

'One is free in proportion as one is strong; there is no real liberty save that which one takes for one's self.'
STIRNER

Make 1962 a GOOD YEAR for FREEDOM

FEBRUARY 3 1962 Vol 23 No 4

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

Blessings of Prosperity

IN the debate on industrial relations which took place in the Commons last Monday to a suitable backcloth of a one day unofficial strike of London railway workers, Mr. Ray Gunter, shadow Labour Minister as well as an official of the Railway Union performed the delicate task of trying to flay the government, remonstrate with the strikers ("You are wrong, you are very wrong. You are damaging your own case, etc. . ."), butter up the public ("hardships . . . on hundreds of thousands of innocent people"); and see what party political advantage could be gained from the attack on the "inept", "cowardly", "stupid" Ministers facing him. It was a brilliant display of invective, sentimentality, argument, common sense and opportunism. At the end of it the House divided. The Conservatives dutifully voted one way, the Opposition the other, and the motion was as usual defeated. So another day's sterile discussion came to an end.

In certain respects how much more effective is a one-day strike by a few thousand railway workers than the blather of the nation's "elected representatives".

MR. GUNTER MAY BE A forceful speaker in the Nye Bevan tradition

but in every other respect he is as flat-footed as any successful Trade Union official. He certainly has no intention of changing the social set-up—as Minister of Labour in a Labour Government he would be no different from his Tory counterpart—however much he would like to turn the tables in the House of Commons!

"There is not a member"—he declared—"who does not appreciate that the country has little margin and no fat to live on. We are faced with the reality of the competitive world . . ." Later he uttered this cry from the heart: "how rich a prize it would be if together unions, employers and government were sitting down not to argue too much about wages but finding out how to solve our common problems. It is here that the futility of this Government is clearly seen. They seem incapable of grasping the true priorities in our present setting."

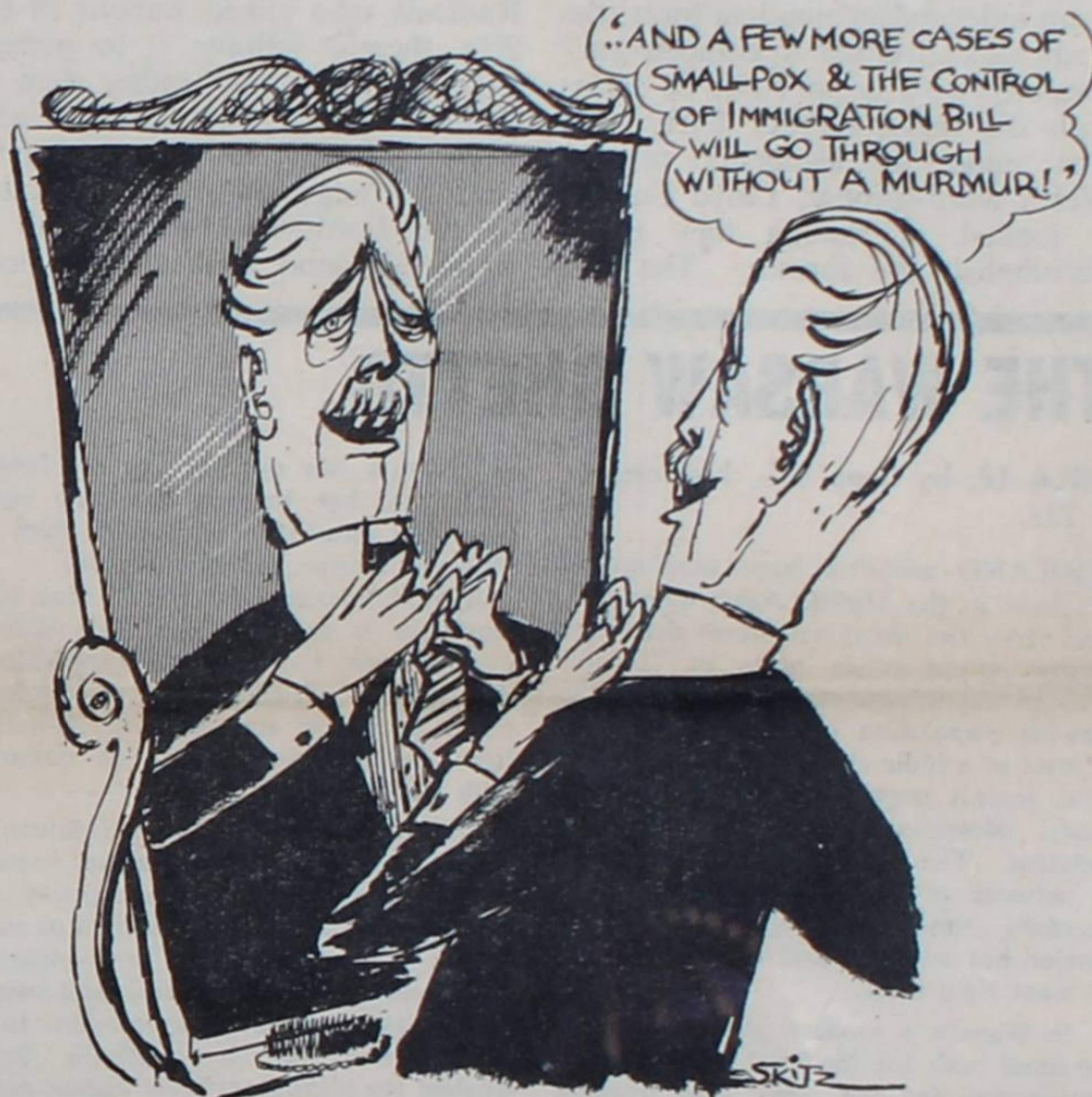
To think that, if only the others were reasonable we could all be old pals together! This is the message of the "socialists" of our time! To suggest that this country "had little margin and no fat to live on" when we are surrounded on all sides by wasted effort, useless production, wasted natural wealth, a system of production which has little relation to needs, of a system of distribution which pays scant attention to economy of effort, in which there are more middlemen than actual producers—is sheer nonsense.

As we write there is talk that the "Defence Expenditure" for the com-

ing year will be increased by a further £45 millions to no less than £1,700 millions. Is there no fat to live on when a nation can afford to squander £1,700 millions, and all that this entails in human skill and toil, not to mention valuable machinery and raw materials? These people talk a language which makes

no sense to us; it is as divorced from the realities of human needs and the possibilities of satisfying them as they themselves are from the people they are alleged to represent.

Of course we don't blame them from living on the fat of the land. We blame the people who put them there, or who, having seen the



results, don't do something about throwing them out, and making sure that no one takes their place!

On thing is certain so far as the capitalist economy is concerned. There will never be prosperity as you or we understand the term so long as production is not geared to needs, and distribution is not effected in an equitable way.

No one will deny that the United States is a prosperous country. Yet in spite of the fact that, according to President Kennedy it is at present "on the highroad of recovery and growth" (having started last year "in the valley of recession") there are still 5 million unemployed who, to quote the President, "are still looking for the blessings of prosperity". Yet the United States which spent £14,600 millions on "Defence" last year is increasing this amount by about 26 per cent. to £18,500 millions. How many more unemployed would there be in the prosperous United States but for the "Defence" programme? A similar reflection was made in last week's editorial in the *New Statesman*

The new US Economic Report shows that the dynamic behind the Kennedy "recovery" is the fact that the military sector now absorbs 14 per cent of the national income. For America, in existing political conditions, the arms and space race is not profligacy: it is an absolute condition of prosperity.

How crazy can you get?

TO MATCH THIS, LET US quote another gem from the Kennedy prosperity bag: he proudly pointed out in his "State of the Union" speech that "the number of major surplus labour areas had declined from 101 to 60; non-agricultural employment had increased by more than a million jobs". And here is the brightest jewel of all "and the average factory work-week has risen to well over 40 hours". The effect of all this was that

At year's end the economy which Mr. Khrushchev once called a 'stumbling

Continued on page 4

'WE'RE ALL EQUAL NOW'

But Some are more Equal than Others

Net receipt of income tax rose again to a new record of £8,429 millions, after a slight fall in the previous year following tax reliefs. There were also record figures for surtax (£190 millions) and death duties (£236 millions).

In the latest assessments made up to June and covering the year 1959-60 there were 378,669 persons paying surtax with a total income of £1,634.7 millions. There was an increase in every income category from £2,000 up to £100,000.

Proportionately, the most marked increase was in those earning between £75,000 and £100,000, which rose from 34 in 1958-59 to 57 in the year under review. On the other hand, those earning over £100,000 numbered 60, compared with 66 in the previous year. Lower down the scale, one of the more remarkable figures is for those earning between £6,000 and £8,000—24,949 people.

(Guardian)

ANARCHY 12

ASKS

Who are the Anarchists?

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 1/6 on the last Saturday of every month.

ORDER YOUR COPY NOW!

Thou Shall not Kill (sometimes)

A LOT of publicity and editorial comment has been given to the unanimous vote against hanging taken by the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury last week.

Thus the Bishops, and the Archbishop himself, now in line with long-established rational opinion, condemn the notion that hanging must be retained as an effective deterrent to murder.

Belatedly the Gospel was invoked and the death sentence condemned as a denial of God, because:—

... it said of a man "In this life he is unredeemable, we will destroy him. In so doing the state took to itself the prerogative of God."

With dialectical skill the resolution, moved by the Bishop of Southwark, rejected the spirit of vengeance behind the death penalty but contained the view that:—

While vengeance was evil, retribution was an essential aspect of punishment. A sinner began to amend when his conscience told him he deserved to suffer.

So be it. Whatever tortuous paths along which the Bishops must travel before arriving at sensible conclusions there is no doubt that many people will be influenced by their opinions, which in turn might inadvertently aid the campaign for the abolition of capital punishment.

While giving the Bishops all credit for their recent resolutions on the

subject, let us also remember that the "hanging question" is no longer a hot political issue.

Apart from the hard core of sadistic females and die-hard males in the Tory party, it was pretty clear at their Conference this year that the leaders were not going to be split over what might now be regarded as a "minor domestic issue."

So really the Bishops are not risking their necks too much by drawing the attention of the public to the parts of the Gospel which condemn man's presumption when he deliberately takes life!

The question of individual killings and hangings was not the only one which came up for clarification at the Canterbury Convocation, although (apart from *The Guardian* (there may be others not seen by this writer) newspaper comments have dealt only with the attitude of the Bishops to the death penalty.

Is it because no decision was taken on the "Christian attitude to the testing and possible use of nuclear weapons", but instead the clergy without dissent "thankfully agreed" (*The Guardian* correspondent) to adjourn the debate without a vote?

Mass murder it seems is not quite such a pressing moral problem as the murder of an individual!

The Rev. D. A. Rhymes of Southwark moved a resolution asking the Church to declare itself on the ques-

tion of testing and the threat of nuclear war. Stating that:—

... there should be no resumption of testing by any power . . . and that there could be no conceivable circumstances which could justify nuclear war

Mr. Rhymes based his arguments on theological teachings, but these were obviously not powerful enough to persuade his fellow Revs.

Dr. S. R. Day of Oxford, a practical if unimaginative man, opposing the resolution, asked if anyone could imagine it having any effect on the Russian Government. But he showed himself also a man of faith when he claimed that Mr. Macmillan, President Kennedy and General de Gaulle were:—

... upright, right-thinking people trying to do the best thing for their particular nations".

It was, therefore, Dr. Day reasoned, quite wrong for them, representing an established Church, "to try to tie the hands of the Government in their defence."

As we said it was apparently with relief that the debate was adjourned *sine die*, and we can hope for no more from the established church.

Behind in their pronouncements on the immoral aspects of the death penalty, we cannot expect the Bishops of the Church of England to be so politically rash as to collectively condemn all use of nuclear weapons, or war as such, until it has become respectable and popular to do so.

'LOLLY, NOT LIFE FORCE'

THE need for something akin to a "Hippocratic Oath" for advertising people is rejected in *AME*, the quarterly journal produced by Napper, Stinton, Woolley Ltd.

It refers specifically to the oath which Bill Cormack, chairman of the Society of Members of the Advertising Association, would like "extended to all advertising men and women holding executive positions." The suggested oath includes the words:

"Whatever I do will be for the benefit of people, not for their hurt or for any wrong. I will always tell the truth, though lies may be asked of me, nor will I counsel such. I will refrain from any wrongful act of psychological seduction, of male or female, of bond or free."

AME's comment is: "Our charts are in board-rooms not on bed-ends. Our patients are ailing products, not sick people. Our aim is lolly, not life-force. In short, this is business, Bill, and you can't and shouldn't attempt to apply to it devotions and disciplines meant for far higher things."

"Let us keep advertising clean, honest, ethical, effective—but let us not try to scourge it by means of an oath that could never be applied nor kept by half those who look at it."

(Advertisers' Weekly, 12.1.62)

So now we know!

English Radicalism: the End?

ENGLISH RADICALISM: THE END?
by S. Maccoby (Allen & Unwin,
70s.)

IN English politics the term 'Radical' has a peculiar and restricted connotation. Etymologically, 'radical', as an adjective, means 'of the roots, essential, fundamental' and a Radical might, therefore, be supposed to be a politician whose policies involve a root and branch transformation of the foundations of society. Nothing could be further from an accurate description of English Radicalism.

Dr. Maccoby in his six volume work on the English Radical tradition, of which this is the final instalment, traces its origin to the 18th century agitation for Parliamentary reform associated with the name of John Wilkes. Throughout, the bearers of this tradition have born the marks of their origin. Although Radicals, individually and at times collectively, have sponsored reforms of a social and economic character, their main concern has always been with political reform. Historically, their essential contribution to British

political life has been to press for a completely democratic and representative political structure. The basic assumption on which they worked was that a fully democratic Parliamentary system would ensure a just ordering of society. The Radical failure to 'go to the roots' spelt their end as a political force. By the first decade of the 20th century, political democracy, or so it seemed, had been largely achieved in Britain. The real issue in British politics as elsewhere was fast becoming the conflict between organized Capital and organized Labour. On this issue the Radicals had little to contribute. Petty-bourgeois to a man, they wanted, in the words of one of their latter-day spokesmen, Ramsay Muir, 'progress without class war'. The result was ineffectuality and disintegration.

The incoherence of Radicalism in its later phase is evident from Dr. Maccoby's detailed chronicle of 'progressive' politics in the period roughly 1906 to 1931. To survive as an independent political force, the Radicals had either to compete successfully with or to come to terms with the rising Labour Party. At first, under the leadership of that Welsh word-spinner, Lloyd George, it looked as though they might accomplish the former. The first

world war put an end to this hope. The 'slim' political manoeuvrings by which Lloyd George got himself into No. 10 Downing Street alienated his most stalwart intellectual supporters. The Liberal Party was split down the middle and divided between the Georgian and Asquithian factions.

Liberal disaster proved Labour's opportunity. Although there was little to choose in policy terms between Macdonaldism and Radicalism, the leaders of the Labour Party made no concession to win over the Radicals. Their own experience in politicking had given them the measure of such men. Their strategy was to complete the liquidation of the remnants of the Liberal Party so that Labour could become the alternative government party. To achieve this, a working alliance with Radicals was unnecessary: the Labour leaders knew that, in the long run and even in the short run, the Radicals would come over to Labour of their own accord. And so it proved. Of the numerous Radicals who joined Labour in the 20's, thereby helping it to present itself as a 'national' rather than as a 'class' party, was Josiah Wedgwood. More frank than most politicians, Wedgwood, by then elevated to the Lords—the social club in which all good Radicals can hope

to spend the evening of their lives—confessed in 1942: 'The perpetual preoccupation of every Member of Parliament is the retention of his seat . . . I pretended to myself that I joined the Labour Party in 1919 in order to teach a more responsive crowd, both inside and outside the House, the immortal doctrines of Henry George; but I was always secretly aware that I wanted also to have my seat in the collapse of the Liberal Party'.

Dr. Maccoby's account ends in 1931 with the failure of the 'reformed' Lloyd George to revivify the Radical tradition. The end is symbolised, appropriately enough, by the merger of the Radical weekly, *The Nation*, with the Fabian *New Statesman*. A generation later, in the process of giving itself a 'new look', the resulting amalgamation found itself able to shed its Radical trapping and revert to its original title. By then English Radicalism had surely had its day.

But has it? The query in Dr. Maccoby's title to the present book suggests—God forbid!—that the future may provide the necessity of

a seventh volume. The incomparable Joseph Grimond and his faithful five are stalking the land calling for a new Radical Liberalism which will sweep into its fold all the 'best' elements in the Labour and Conservative parties. In the present situation marked by the slow disintegration of the Labour Party, the possibility of a Liberal revival is greater than it has been for three decades. Under Gaitskell's leadership, as Dr. Maccoby points out, there is little, on the policy level, which would prevent a fusion or alliance of Right-wing Labour and Liberal forces. But, unless something spectacular happens to the Labour and Liberal votes at the next election, the odds are against any such re-emergence of 'Lib-Labism'. The Grimondites, at the moment, have too few political chips to play with to attract the Gaitskellites.

Which, perhaps, is a pity. For, with a new model 'Labour and Radical Party' confronting a Conservative Party, there might be a greater opportunity for a genuinely 'radical' revival. G.N.O.

BOOKS?

We can supply

ANY book in print.
Also out-of-print books searched for—and frequently found! This includes paper-backs, children's books and text books. (Please supply publisher's name if possible).

NEW BOOKS

Rationalist Annual 1962
cloth 7/6 paper 5/-
The Official German Report
O. J. Rogge 35/-
A Small Armageddon
Mordecai Roshwald 15/-
White Madam
Myrna Blumberg 18/-
The Right to Life: a World View of
Capital Punishment
J. A. Joyce 30/-
Unpublished Letters
Frederic Nietzsche 12/-
Socialism in the New Society
Douglas Jay 35/-
The Eichmann Commandos
Michael Musmanno 21/-
Platform and Pulpit
George Bernard Shaw 30/-
Shaw on Shakespeare 30/-
Discipline without Punishment
O. Speil 21/-

REPRINTS AND CHEAP EDITIONS

German Marxism and
Russian Communism
John Plamenatz 15/-
The Small Assassin
Ray Bradbury 2/6
The Custard Boys
John Rae 2/6

SECOND-HAND

Unrequited Love and other stories
Maxim Gorki 5/-
The American People
B. A. Botkin 4/6
The Informed Heart
Bruno Bettelheim 20/-
Degeneration
Max Nordau 4/6
Castro's Cuba
C. Wright Mills 6/6
Report on Southern Africa (1952)
Basil Davidson 10/-
Salambo
Gustave Flaubert 3/6
Towards Industrial Freedom
Edward Carpenter 3/6
Population and Progress
Montague Crackanthorpe 3/-

PERIODICALS

Views & Comments, No. 42
December 1961, 1/-
Solidarity, Vol. 1, No. 10, 6d.
Direct Action (inc. Workers' Voice) 3d.

Book tokens accepted

Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.—5.30 p.m. daily;
10 a.m.—1 p.m. Thursdays;
10 a.m.—5 p.m. Saturdays).

17a MAXWELL ROAD

FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

THE WARSAW GHETTO

MILA 18, by Leon Uris, Heinemann,
21s.

POLAND accepted large numbers of Jews in the Middle Ages, when they fled from the usual massacres that were going on in other parts of Europe. Poland was a backward country, and the Jewish population conveniently formed a kind of middle class in a society otherwise mainly populated by noblemen and serfs. However this tolerance was only relative. The Jews were surrounded by a network of restrictive legislation. In modern times the situation became easier, but with the arrival of the Nazis it went right back.

In Warsaw a modern ghetto was constructed both for the local Jewish population and for the other Jews brought in from different part of Europe. From here large numbers were again moved, this time to extermination camps. When the population of the ghetto had already sunk from 600,000 to 50,000, there was a revolt of those survivors, only a minority, who were still in a fit condition to bear arms.

The Germans had great difficulty in suppressing this rising, in spite of the small numbers of rebels, and the scantiness of their equipment. Of course the end was an inevitable massacre.

This novel is built around the story of this ghastly affair. It has the fascination of horror. So many explanations of anti-Semitism exist, and of racialism in general, that it is a fair bet that no one has yet got at the reason why, at periodic intervals, humanity goes into these fits of self-destructive fury. There appears to be no explanation to be drawn from the world of nature, pecking orders and hunting grounds seem a very flimsy foundation on which to build a convincing theory explaining man's traditional inhumanity to man. It seems more like some kind of recurrent fever. Sexual and other forms of social suppression no doubt have a lot to do with it. This element in the problem is brought out very clearly in some parts of this book.

It is customary to say "It must never happen again", but, as far as one can see, it is only a matter of time before it does. Who will be the next victims? It is interesting to notice that the Nazis were by no means the only offenders. The Lithuanians, the Latvians, the Ukrainians and some Poles joined in the persecution with enthusiasm. In spite of the fact that at the time the Nazis were already gassing Poles in Auschwitz, and to Hitler the Slavs were scarcely less of an inferior race than the Jews themselves.

The Polish record is miserable, compared with that of the Finns, Danes, Italians and even some of the Balkan peoples. Their underground is described

as giving a few old guns to the Jewish resistance, but helping them no more than was absolutely necessary. Not all Poles of course had this attitude.

It could perhaps be argued that anti-Semitism is more a Slav trait than a German one, but race has very little to do with it. Eichmann is everywhere. Class prejudice and sex discrimination have many characteristics in common with anti-Semitism.

Since it has now become fashionable to put the blame on rationalism, humanism, Protestantism, the mass society, the decline of faith, modern science or some vague "materialism", it is worthwhile mentioning that the first and most sweeping piece of genocide in modern times was carried out by Catholic Spain against the aboriginal West Indian population, who were wiped out completely, approximately twelve million of them, in the generation following the arrival of Columbus.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Around the Galleries

ONE of the corniest jokes in the Square world is that of the artist whose abstract painting is hung upside down and many a saloon bar has echoed to baritone giggles when the press have reported such an occasion. When these unimportant events occur we of the self-elected élite hitch our corduroys up an inch or two and give out with the old spiel about the unimportance of hanging non-representational art down side up for the balance of the picture is still maintained, and leave for the public bar. Yet it is with delight that we find that the *Arts Review* in No. 26 boomed badly in the reproduction of one of Joe Tilson's wood and iron constructions currently playing at the New London Gallery at 17, Old Bond Street, W.1. The particular work is that of "Cortez and Montezuma" and consists of two wooden discs separated by a piece of flat wood with the whole strapped together with metal strips. The *Arts Review* in their reproduction show the two wooden discs standing like bookends with the flat piece of wood playing the part of a standing book and in a sympathetic approach to the reproduction I tried to read into this the pressure of two opposing forces with the noble savage caught between them. It was a good try except for the fact that *Arts Review* had reproduced it arse side up, for the original work in the gallery stands like a huge colourless traffic light with one huge disc above the other disc.

Placed like this this trivia becomes rational for now we can read into it the alien conquerors bearing down upon the

beaten Aztec with the noble savage in his perennial horizontal position between the two armies. The bottom of the stand is plainly marked BASE and this is one of the types of work whose imagery springs from its title and on a correct showing and *Arts Review* owes some one a mild apology in some future issue for they are the paper who, over the years, have given their pages to abstract work in its interpretation and reproduction and they should know their job by now. As for the exhibition itself it is the same old hat, Tilson has created these huge reliefs with the use of rough raw wood and the fact that he has made no attempt to smooth the surfaces or soften the ploughed grain adds to the image by giving the sections different stresses. His abstracts in wood are as crude as weather-washed barn doors at one end of his scale while at the other he offers work as chi chi as tourist totem toys. A dealer sourly murmured to me that "the stuff sells" but Tilson was for a few brief months a carpenter and he has found a way of supplying the *haut ton* with a glimpse of the materials of the rough crude world without the necessity of leaving the Bond Street area. So Tilson, the dealer and the buyers are happy.

The Reid Gallery at 23, Cork Street, W.1., have a delightful exhibition of works by fifty-year-old Canadian, William Newcombe, and these watercoloured abstractions are pleasing if minor work.

Like colours dropped into clear water Newcombe catches and holds them at that moment before they merge and dis-

small groups of people and moments later empty them.

And on his actors go, like sonambulists acting out scenes that moments later, become unimportant or forgotten. The husband is almost raped by a hospitalized nymphomaniac and though caught with the naked patient by two nurses one feels that it is unimportant in the general scheme of things. For like the stations of the cross there is no past or present, only the emotion of the prepared moment.

They attend the inevitable rich man's party and the wife leaves with a stranger, and casually returns, for nothing can happen that is of any consequence; for that is the purpose of Antonioni's films. Within the limits of their experience these people have partaken and exhausted all their world has to offer and like mice in a revolving cage they can but repeat and repeat the same acts. It is claimed that Antonioni decided to please his producer by giving this film a happy ending and he has attempted to achieve this in the final moments of the film by letting the camera pass over the husband and wife copulating upon the morning grass having again found the key to a renewal of lost desire. But as the British Board of Film Censors are rumoured to be considering slashing the nymphomaniac scene and the final fade out, one feels that British prudery will give an unsought victory to Michelangelo Antonioni.

A.M.

solve into a mist of greys and fading pink. It has been remarked that Newcombe's work is reminiscent of certain Japanese artists and it is with the 17th century Ogata Korin that he appears to have most in common for both use a few sharp images swimming like fish within a pool of drifting colours. Ogata Korin whose fame rests not only on his paintings but on the story that he was banished from Kyoto for throwing away gold-plated bamboo leaf food wrappers in defiance of the local law. Now he would have landed a £10 fine and a lecture on social responsibility.

The ICA at 17, Dover Street, W.1. are showing a few of the advertised Modern Argentine Paintings and Sculpture that are being shipped around the country by the Arts Council. Following in the wake of the Spanish painters this exhibition is not particularly exciting with the inevitable abstractions filling the room and the whole over-shadowed by Luis Noe's huge and murky canvas of phoney religious grandeur minus the cast. Titled "The Temptation of St. Anthony" it has the gloomy appearance of those canvases that litter so many junk shops for not only has Noe gone to the past for his title but he has succeeded in beating time by adding his own patina of artificial grime. Mario Mollari's huge somnambulant figures swathed in robes of curving wood are of the stuff of the New Deal period and it is only the work of Ricardo Carpani that rescues this exhibition from the drain. His stylised forms, like figures cased in concrete, live in his world of gathering night and his "Assassination of Chacho Penalosa" will be in existence when most of the rubbish of our age is forgotten.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

'STEPS' TO SOCIAL REVOLUTION

IN his reply to our "Inquest on the Sit-Down" Laurens Otter draws the conclusion, presumably from what we wrote in the second of the three articles, that we held "Putschist-Elitist" views and he deprecates this coming from a paper which professes to express anarchist ideas. And if the accusation were true, has rendered a valuable service to the FREEDOM PRESS in particular and to the anarchist cause in general in drawing their attention to the deviationist in their midst! In fact we wrote in the offending article:

We believe . . . that radical changes are always brought about by minorities who know what they want, who not only believe that what they want is good for them (and will not curtail the freedom of their fellow beings) but are prepared to struggle and make "sacrifices" to achieve their ends. . . .

We were saying that we did not believe in the "solid majority" acting in the direction of change for the good—any more than we believe that an "enlightened" élite, armed to the teeth with the weapons of physical and mental coercion, might legislate for the kind of society which will bring out the best in all of us. What we do believe is that when a large enough minority of the people who know what they want, who love their fellow beings enough not to want something which they could only achieve at their expense, and who value what they want from life more than the "comfort" and gadgetry [of capitalist society] a step in the right direction is possible.

Does the foregoing reveal a "putschist-élitist" approach? Laurens Otter agrees "that in the past only a minority have taken an interest in shaping their own destinies, and progress has come from a militant minority" but what "disturbs" him is that

an Anarchist should write saying that this inevitably is a permanent state of affairs, with no apparent worry . . . for it is in fact a statement that not all men are capable of being free, and a surrender to the élitist position.

If we maintained that anything connected with the affairs of mankind were inevitable, or permanent, we should join either the Church or the Marxists, but certainly never the anarchists who believe in the possibility of radical social change just because they believe that the values that guide Man's behaviour at any time are man-made and not immutable. We are anarchists because we hold the view that most human beings are capable of managing their own lives and that such a world would be a happier one than it now is, and one in which human conflict would be reduced to a minimum.

But as observers of our fellow beings, and not as ostriches whose heads are buried in the text-books of armchair prophets and saints, we are only too aware of the fact that the majority of our fellow beings are not at present prepared to participate in action which aims at upsetting the *status quo*—and we use this term not only to describe the social superstructure but at every level: family, school, job, etc.

Perhaps we should interpose here that this writer does not advocate change for its own sake. We would no more think of trying to change a really free society because we are anarchist propagandists than we think of leaving a companion with whom we are happy simply because we are advocates of free love!

We are *anarchists* because the society we live in is unhappy, insecure, unfair, intolerant, callous, inequitable, stupid, cruel, frustrating and unjust; and *propagandists for anarchy* because we cannot, in spite

of any abilities, or expertise we may possess with which to secure a comfortable *niche* in society, yet feel free or happy in a world drenched in misery, physical starvation and injustice.

We would agree that what we have just described is one individual's personal reactions, and while we would be prepared to defend our views even if we were in a minority of one, and do all in our powers to realise them, we are only too aware of the fact that the alternative to trying to impose them by force, and so by the means destroy our ends, is to gain the support of as large a number of people as possible.

Now, the fact is, that there are already in the world many millions of people who would agree with our description of society; indeed most people are, in one way or another, victims of the authoritarian social and economic system in force on both sides of the so-called Iron Curtain. Of those many millions a very few, relatively, as well as being intellectually opposed to the inequality, injustice, etc., feel strongly enough to devote some of their energies and their persons to the struggle for a better world. A much larger proportion are content to seek a compromise between their intellectual values and the business of living in the world as it is. Then there are the millions who are unhappy with their lot but who accept it without thought as simply the pattern of things which they will never be in a position to change. With the encouragement of the Church and the promise of some happy after-life these millions endure their misery as the price Man is paying for his wickedness. Finally there is the small number of our fellow beings who see nothing wrong in the world as it is, and are prepared to oblige others to fight to the last man, to keep things as they are.

The Vicious Circle which can be broken

BECAUSE some people are well satisfied with conditions as they are while others who are not, but for reasons of apathy, defeatism, are prepared to let things go on as they are, does not confer on them the right to perpetuate that society which for others is unfree, unjust, unhappy and oppressive. Those of us who want to be free have a moral right as well as a duty (if only to ourselves) to fight to destroy the privileged society. For without the equal right of all to access to the raw materials and the means of production, and the equal right of all to enjoy the fruits of their labour there can be no freedom. The chances of carrying through such a social revolution in one step are remote, but far from inducing us to advocate the need for a "putsch" or a *coup d'état*, these considerations led us to make the following observations:

Therefore, as we see it, the achievement of the free society (by which we mean the society in which discussion and not violence will regulate human relations) can only be achieved by a series of steps, by each of which the power of government and the privileged class will be weakened as the people take over direct control of certain aspects of their daily lives. This is not to be confused with the reformism of the, often well-meaning, Lib-Labs who do no more than seek to secure concessions for the many in order to persuade them to accept to live in a society designed to serve the privileged few.

THE recent successful appeal of George Clarke has focussed attention upon the illogicalities, absurdities and arbitrariness of the Law. It was not at issue that George Clarke may have been innocent, punished under a bad law, or, as many of us think, justified in his action. The whole proceeding hinged round the error of the Recorder. A lesser publicised (and therefore protected) man than George Clarke, who was more innocent, subject to a more doubtful law, and removed from the sphere of political complications could quite easily be sentenced by the caprice, ill-will or even honest error of his judges, without a squeak going up.

On reading *Under my Wig* by John Parris (Barker 1961, 21s.) one feels that this business of law is very much a game of chance. Mr. Parris, who, in some inexplicable way has retired, concludes his book:

"Our lady the Common Law I have found to be no more than an expensive tart who lacks even the virtue of the common whore—that of giving satisfaction to her clients.

"I am now happier here among the French, everyone of whom is an anarchist [?] to the marrow of his bones; everyone of whom regards the law as his natural enemy; and none of whom is ever more than a stone's throw from the barricades.

"In short, I have now become a total abstainer from life, a non-contender, an abdicator of responsibility, an evader of issues, apathetic, and any sort of term you care to use."

From this safe position Mr. Parris heaves quite a few bricks, where previously he could only drop them.

He comments on the ignorance of the legal profession, not only of life, but of the law.

"It is well for humanity," he writes, "that the medical profession does not exist in such a state of ignorance and obscurantism. Yet men's lives, liberties and happiness not infrequently depend on the legal profession."

On the subject of "copping a plea" or doing a deal in order to get a lighter sentence and sometimes merely to shorten the hearing. Mr. Parris says "Understandings of this nature were always faithfully honoured whatever may transpire in open court."

His criticism of judges (living and dead) are as frank as one would expect from a retired barrister. He speaks of one judge who "sat long after his mental faculties had become unfit for the task, and the result was a succession of appeals, most of them kindly not reported by the Press, where a new trial had to be ordered because he was either asleep for most of the evidence or had understood so little of it that his judgment bore no relation to the facts as alleged by either party."

(This 'covering-up' for Croom-Johnson by the Press, hardly squares with the author's plea for the Press as the guardian of our liberties).

In the course of taking these steps which at the beginning will be perhaps quite modest, and, some might think, unimportant, ones, something more than improving conditions or weakening the authority of government will in our opinion, be achieved. Through them we hope that more and more people who share our desire for a happier world, but who for a number of personal or psychological or other reasons have remained inactive will be persuaded to play their part in the struggle. Far from believing, as Laurens Otter suggests we do, that "not all men are capable

Can they win over Governments?

THE revolutionary "steps" which can be taken will depend on the success of preceding ones. But assuming that our optimism is justified by events, then a stage must be reached where a direct challenge to government and/or vested interests is inevitable. To our minds this will be resisted by all the force at their disposal. They will first seek to defend the status quo by recourse to the law introducing "emergency legislation" if existing laws seem insufficient to deal with the situation. And if that is not enough then they will call in the armed forces.

This is the standard pattern of the ruling class's reaction to any chal-

The Law's an Ass

He further criticizes Goddard and Darling. Goddard for his intervention in the flogging debate and his 1952 'pratfall' when, dealing with two youths he said "What they want is someone who would give them a thundering good beating", etc., etc., the boys came from a broken home, and both regularly received "thundering good beatings"!

Darling was described by his biographer as "a good bus conductor" spoiled by an inheritance which made it possible for him to become a judge.

Lord Hewart is criticised for his bigotry in the Stopes case. "He allowed (the Roman Catholic) . . . counsel to turn the whole trial into an outrageous attack on the good faith of Dr. Stopes and the general dissemination of knowledge about birth control."

Mr. Parris dismisses the idea that judges are the bulwark of the liberties of the subject."

"The truth is that such liberties as the Englishman enjoys today have come to him not by the grace of the judges but by his own struggles in Parliament, and by rebellious juries who refused to carry out the law laid down by the judges." Here speaks an ex-Parliamentary candidate (twice) who possibly forgets that the actions of Parliament are moved, however vaguely, by individual protest and 'hard cases make bad law.'

Later in his book he refers to the operation of 18B as being a suspension of Habeas Corpus, of conspiracy 'as being the invention peculiarly of English judges'. He points out that "if two women stand on the pavement for a chat they are guilty of the crime of conspiracy" and " . . . each and every member of the Direct Action Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament could, if the police saw fit, be convicted of conspiracy. One of their means of drawing attention to their views is the civil wrong of trespass."

Later, "The crime of conspiracy represents a menace to the liberty of the subject by reason of the fact that it is of such a nebulous nature. Equally vague is the law about sedition" . . .

"Not content with these two dangerous doctrines, [conspiracy and sedition] the judges have within recent times invented a third, 'public mischief.'" "In 1933, Lord Hewart held that 'all offences of a public nature, that is all acts or attempts as tend to the prejudice of the community, are indictable. In short, any conduct whatever that the judges dislike is a crime . . ."

It would seem in the face of this, that the distinction between the CND and the Committee of 100 is not as great as might be supposed. The CND's activities could be regarded as 'crimes' if so wished.

of being free", we are certain that in a free environment no one will allow others to order his life for him. But we are equally certain that so long as we live in an authoritarian environment only a minority will succeed in breaking away from it. This is a vicious circle which can only be broken if the conscious, freedom-loving minority succeeds in demonstrating by constructive actions the value of free co-operation, self-responsibility, among men. After all, example, good or bad, is the most potent influence on human development!

lenge to its authority. We believe that it is the inevitable reaction. The advocates of "non-violent resistance", on the other hand, believe that by their "witness" and the superiority of their ideals, not only will they win over the apathetic masses, but governments and the privileged classes will also be persuaded to renounce their power, forego their privileges and join the Human Race!

We will try to demonstrate, in next week's FREEDOM, why we think this to be a pipe-dream, as inhibiting to revolutionary change in the direction of freedom as the advocacy of socialism via the ballot-box is to socialism!

Mr. Parris says that in 1953 in a case concerning the sale of decorated china to the public (contrary to Defence Regulations) the charge was of 'a conspiracy to effect a public mischief.' A charge never heard of before on land or sea.

Mr. Parris, in his survey of law, criticises the conviction of men under laws which didn't exist prior to the offence. He cites William Joyce as an example but one may extend the field and add the Rosenbergs, the Nuremberg Defendants and Adolf Eichmann as victims of this 'do-it-yourself' law.

He quotes several cases in which the police methods of gaining evidence and confessions is called into question. He speaks of deals with the police to clear up old cases by having other crimes 'taken into consideration' of pressure applied by police with regard to previous convictions and the question of bail.

Mr. Parris advises that if any 'suspect' is 'invited' to come to the police-station to 'assist' in investigations, "He should ask 'Are you arresting me on any charge? 'If the answer is 'No' he should say 'Thank you very much—then I don't propose to accompany you—Good-bye!'"

Under my Wig is full of useful ammunition for critics of the law. That the author has all the limitations of a humane, libertarian Socialist believer in law-and-order is not his fault. That he quotes Henry Miller and has now retired is to his credit.

This is compulsory reading for those who believe in the rightness of British justice. But they never will.

J.R.

But what do they SAY?

A reader sends us the following excerpt from an article written by the late Dr. Joad in the now defunct News Chronicle in 1951, which we reproduce because it seems to underline the common fallacy that the growth of communications has drawn the human race closer together. In a sense it has, since travel has undoubtedly contributed to removing the insularity of some of us. Politically—that is power politically—it has if anything increased the problems!

"I HAVE A FARM to which students come to spend part of their vacation in doing farm work. This summer came an Indian or, rather—these new nationalisms are sensitive, and it is important to get them right—a Pakistani. He had, he told me, been in England for two years and mine was the first English household he had entered.

Receptions, yes! Cosmopolitan gatherings of students, yes! Hotels and lodging-houses, yes! But English households, no! . . .

Never has there been so much coming and going and to-ing and fro-ing in the world as there is today; never so much explaining to one another by the different nations of their ways of life; never so many conferences; never so much guide-booking and giving of information; never so much material for understanding. Yet never has the world been so full of ill-will.

"Nation shall speak unto nation", says the B.B.C. triumphantly, but what matters is not that they speak, but what they say.

And what do they say? They boast and boast, they cry up themselves and cry down their neighbours, and interminably they [seek to] justify themselves . . .

No, it isn't true that increase of communications brings understanding . . . which, after all, are the bitterest wars in history? Civil wars in which, presumably, the combatants could all communicate with and understand one another.

Now, in the contemporary world all wars tend increasingly to approximate to the condition of civil wars; which is one of the reasons why science, in making the world small, and bringing its inhabitants more closely together, has made it not an easier but a more difficult place to live in."

If you can't beat it, don't knock it!

To the Editors.
DEAR COMRADES,

Don't you think it would be better if the paper stopped antagonizing the Committee of One Hundred?

I personally think that the recent arguments as to whether or not there will be masses of people supporting it are a complete waste of time. The Committee is doing what it can to keep up a struggle with limited resources which are all it is ever likely to have.

The Committee of One Hundred may not be perfect (neither is the anarchist movement) but I cannot see how one can criticise from an anarcho-individualist point of view. I know I shall be accused of sticking labels on people that do not apply. Anarcho-Syndicalists like myself cannot shout much either, for one cannot make a Syndicalist revolution without a large organised movement of very determined workers which at the present time does not exist in this or any other country.

The committee has tried to get some industrial action against the bomb, so far without much success.

The editors must know well, for they take part in the sit-downs, that quite a few people have come round to an anarchist point of view. (Isn't there some trouble in the Committee at the moment about a controversy between anarchists and pacifists?). Certainly I have found that one no longer gets old-fashioned looks when one says the State must be abolished, in order to end war.

As I said at an L.A.G. meeting recently "People who do not believe in mass movements cannot criticise them for having the faults that most mass movements seem to have, for that leaves one in the position of criticising mass movements just for being mass movements."

If one must find fault, it would be better to find it with the rank and file rather than the leadership for, as Laurens Otter has pointed out, the leadership are far more to the left than the rank and file. (I use the terms leadership and rank and file for want of a better term; they just advise really and if you don't like it you don't do it.)

The Editors may not like the label of Individualist that I have pinned on them, but they seem to give no constructive advice; just keep sniping away instead of encouraging the demonstrators in their very difficult and probably impossible task. I do not speak for myself alone when I say that many of the comrades are tired of having the ground cut from under their feet by the editors. It may be a significant fact that most of the demonstrators I talked to on the last sit-down read "Anarchy" but not FREEDOM.

At public meetings too, people look amazed at the answers they get on an L.A.G. panel of speakers, to a question about the Committee of 100. We all know that anarchists have no party line but do they have to be this different. One side says the Committee though it may have its faults is doing as good a job as can be expected. The other has nothing good to say about it (well hardly ever).

We all know that the L.A.G. and the Freedom Press Group are two totally different groups in theory but they do overlap somewhat and more or less have the same ideals in common, so could we have a little less sniping "If you can't beat it, don't knock it."

Your comrade,
JACK STEVENSON.

[So the editors are cutting the ground from under our comrade's feet, are antagonising the Committee of 100, are driving FREEDOM readers into the arms of ANARCHY, are sniping at instead of encouraging demonstrators, are individualists who "seem to have no constructive advice to give"! For all these reasons we are obviously doing the cause

Correspondence

of anarchism more harm than good, and should shut up. (A somewhat similar view of the intelligence of this writer comes from another old friend, Joffre Stewart of Chicago, whose indictment is really too long to reproduce—and he insists on all of it being published or none at all. He concludes, from a reading of the earlier series of articles dealing with War by Accident, etc., that we are not anarchists, that we suffer from doublethink and a "congenital inability to come to grips with the war question", and he neatly describes FREEDOM in its present mental turmoil as "a dust bin of errors".)

To Jack Stevenson all we can say is that had he only spent a fraction of the time reading the three articles "Inquest on the Sit-Down" that we spent writing them he could not possibly have made so many wild statements in the course of a short letter. We challenge him to illustrate his charges (1) that we did not encourage demonstrators but "just keep sniping away; (2) that we were criticising mass action from an "anarcho-individualist point of view"; (3) that we have given no constructive advice, which he will illustrate, presumably, by examples of negative, destructive criticism.—EDITORS.]

Unfree Enterprise—or Co-operation?

"... does the growth of monopoly make change more difficult or easier? ... the growth of the huge impersonal corporations tends to unite the ordinary people in a way which individual capitalism did not. ... the only alternative to monopoly is co-operation ..."

These seem to me to be the salient points to your editorial today and, to this observer at least, the answer to the first is that the growth of monopoly, for the time being, makes change more difficult. 'Society', 'civilisation',—call it what you will—is in a continual state of flux and conditions change with the years. Just now monopoly is setting one or other section of the people against the rest—the majority who experience 'inconvenience' when a group 'goes slow' or strikes or threatens some form of sanction are not slow to condemn the selfish police, teachers, postmen or whoever happens

at the time to be taking group action, but view things in an entirely different light when their own groups propose or embark on similar action.

This suits the monopoly capitalists down to the ground since, if all workers acted together, respecting each other's 'rights', we would be on the verge of revolution—or the millennium—and the extinction of monopoly capitalism. Therefore basic change seems to me to be remote, as remote as the day when people in general develop a humanitarian code of ethics, jettison the "I'm alright, Jack" attitude which has been the watchword of man since the dawn of history, in other words, learn to live together, to really co-operate as individuals can co-operate and not to continue to be herded by a small minority of power-lusting group 'leaders', whether leaders of 'labour' or 'capital'! I would not care to try to say how this change of attitude

Continued from page 1

horse' was racing to new records in consumer spending, labour income and industrial production.

Overlooking the fact, for one moment, that more than five million American workers, and their families, were nevertheless still "looking for the blessings of prosperity", is it not clear that in the world-of-Kennedy there are no limits to "prosperity" since no sooner has it been achieved than new standards of prosperity are set, and the process of working to achieve it is an unending one.

To argue that this is progress, and that it is foolish to halt the march of progress, is to overlook firstly, the price paid in wasted human energy and the enslavement of the human mind in its achievement; secondly, that for most people in their thinking moments, the purpose of life is happiness and not the "health of the economy"—whatever that may mean. To state that American factory workers are today working "well over 40 hours" a week, as if this is an achievement everybody should welcome, only shows how "mixed-up" is Industrial Man in spite of his prosperity, his scientific achievements and his technological skill.

Blessings of Prosperity

How THIS WORSHIP of production and material prosperity, as against what we humbly consider should be the development of the art of living, permeates every aspect of thought is illustrated by an article in the American Economic Report (Jan., 1962) on the subject of Education. We are informed that last year "formal education cost Americans \$45 billion [£15,500 million], an amount equal to 9 per cent. of production of all goods and services" and the question is then asked:

The very size and rapid growth of the American educational system have raised a series of economic questions: How can the value of a given level of education be measured? What is the relation between education and economic growth? How much should the nation spend on education?

And here are some of the answers:

Consider first the relationship between education and individual incomes. It has long been known that the persons with more schooling generally earn more.

In fact in 1958 ex-pupils of elementary schools had a median income of \$3,770. High school products earned \$5,570 and those with

"four years of college" earned \$9,210. Parents will be interested to learn (and Investors please note) that "estimates show a rate of return on the investment in a college education of nearly 10 per cent." A good return by any Stock Exchange standards and with the added assurance "that these rates have apparently held constant for 20 years, or perhaps even longer" in spite of an increase of 27 per cent. in the proportion of the population with college degrees over the past 20 years.

But there is "another way of looking at education". No, comrade, we are not interested in the unproductive aspects of education which make people think, and create a demand for commodities like freedom, human relationships, discussion, love and leisure, none of which can be factory-made or profitable undertakings. The right way to look at education is "in terms of its contribution to economic growth."

It is quite obvious that the better educated the labour force is the more productive it will be. Moreover, the advance in technology, which is basic to growth, rests on education.

Times have changed, yes. But the attitude of the ruling class is still the same. In the early days of the "industrial revolution" what was needed was cheap, slave labour to operate the machines. Child labour being cheapest and education being a bad thing (since it gave the masses "ideas") permitted the employers to kill two birds with one stone. Today in the technological age and to win the war for markets, "higher education" is as important to the profits of industry as was ignorance a century or so ago. In the social set-up, however, the individual is today no less of a pawn than he then was.

WHILE RECOGNISING THAT the increase in the Gross National Product could be largely attributed "to the higher education level of the labour force" it is nevertheless pointed out that

The techniques of measurement may understate, in particular, the contribu-

tion of capital investment to growth. And increased capital investment is essential to put technological advances to work. Thus, it cannot be concluded from these studies that investment in education is relatively less important as a factor in economic growth.

Moreover, the gains from education accumulate only in the long run. If, beginning in 1926, each student remained in school one year longer than is currently the case, the costs in 1970 would still be greater than the added returns. Only in the succeeding decade would net additions to economic growth be generated.

With these sobering facts before us the first question that springs to the mind of any realistic individual is: "how much should the nation spend on education?"

The answer "even on strictly economic terms" is, we are told, "far from simple", for

The rate of return on investment in education is about the same as the rate of return on business investment. Thus, the point has not been passed where a dollar invested in education would yield less to the community than a dollar of new plant and equipment.

Fortunately "the growth in national production resulting from education has been sufficient to cover much of the cost of the school system" over the past years and in spite of a rapid rise in numbers and expenditure. But there is no room for complacency in a civilisation where time is money, education an investment, and life an unending quest for material prosperity.

So the "key question" now is: "Will these conclusions continue to hold true over the coming decade?" for it is the income structure of the future in comparison with next year's cost which will determine the worthwhileness of next year's investment in education.

Material prosperity is the goal to aim at—and let us never forget that there are refrigerators and refrigerators, cars and cars, gadgets and gadgets. What is prosperity to-day is tomorrow's pauperism, just as what is the last word in military protection-against-aggression today is a pea-shooter-defence tomorrow. "Progress and Prosperity" this must be the watchword. But education, that's an investment and like all investments it must show a profit. No profit—no investment. No investment then no education! Sure, that's common sense Bud!

could be achieved—religion is supposed to have tried and, not having succeeded, could not have tried half hard enough or else was bought off in the course of the attempt. The 'money-changers' seems to be well enough entrenched in the hierarchy of the churches today! It is because most of us think in that way that we are now dancing on the rim of a nuclear hell.

One further point The fabulous profits (just where are the profiteers nowadays? Profits are now the due reward of industry! The 'market' was 'disappointed' this week when Woolworth's profit for the year—a record—did not come up to expectations!) of this era are literally conjured from next to nothing. The solid values of the 'good old days' are vanished and trash is sold—even in such 'substantial' commodities as property—at fantastically inflated prices. The 'production for obsolescence' of the 'waste makers' is threatening us, and particularly in arms production, with the destruction of everything that has been, or could be, worth man's while.

After the 'doomsday' machine has done its work, if there are any survivors at all, they will have to co-operate in the true sense of the word if they have any desire—which I doubt—to restore some semblance of human civilisation. But should we as rational beings need such an incentive to begin co-operation? Southampton, Jan. 20. B. CECIL BEVIS.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP GENERAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at The Two Brewers, 40 Monmouth Street, WC2 (Leicester Square Tube) Sundays at 7.30 p.m. FEB 4 John Pilgrim Science Fiction FEB 11 Arthur Uloth Men against Women FEB 18 Philip Holgate Freedom in Education: Some Problems

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx. Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2. 1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6. 3rd Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3. Last Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Laurens and Celia Otter's, 57 Ladbroke Road, W.11.

JAZZ CLUB

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

ANARCHY Nos 1-11

Still Available 1/8 Post Free

Freedom

The Anarchist Weekly

FREEDOM appears on the first three Saturdays of each month. On the last Saturday, we publish ANARCHY, a 32-page journal of anarchist ideas (1/8 or 25c. post free).

Postal Subscription Rates to FREEDOM and ANARCHY 12 months 30/- (U.S. & Canada \$5.00) 6 months 15/- (\$2.50) 3 months 8/- (\$1.25)

Special Subscription Rates for 2 copies 12 months 45/- (U.S. & Canada \$7.50) 6 months 22/6 (\$3.50)

AIR MAIL Subscription Rates

(FREEDOM by Air Mail, ANARCHY by Surface Mail) 12 months 50/- (U.S. & Canada \$8.00)

Postal Subscription Rates to FREEDOM only.

1 year (40 issues) 19/- (U.S. & Canada \$3) 6 months (20 issues) 9/6 (\$1.50) 3 months (10 issues) 5/- (\$0.75)

Air Mail Subscription Rates to FREEDOM only.

1 year (40 issues) 40/- (\$6.00)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed a/c Payee, and addressed to the publishers:

FREEDOM PRESS

17a MAXWELL ROAD LONDON, S.W.6, ENGLAND Tel: RENOWN 3736.

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

- Vol 1 1951: Mankind is One
- Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
- Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
- Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
- Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
- Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
- Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
- Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
- Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
- Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa

Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6 The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/- post free.

PAUL ELTZBACHER

Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21/-

CHARLES MARTIN

Towards a Free Society 2/6

RUDOLF ROCKER

Nationalism and Culture cloth 21/-

ERRICO MALATESTA

Anarchy 9d.

JOHN HEWETSON

Ill-Health, Poverty and the State cloth 2/6 paper 1/-

VOLINE

Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6 The Unknown Revolution (Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21) cloth 12/6

Marie-Louise Berneri Memorial Committee publications:

Marie-Louise Berneri, 1918-1949: A tribute cloth 5/- Journey Through Utopia cloth 18/- (U.S.A. \$3)



FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS