Norway, Switzerland, etc. When you look at all these teams and programmes, what

Continued on page 4



## Miracle in Stepney?

THERE'S been a shemozzle in Stepney, the East London borough which still contains some of the worst slums in the country. The row, however, has not been so much about the continued existence of slums, but the purpose to which they have been put. Housing authorities appear to be prepared to let respectable citizens hang on for years in foul conditions, but prompt action is taken if the property becomes used for 'immoral' purposes.

In Sander Street, Stepney, a whole row of houses had become brothels. They were foul, dilapidated hovels long due for demolition—*sometime*. But until the local priest 'Father Joe' began swearing about it in public—I have never seen anything so ruddy rotten as the square mile I have got here in my parish', he

said—nobody took it seriously.

Then the LCC took action, with compulsory purchase and a Minister's signature. The girls were cleared out and the demolition men walked in. So Father Joe got down on his benders and thanked God, who had looked down on the whole thing and hadn't lifted his finger even to throw a thunderbolt or two.

The breakers sweated and strained and the girls looked for somewhere else to take their clients and thus help to prevent the breakdown of many a good Christian marriage.

Incidentally, isn't it typical that in the West End of London the police are driving the prostitute off the streets while in the East End they are driving them back on again?

# A page of LETTERS

## How to Win Friends

DEAR SIR,  
I regret that you chose to make such a fool of yourself in the FREEDOM editorial column of March 4th. I had thought that the central theme, anarchy, might be given serious consideration by you. Your arrogance in assuming that sincerity of purpose is the prerogative of a few determinable by you is enlightening. Your petty-minded use of inverted commas, brackets, exclamation marks and isms was reminiscent of the national Press and indicated a vicious streak in your nature.

I recognise, however, that we are all capable of making mistakes from time to time and in view of this I will endeavour once more to present my point of view. Unless I get an intelligent response this time I shall be doing as you surmise in cancelling my subscription. This of course is not synonymous with ceasing to be an anarchist as the overtones of your article would suggest.

Perhaps you considered the contents of my letter a trifle naive being familiar with Henry George's works yourself. This is not true really as at least 90 per cent of the population have not even heard of him just as they are unfamiliar

with FREEDOM. This would apply to your readers to the same extent probably, but it would appear that you do not intend your readers to consider his ideas as you made no attempt to discuss or refute my last letter. Yet you say your intention is to further the ideas of anarchism in all its facets, whatever that may precisely mean. I cannot see any consistency in this unless you consider George's ideas would not lead to anarchism. This I would reject for reasons which a study of his works will reveal to the visionary.

Anarchy is an ideal not a code of rules. There may be various ways to achieve that ideal but let us as anarchists at least discuss the possible ways. I am impressed with George's recommendations but that is not to say that I support them as I would a football team. Yet you have given me the impression that you do not consider one to be a good anarchist unless one has been brought up on FREEDOM and Kropotkin. It is the ideal that counts not the means.

George queried why poverty continued to exist where material progress in the form of labour-saving machinery, etc., was being made. He sought the reasons for social injustice. His answers were found in the operation of the economy which he said was perverting the natural laws of political economy. Although George did not mention anarchy in his works, the economic system he proposed eliminated the need for political parties, for governments and for the vast majority of the civil servants which we maintain at present.

The only community bodies envisaged by George were of a local nature. There would be the department whose duty it would be to calculate and collect the economic rent on the land and there would be the departments necessary to build and maintain roads, bridges, docks, etc. These departments would perform their duties according to the direction and consent of the local people and in no sense would they govern or wield power.

All this I understand to be consistent with anarchism as an ideal and in accordance with the Anarchism expounded by FREEDOM. The proposals of your correspondent S. E. Parker (FREEDOM 4/3/61) for instance are quite consistent with George's recommendations as I presume they are with yours.

I consider it most important for minority groups with the same or similar ends in view to co-operate and seek points of agreement. This does not mean compromise. Very often groups campaign for the same thing under different letter-headings.

Dartford, Mar. 5. F. J. AULD.  
[We leave it to readers to judge who is making a fool of himself. All we said in FREEDOM was that our paper has no pretensions of being or intention of becoming an open forum. Henry George's ideas are interesting, and indeed in the last century a number of "anarchist single taxers" were intensely interested in Henry George. We are not and would suggest that whereas the Georgists should be told more about anarchism, we don't think that in 1960 Henry George's ideas are of more than academic interest to anarchists. And for those so interested we indicated in the offending editorial where they could write for literature on the subject. Is this an unreasonable attitude for a paper devoted to expounding anarchist ideas?

If our correspondent does not understand what we meant by "anarchism in all its facets" we suggest he reads or re-reads Eltzbacher's "Anarchism".

—EDITORS.

## Common Ownership and Freedom

DEAR EDITORS,

I agree with Mr. Parker (4/3/61) that freedom of choice to accept or reject common ownership is inherent in individual freedom. So far as it is possible for individuals to produce without exploiting the labour of others (individual craftsmanship for personal satisfaction) no conflict arises with common ownership, but what sensible individual would refuse to share in the general product of communal effort and activities towards sustenance and wealth production.

Mr. Parker appears to accept the principle of common ownership on the basis of "groups formed in freedom". The size of the unit—group, commune or geographical entity, as for instance island communities—will doubtless be determined by prevailing circumstances and will probably vary according to the nature of the produce or service. Universal understanding will obviously be essential to secure for all, wealth which is the product of climatic and other conditions. As for "anarchism from within", does Mr. Parker really believe that economic development will wait the time when people as a whole are convinced that they have no need of masters or authority? Is it not reasonable to suppose that this decision will be made for them by the force of changing economic circumstances and methods of production?

Surrey, Mar. 6.

F.B.

Editors, FREEDOM,

S. E. Parker (letter in FREEDOM) makes some good points about individual freedom, but his general tone emphasises difference. I would prefer explanation and understanding. F.B. for instance in proclaiming the necessity for common ownership is thinking about getting rid of capitalist ownership and the stupidities that arise from it. These property rights are the greatest hindrance to social change, and are vested in, and derived from, the State. If S.E.P. had ever "owned" a house legally, and then failed to keep up his payments, he would find the house taken from him legally. It would, after S.E.P. had been forcibly ejected, be sold—and S.E.P., even though he had brought his family up there and endeavoured to live a good life, would find himself homeless. I know—I have experienced it. Ownership, in F.B.'s and my sense, means just that, and to confuse people's minds with ownership and no-ownership under anarchism, with the same things under capitalism, does a disservice to the movement for change.

Ownership in the present sense will go, as soon as possible; everything points that way. In the next phase we shall evolve, empirically, much better ways of running society. Eventually we shall arrive at the condition S.E.P. visualises where we can afford, and tolerate, all kinds of ownership, or no ownership.

## That old fashioned Mother of mine

To the Editors of FREEDOM,

It was as much a surprise as a pleasure to me to see that the latest to join the ranks of your contributors is—my mum!

I don't think any of us fails to see the close interconnection between any opinions we hold about the desirability of a sex-life for young people, and the general attitudes and indeed explicit sanctions imposed by society. Indeed, to quote more fully the mentioned remarks of Neill, what he said was (I quote from memory): "I have a couple of youngsters come and ask me if I could give them a room together. Now I think young people should be free to have a sex life when they are ready for it. But I had to tell them "No," you see, if the Ministry Inspectors heard about it they'd close the school; if your parents knew about it they'd be on me like a ton of bricks; you can't afford contraceptives and I wouldn't be allowed to give them to you!"

Every advocacy of freedom involves a corollary responsibility, but just to speak of "Society" as though it were one homogeneous entity is unrealistic. To any individual, "Society" mainly means family and a small circle of friends. Such a micro-society can in fact be extremely resistant to external pressures, and a quite small group can be perfectly capable of giving the necessary support and approval to its adolescents.

So far as goes the question of (public) advocacy of a change in social and legal attitudes towards teenagers in love, I am sure that any regular reader of FREEDOM would appreciate that in "advocating a free sex-life", we explicitly advocate the necessary conditions: approval from older people they like and respect, privacy, readily available contraceptive information and supplies—and abortion as a last resort, though I believe it would rarely be necessary if we really had any freedom in these matters. And we might even suggest gladly undertaking to help bring up an "illegitimate" (ugh!) child in some cases. This is not really so much more onerous than many of the burdens parents gladly accept, provided it is from choice, which it rarely is now, and once the kid is seen as a kid and not a stigma.

I sympathise with my mum in her assessment of the present situation and of course no parent of a teenage daughter can view with equanimity the possibility of her becoming accidentally pregnant; but the results of the damming up of young people's sexual yearnings and their diversion into sadistic, etc., substitute channels are not a calculated risk but a dead cert.

The worst failing in her argument, however, is one common to many opponents of anarchist ideas: it entirely fails to take realistically into account what happens now. Anarchists are irresponsible in advocating a free sex life for the young because there will be "accidents"!!! The force of this argument must rest on a supposition that the present social sanctions are effective in preventing the birth of unwanted children—but of course NOTHING could be

further from the simple truth. MY OPINION IS THAT THE EXISTING "PROBLEM OF ILLEGITIMACY" IS TO A VERY GREAT EXTENT THE DIRECT RESULT OF THE FACT THAT WHAT SEX LIFE YOUNG PEOPLE DO HAVE IS SO UNFREE. My mum bases a quite reasonable argument on a false premise; the alternatives which she assumes are unreal. I.L.  
London, S.W.2.

## The 'Peace Corps'

Continued from page 3

strikes you is not so much the need to supplement them with yet another organisation, of anarchists this time, but of the anarchistic lessons which have emerged from all their trial-and-error methods in the years since the war. The conclusion for instance of the Programme Evaluation Commission on the Indian community projects, that "anything which the people have not willed, have not planned, have not directed and have not voluntarily carried out is not popular. The bureaucratic and semi-bureaucratic schemes of rural development had no elements of vitality, dynamism and creativeness in them for the basic reason that they were not popular in these respects."

This lesson which has had to be learned continually all over the under-developed world, means that it is no good coming into a village with the team of technicians and a bit of high-powered propaganda and persuasion; the initiative has to come from below. An interesting instance of this comes from a Latin-American anarchist, a type-setter, whose high earnings enable him to spend half the year working in the city at his trade, and the other half working among the sugar-growing peasants, urging them to form a union. The peasants decline to co-operate with the visiting development team because they suspect its motives, but they will listen to the union organiser when he urges them to set up a school because they see literacy as a means of self-defence against the sugar-monopolists. The outside helper's role has to be that of a "catalytic agent" a source of information rather than an instigator of action. This must be a painful lesson for those looking for quick results, but it is in harmony with the lessons which anarchists draw from many other fields—education, the Peckham experiment, and so on. But since these lessons can be deduced from the experiences described in every issue of the *Community Development Bulletin of the International Review of Community Development* it does not seem to me that there is a specifically anarchist role to be played in underlining them. Rather, I think that all the organisations need their anarchist element, that section of their membership that is continually pushing for more radical and libertarian solutions to their problems and choices, the same task in fact of the anarchists in every other field of social life and activity.

C.W.

But we have to start from where we are now. Not even S.E.P. can get further, however good his thoughts. His trouble is he wants the end result, and knowing he cannot have it, and knowing himself not to be the type who would do something, he visualises a time, a long way hence, when all (or sufficient) men will be anarchists—and then of course we shall have anarchism. As simple as that!

This is a stultifying attitude—religious bodies have inflicted it upon generations of people. Such certain superiority infuriates the very people who would willingly co-operate. If instead of arguing to prove the false position of his opponent S.E.P. could endeavour to find points of agreement he would then be a better anarchist. Freedom comes bit by bit, is engineered by all kinds of people who never heard of anarchism. And it comes from within those people, just as much as it does from conscious libertarians. S.E.P. has no monopoly, no patent rights, in anarchism—neither have any of those who use the label.

Advantages derived from conscious anarchism include a vision of the ends of a long process of social change—but we are where we are now, and we are always starting from there. Some achieve (or wangle!) a limited freedom under capitalism, climb to mental heights, feel superior—but, the urgencies of today demand a huge variety of first steps, many of which are being taken. The follow-through should be our main task, to make those steps significant.

S.E.P.'s demand "how a free life can be lived by people who are not free—" is an academic trick question and a waste of time. Worse, a gratuitous rebuff to genuine enquirers.

Coventry, Mar. 7. REG WRIGHT.

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