

'Wherever there is a man who exercises authority, there is a man who resists authority.'
OSCAR WILDE

In this Issue:
THE PILGRIM OF ETERNITY
REMEMBER OUR REFUGEES
THE AMERICAN RESEARCH INDUSTRY
CORRESPONDENCE

QUEST ON THE SIT-DOWN-2

Must We Fill the Prisons?

Quest on the Sit Down (FREEDOM, December 16) we maintained the decision to (a) participate in demonstrations involving the risk of arrest (b) refuse to pay fines and (c) accept imprisonment (d) accept committal to prison as the price for release, must be a personal one, which we mean a responsible one, one of heroics, fanaticism, emotion, spleen, exhibitionism and so on. We recognised the value of experiencing the full force of the law once for its undoubted effect in liberating the individual from all kinds of fears and doubts which might otherwise deter him from exposing his person to the risk of arrest and imprisonment, but excluded the view that we should do so for other considerations in the future before meekly walking into prison again! We discussed point by point our piece last week, and proposed to deal with the other two points as well as the question of the activities of the Committee of 100.

KINGSLEY MARTIN, in an article on the *Outlook for CND* in the *Statesman*, December 15) discusses at some length the composition of the movement around the Committee of 100.

View of official Labour's hostility, active young members of the CND, who were already complaining that its progress was too slow, readily responded to the spectacular tactics of the Committee of 100. Broadly its members fell into three categories. First it includes many CND members who have been converted to civil disobedience. A large proportion of them are still members of the Labour Party. Secondly, there is a sizeable body of non-political enthusiasts who are inspired with a horror of nuclear war but not at all clear where they are going. (Some of them are attracted to the Liberal Party.) But the dangerous truth is—and it had better be stated—that such people might fall a prey to any well-conceived propaganda. Thirdly, there is a small group, prominent amongst the leaders, who are avowedly 'anarchists', in the sense that they believe all politics are hopelessly corrupt and futile, and that in this apocalyptic age the only hope is to end what they regard as a pretence of democracy. They are ready to challenge existing governments by any non-violent means. Philosophically, they stand at the opposite pole from the Communists, who are a negligible fraction.

Some of this anarchist group seriously argue that if the 1,300 arrests in Trafal-

gar Square and the 850 arrested last week-end can be increased to 20,000 or 50,000 in future week-ends, the government of Britain could not imprison them all and would have to throw up the sponge. What exactly is to happen then is not clear.

To this perceptive analysis he draws an equally perceptive, but to our minds, unduly pessimistic conclusion that

To most of us such an attitude appears a sad example of 'infantile leftism'—which is the quickest route to Fascism. This, however, is unlikely to be the upshot, since the mass of sitters will have turned their attention to other methods long before England is confronted with any such breakdown of government. The kingdom of England is no more likely to be taken by storm than the kingdom of God. Supporters of the Committee of 100 may begin to wonder whether they have achieved anything except publicity. Have they prematurely abandoned more normal methods of propaganda?

The pessimistic note in these conclusions (which is followed by proposals that CND should continue to seek its support within the Labour

Party!) is indicative of a hardening of the arteries (though some maintain that in Kingsley Martin's case they were never anything but. Who among our acquaintances was it who used to say that K.M. had sat on the fence for so long that the iron had entered his soul?). But though we do not share his "faith" in the infallibility of the "Kingdom of England" we agree that it is made of much sterner stuff than some enthusiasts among the sit-downers would seem to believe. And if they are not to suffer the fate of Kingsley Martin, if the road macadam is not to enter their souls, now is the time for a serious appraisal of the achievements and failures, the potentialities as well as the realities confronting this virile movement of revolt.

"SUPPORTERS of the Committee of 100 may begin to wonder whether they have achieved anything except publicity". Surely publicity has been the *raison d'être*

of the Committee's demonstrations and in this respect they have been eminently successful. However hostile the Press has shown itself editorially, and however distorted its reports have been, it has been unable to ignore the demonstrations (incidentally *Tribune*, organ of the Left-wing-*enfant terrible* of the Labour Party published no report on the 7 demonstrations that took place on December 9th). And from one's personal contacts with the uncommitted general public it is clear that very few people in this country are unaware of the existence of the sit-down movement and that many, many people have been deeply affected, have been provoked into thinking a little for themselves, by the demonstrations and by what Mr. Martin calls "the spectacular tactics" of the Committee of 100.

But, in our opinion, it is now time to consolidate what has been achieved in one year's activity. And though the activity we propose is less spectacular than demonstrations of civil disobedience, it also confronts one with problems and decisions which are more long term, and therefore imply a deeper involvement and commitment, than sporadic, symbolic, emotional actions against Authority. It is significant that today there are many thousands of people in this country willing to

participate in "illegal" demonstrations at which they court arrest and imprisonment for their actions, yet at the same time the "crisis of our time" is that the progressive minority movements are crippled by a dearth of propagandists to spread ideas, to incite thought and action among their fellow beings. Drawing attention to this phenomenon neither puts us in the CND camp nor makes us into supporters of Kingsley Martin. We oppose both, not because they advocate propaganda by legal methods, but because they seek to perpetuate the illusion that revolutionary changes in the structure of the State can be achieved without destroying the State itself.

Our "criticism" of the Committee of 100 (which they know is by comrades and not enemies) is that, so far, they have tended to foster the illusion that the violence of our existing social system can be destroyed by massive non-violent demonstrations, of civil disobedience, legally—that is, openly—organised. We consider this to be naive, utopian approach, and would agree with Kingsley Martin's criticisms if he had not suggested that he was criticising the "anarchist group's" argument, which it is not, at least, so far as the writer is concerned.

Continued on page 3

SANTA BABY

AS preparations for the Christian festival are concluded this week-end there are even fewer signs than usual of the "Christian spirit"—"Peace and goodwill towards men on earth", but persecution, exploitation and brutality are officially in evidence in many of the countries which profess the superiority of the Christian way of life compared to all others.

In Britain steps have already been taken to pull the welcome mat from under the feet of any black man who seeks comfort from the "mother country" without first being assessed as to his use value, to cite only one example of Christian charity.

We could go on with galley after galley citing country after country guilty of prejudice and cruelty, from Government level to the social plane of ordinary men and women, but the pattern is familiar enough to readers of FREEDOM who may want a rest from the gloomy picture painted weekly by the sad "old horses" on the editorial staff.

Let us turn away from one aspect of reality to another more cheerful one where affluence abounds, to the glittering shops where the biggest sales in Christmas history are expected, not only in Christendom but beyond.

Naturally-enough it is in the USA where the biggest boom is felt. One newspaper reports that:—

... the nation's merchants will have rung up better than \$5 billion in sales before the last tyke has crawled, all goose flesh, into bed on Christmas Eve.

For many merchants in fact the yearly policy is geared to the Christmas sales, and for many stores it means the difference between showing a profit for the year or merely "breaking even". To keep up with demand competition starts early:—

In the major department stores, Christmas planning starts just about the time that the kids are breaking their first Christmas toys—the day after Christmas past. The long preparations begin with studies of sales slips, to determine what sold well, what proved a bomb. After that come committee meetings, buyers' meetings, salesgirl meetings. By mid-January, buyers are packed and jetting off around the U.S. and to faraway countries to find merchandise and to place orders. When shipments arrive, some stores slip a few new items on the counters to see how they sell; if customers pick them up, the items are re-ordered in quantity.

By September the four-colour catalogue has been sent to the printer with its glossy display of tempting gifts. Before Thanksgiving, the trees are installed, the lights are hung, the animated displays are cranking. In the big department stores, where several Santas are needed to handle the throngs, intricate mazes are set up so that the tots will never see that there are more than one. Said one hard-working Santa in Boston's Jordan Marsh: "The important thing in this job is production. You don't have time for waving and all that ho-ho-ho stuff. It just scares the kids away."

Finally to make things cosy and "normal" a Mrs. Santa Claus is now appearing in American stores. One dazed store-keeper believes that:—
... this Mrs. Santa Claus thing is going to grow and grow... can you imagine all the new avenues this opens for us?



YES, I KNOW, OLD FRIEND,
BUT YOU NEVER HAD
TO RUN A GOVERNMENT!

WORLD RECORD TRANSFER FEE PAID FOR FOOTBALLER WOULD REDUCE TRADE GAP SAY EDITORS

Next week being ANARCHY's turn to appear means that this is our last opportunity this year to appeal to our readers to do something about the deficit, either by renewing their subscriptions if they have already received a reminder that it is overdue and have done nothing about it, or by sending a contribution to the Deficit Fund. The gap between the Deficit and the contributions to the

Deficit Fund is not quite as large as anticipated a few weeks ago thanks to two good weeks in which income from sales and subscriptions plus contributions have covered our estimated outgoings. At the time of writing there are still two weeks to go before the end of the year. To all our readers: please do all you can to make them the two best weeks!

Contributors to ANARCHY 11

- include
A. S. NEILL
PAUL GOODMAN
HAROLD DRASDO

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 1/6 on the last Saturday of every month.
ORDER YOUR COPY NOW!

THE PILGRIM OF ETERNITY

IN this short book F. A. Ridley again expounds his thesis, that the Catholic Church will use any force available to it, in order to survive. It is prepared to ally itself with Nazi and Fascist régimes. When these are overthrown it is prepared to ally itself with democracies. In the past it allied itself with the kings and princes of the feudal world in order to resist paganism, heresy and Islam. And in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was ready to join in with any reactionary movement that would resist the spread of liberal, rationalist or socialist ideas. In the twentieth century the main enemy has become Communism.

The Church regards itself as "the pilgrim of Eternity". The main concern is with the next world, not with this. For this reason, says Mr. Ridley, it constitutes one of the most dangerous forces in the world. For, if the next world is the one to receive prime consideration, the obliteration of our poor little planet is a trivial matter, if it is

"POPE JOHN AND THE COLD WAR", by F. A. Ridley (Frank Maitland, London, 5/-).

in the cause of the fight against Evil. For any other power on earth the dangers of nuclear war must by now appear too great to make a fight worthwhile. Only the Catholic Church can afford to disregard this risk.

Throughout the ages the Church has waged a series of crusades against its rivals. Its greatest rival today is Communism, which denies both God and the soul, and therefore undermines the Church at its very base. What is more, it is also a crusading creed.

To resist it the Church allies itself with the United States, as formerly with the Nazi power in Germany. Moreover, the laughably-named "Free World" lacks an ideology. Protestantism is on the way out, free enterprise is a cause that is hardly likely to rally more than a minority, while moderate socialism, liberalism, democracy, these lack the dynamism that popular appeal seems to require. Catholicism steps into the breach.

Its power increases in many countries traditionally Protestant, Holland, the United States, Great Britain, or traditionally anti-clerical, France. As far as human freedom is concerned it is a more immediate threat, in the West, than Communism itself. Its appeal to the ruling classes is obvious. It is a bulwark against Communism. For people

who desire an authority to take on the world's troubles, and free them from feelings of guilt and inferiority, it also has a strong appeal, particularly in a mass society such as ours, in which the individual is increasingly dwarfed.

Will the Church be prepared for "peaceful co-existence", and a war of ideology and argument, not of atom-bombs? Mr. Ridley does not sound very hopeful. The Church that was prepared to burn countless thousands in its *autos da fe* is not likely to hesitate in pressing the button, for the final conflagration.

"As her spokesmen have so often stated, it were far better for humanity to perish utterly from the face of the earth than to lose its belief in God, since it is the orthodox doctrine of the Catholic Church that this terrestrial life of ours, with all its hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, draws its values and even its validity for human beings from the essential fact that it is a preparation and schooling ground for the eternal life to come, in the heavenly fatherland of God."

Yet Catholicism, when it saw the immediate overthrow of Protestantism to be impossible, was prepared to "co-exist" and continue the struggle by other means, so perhaps it will be prepared to do the same with Communism.

Mr. Ridley does not discuss what seems to me to be one of the most important aspects of the problem, namely why does Catholicism exist at all, and why is the only force ready to challenge it a creed equally dogmatic, equally ruthless? This takes us out of the realm of power politics into that of mass psychology.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

SPANISH REFUGEE AID, INC.
ROOM 406, 80 EAST 11th STREET,
NEW YORK CITY 3, N.Y.
November 17, 1961.

DEAR FRIEND,

This is the time of year when people are thinking about Christmas and we too must start wondering how our refugees are going to pass, not only the holidays, but also the bitter winter months. Many people ask us "Why are these refugees still in need, 21 years after the end of the Spanish Civil War?" I hope I can make the reasons vivid to you by telling you about some people who need your help now.

June P. is a 62-year-old conjuror and variety artist, who lives in Algiers. His tricks are out of date and he is too old to learn new ones. He contracted kidney trouble and chronic bronchitis in the concentration camps of Africa where he was deported in the '40s because he refused to work for the Nazis in France. He has no pension and his friends keep him alive.

Pilar D., a widow with 2 minor children, writes us: "I am sick, have had two operations and to keep working must take medicines constantly. My husband, who died in 1956, did all he could for humanitarian causes. Now I beg you to do what you can to help me feed and bring up my children decently."

These are only 2 among 285 cases who need help immediately (165 of them are over the age of 60, 45 are tubercular, 112 have never been helped before). We have had to defer helping 140 cases for lack of funds.

On the positive side, I am happy to tell you that our Foyer Pablo Casals

NANCY MACDONALD'S REPORT

Since my last report in May, I have spent 2 months in Europe talking over the activities of SRA with our workers in Paris, Montauban and Toulouse, and visiting various organizations and individuals, to find out what they could do for us and telling them our needs. In Paris I went to see the Foster Parents Plan, Save the Children, Aumonerie des Etrangers Protestants, Secours Catholique, Centre d'Orientation Sociale des Etrangers, Anne Mondiale des Refugiés, High Commissioner for Refugees (also in Geneva), the Service Sociale d'Aide aux Emigrants, Mme. Albert Camus. I also visited the International Red Cross in Geneva, the Arbeiterwohlfahrt in Bonn, the Service Sociale de la Main d'Oeuvre Etrangere in Perpignan and Bordeaux, and in England, Salvador de

REMEMBER OUR REFUGEES

was officially opened on the 27th of July. The cost of transforming the shell of garage into a comfortable and attractive center was \$4,149, legal expenses \$282, inauguration \$224, general expenses to date \$939. We have on hand \$15,000. Packages of food are already being given out to 99 people over the age of 16 living in Montauban and the environs. New pants, sweaters and socks which were desperately needed, are also being distributed. The French World Refugee Year committee contributed \$500 and a television. Pablo Casals was able to attend the opening but sent a friend to speak for him. Among 200 at the inauguration were many Spanish refugees as well as Spanish-French officials from Montauban, Toulouse and our Executive Secretary Nancy Macdonald. A longer account will be sent to all those who contribute to its founding.

Nancy Macdonald's report tells about the work she did this summer in France. I hope that both what she has to say and my letter will encourage you to send us a contribution as soon as you can. It is badly needed and we depend on you.

Yours sincerely,
HANNAH ARONSON
Chairman

Madariaga and Voluntary and Charitable Service.

I went to see all the Spanish refugees through whom we work in France, and was ed briefly with Pablo Casals, at the opening of the Foyer Pablo Casals spoke about our work at a press conference in Bonn held for me by our contact of the "Deutsche Komitee". He spoke at a small meeting held in the Swiss "Aide aux refugies espagnols" Geneva and addressed about 30 members of the staff of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief in England.

In addition I visited a number of individual Spanish refugees such as Francisco R., a tubercular, who has a tiny village near Agen, who has been "adopted" by an American. He was overwhelmed by my visit, kept his hand on the forehead and said "Thank you, thank you" and showed me with pride, the bed and stove we had bought him, pictures of his family in Spain, letters from his "adopter", his cherished possessions in the bare state in which he lives.

I spent one morning in our Toulouse office while Mme. Berta received a stream of refugees. Armando A., who is tubercular and has 2 minor children, came to ask for a sewing machine for his wife. Cruz C., who has TB of the lungs, kidney trouble, one leg and can barely speak after a cancer operation on his larynx, needed a wheel chair with a motor. Eugenio V. came to ask for help with his rent, 5 months overdue, 69, ill and alone, his landlady threatened eviction. (SRA paid it). Antonio F., who had been "adopted" while in a hospital, is now living in Toulouse and came to thank me and offer me one of his books. Three tuberculars from the Sanatorium, out for the day, came to ask for clothes, help for a wife and children, pocket money. A Spanish woman from the country came with a French friend. Employed for 12 years, she had no work permit or Social Security because her employer told her it had been refused. Mme. Berta told her where to apply for papers.

One of the most important accomplishments of the summer was the creation of a scholarship fund by the Arbeiterwohlfahrt for Spanish refugee young people. Fourteen-year-old Juana M. in Montauban has already received a 2 year grant for a boarding school where she will take a complete secretarial course and get her Brevet Commercial. Her mother is in the hospital most of the time with heart and thyroid trouble and she had no father. The fund also provided her with new clothes and money for books. Felisa B. has been granted a one year scholarship for a nursing course. We hope that many more will be helped in the future.

I also saw face to face again the pitiful needs of these people, the dignity and pride with which they face adversity and the gratitude which they expressed so often with tears in their eyes. Pedro T., once a commander in the Republican Army said it very well: "The clothes I am wearing, the money with which I bought you this flower and the will to live, have all been given me by Spanish Refugee Aid".

JACK SPRAT.

BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS

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

Pope John and the Cold War
F. A. Ridley 5/-
Come Out to Play
Alex Comfort 16/-
Darwin and the Naked Lady
Alex Comfort 18/-
Key to the Door
Alan Sillitoe 18/-
England, Half English
Colin Macinnes 18/-
The Grand Camouflage
Burnett Balloten 30/-
Politics and the Novel
Irving Howe 12/6
A Handbook on Hanging
(Finally Revised)
Charles Duff 15/-
Institutional Neurosis
Russell Barton 8/6
Marx, Proudhon and European Socialism
J. Hampden Jackson 8/6

CHEAP EDITIONS

The Spanish Labyrinth
Gerald Brennan 13/6
Communitas
Paul & Percival Goodman 10/-
Collected Essays
George Orwell 12/6

REMAINDERS

Pierre Joseph Proudhon
George Woodcock 12/6
A Hundred Years of Revolution
Woodcock, Jackson, Postgate 3/6
William Godwin
George Woodcock 10/-

SECOND-HAND

Seventy Years Among Savages
Henry S. Salt 7/6
An End to Innocence
Leslie Fiedler 5/-
The Enormous Room (Shabby)
E. E. Cummings 3/-
Mark Twain's Speeches 12/6
The Fight to Live
Raymond L. Ditmars 3/6
A Book for Parents
A. S. Makarenko 6/-
Best Short Stories of 1930: English
Pritchett, Read, &c. 4/6
Religious Inventions and Frauds
Louis Coulange 15/-
The Civil War in France
Karl Marx 2/6
On Being Human
Ashley Montague 5/-
Making Goods and Making Money
Horace Taylor 4/-
Christianity or Chaos?
Ethel Mannin 4/-

PERIODICALS

New Left Review, December 3/6

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



Buying books through
Freedom Bookshop helps the
anarchist press at no extra
cost to yourself

(WHAT COULD BE BETTER?)

IT was in the office of Wonder-Films ('If it's a good film . . . it's a wonder'). Mr. Blenkinsop was holding forth. "A new trend is visible at the box-office. We are tapping a new potential. New sensations are being transmitted. Take for instance 'The King of Kings' . . . (this is the big one), or 'Francis of Assisi' . . . (what was his strange relationship with the animals?). Other studios are doing films about 'Gandhi' . . . (to him love was all). Freud . . . (digs deeper, stays under longer and comes up with a U certificate). We, through Gouger Films pioneered the trend in horror films but we can see the saturation point seems to be reached. The spraying of the audience with blood for 'The King of the Vampires' didn't draw them in somehow, and the planting of a corpse in the audience for the premiere of 'The Gravediggers' was thought by some to be in bad taste. We have had the Blue *recherché* unit working on the angle for some time and now it has come up with its findings."

"You will remember B.R.U. did the work that made "Sparg" the detergent that accents the urge". B.R.U. advised making the packaging tubular and the product more creamy—this was based upon their psychological probings. I'll turn you over to Mr. Blue."

Mr. Blue rose: "In the field of human potentialities we have tapped the sadistic tendencies in our contributions to cart-hasis and international peace such as 'the Compound at Kojima' and 'I was a Call-Girl in Belsen'. Unfortunately we found side-effects developing such as cinema-seat slashing and the tearing down of the more striking of our posters. We have also catered to the masochistic urge throughout our production career, but audiences will only stand so much. Their tolerance threshold is very low. True, they seek compensations in ice-ollies but this does not benefit the production and distribution side of the film business. Mild outbreaks of the death-wish broke out in the provinces and we have sought other manifestations. The novelties of necrophilioscope and scoptophilioscope are at present playing to packed houses at Cleckheaton and Barnstaple, but I don't think this will last.

CIGITO, ERGO BOX-OFFICE

Extensive research has convinced us at B.R.U. that a new field of human sensation remains untapped—the market potential is enormous. It possesses the distinction of novelty. Gives pleasure to the audience, also pain, which is an important factor. The field is fairly wide open, there being very few competitors."

We all looked up from our blank scratch-pads. We have learned never to doodle when Mr. Blue is present.

"Gentlemen, we have a new experience to communicate to our audiences, we made them look, we made them listen, we made them look at colour, look through letter-boxes, we made them smell, shudder and laugh. Now . . . the greatest sensation of all . . . thought! The thought-potentiality of the cinema-going public is enormous. Do you realize that 72.4% of the people going to the cinema have never thought in their lives? 18.6% of the people going to and 10% 'didn't know'."

"When tested with an encephalograph 60% showed latent capability for thinking, 32% showed an ambition to think, and 8% returned a negative prognosis."

"Blood-tests showed that 43% were happy when agitated by thought-electrodes, 47% were mildly depressed and 10% emitted a negative polarization."

"In short . . . and I have here extensive documentation of clinical test statistics showing that the public have a desire for thought, and a significant proportion are indeed capable of it. B.R.U. suggest that Wonder-Films gears its new production schedule to the new trend." Mr Blue sat down.

Mr. Blenkinsop rose to his feet. "The company has accepted the findings of B.R.U. and we have drafted out a rough programme of future productions 'You Only Live Once', a story of sexual struggles and religious doubts, the love-life of Annie Besant, and Charles Bradlaugh; 'The Survival of the Fittest' jungle-law let loose, script by Charles Darwin (we're hoping to get Burt Lan-

caster for this); we'll do a sequel called 'Love Conquers All', script by Prince Peter Kropotkin, we've got an option on Kropotkin's biography tentatively entitled 'Revolution, Life and Love'.

"Following this we aim to do 'Our Daily Bread', by a German expressionist, Dr. Karl Marx. Then 'The Journal of a Thief' from the French of P. J. Proudhon. We are hoping to sign up Charles Laughton for 'Bakunin: his Life and Loves' and we have opened negotiations for a West-End star to make 'Sex, Sewing Machines and the Stage', the life of Emma Goldman.

"For this programme we are introducing a new symbol. The man who bangs the gong has consented to sit for us, in a pose designed by Rodin, the French sculptor. Tied in with this we are hoping to sponsor the Committee of 100 in sit-downs provided they carry posters advertising our productions.

"We hope to have long intervals for thought in the cinemas. The usherettes will be selling the book of the film of the book and we have secured most publication rights as most of the works are out of copyright.

"I think . . . and I say this without boasting since we know that most people do, I think we are in for a bumper harvest. We are aiming at that great ideal of private profit and public good which is the happy state to be desired. This new concept sponsored by Wonder-Films will give a new outlook and vision to audiences.

"We are blazing a new trail and carving a new path. The work of the pioneer is hard but we can see the peaks of thought ahead. We are going to do something which has never been done before, which is always rewarding and box-office too!

"The great French philosopher Descartes once said: 'I think, therefore I am'. Wonder-Films may now say: 'We think, therefore we're box-office'."

JACK SPRAT.

[The following article, which appeared in last week's Peace News is written by a Socialist (of the G. D. H. Cole school of Socialism). The analysis and the proposals are not only clearly put but are such that, we imagine, most anarchists will find themselves in complete agreement.—EDITORS].

HOW DO WE BREAK OUT?

IF we accept that government has become so highly centralised that the processes by which people normally exercise an influence on its workings have become largely meaningless and futile, we are still a long way from freeing ourselves from its bondage by simply advocating and practising direct action in politics.

We must surely recognise that in the immediate future, ignoring the Bomb peril for a moment, 50,000,000 people can only stay alive in these islands if we have a strong central government. The sheer weight of numbers, coupled with the compulsive complexity of our production and consumption habits and our dependence, in turn, on an effectually regulated mechanism of national and foreign trade, makes it indispensable.

How do we break out? I do not think a simple political or organisational approach will work here. Our political dependence on a central government is dictated to us by our economic dependence. Is it not possible therefore that we are swallowing too many of the assumptions about living standards which have been drummed into our collective minds by several generations of capitalist propaganda? And are we not all being rather too acquiescent in the trend described by Galbraith which began by capitalists persuading people to buy their goods which satisfied an already existent demand and ended with capitalists conducting successful propaganda to create new forms of demand itself?

It seems clear to me that political independence within the ambience of a world regulatory mechanism can only have meaning inside communities which are small and which are run on a scale appropriate to human beings rather than machines. There is an optimum size of communities, beyond which they cease to be responsive to the control of the generality of their members.

Democracy in fact, is impossible in mass societies, which is why, for example, all the instruments of reform which ordinary people have built in order to protect themselves, Labour Party, Trades' Unions, Co-ops, the lot, are, whatever they may profess, firmly oligarchic in practice and spirit. (It is this, too, which makes it difficult to listen patiently to those Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Committee of 100 types who talk such twaddle about

running Parliamentary candidates. In fact they should take care. CND already shows uneasy signs of oligarchic tendencies and the Committee of 100 will fall into the same trap if it doesn't keep both eyes wide open.)

But even small communities cannot achieve any sort of political independence unless they achieve a fair degree of economic independence. This at once raises the crucial question of living standards. We have to face the fact that our present high levels of consumption are mainly the product of a refined application of the division of labour to an extent which dwarfs the original object of that division—man's own well-being. There is an optimum level of economic production in terms of human well-being which, if it is exceeded, has "spread" effects which are antagonistic rather than contributory to happiness. The scale gets so large that ordinary men lose (if they ever had it) control; men's decision-making roles in work become unwanted and repudiated and only their obedience and acquiescence is required; similar attitudes spread to politics, culture, religion and even home life. And here, in 1961, we are.

This does not mean that men must repudiate completely the division of labour and seek to become wholly independent, or that communities should do likewise. I should be sorry not to see an occasional bottle of wine on my table, or a plate of oranges or brazil nuts. But if we would repudiate the market forces which hold us in thrall we must be prepared to reject many of its products!

It may be very fanciful to expect everybody to give up smoking, but suppose half of us did so as a deliberate act of will, is it possible that tobacco advertising would decrease? And suppose we stopped buying bottles of pop, breakfast cereals, tinned foods (which a great deal of recent research suggests may be largely responsible for the increasing cancer rates anyhow)? And supposing we made a point of either growing much of our own food or buying only that that was fresh and locally produced? Large scale capitalism, which flourishes fat on changing food into inert standardised matter which can be stored for long periods, would begin here to lose out very quickly. Nobody makes take-over bids for cabbage fields.

planet are infinite in their extent. They are of course strictly finite, and modern methods of geological research are now making it uncomfortably clear how near we are to the limits of some of their finitude. (Morrison Brown argues, for example, that world resources of tin cannot last much more than 20 years).

In short, we are indulging in the most shamefully rapacious squandering of posterity's heritage temporarily in our keeping. We are doing it, moreover, by methods which degrade human relationships, which assume antagonism and distrust between human beings as an immutable law of their operation, and which in consequence produce more and more disorders of violence on an ever increasing scale.

The Bomb is not like some poisonous almond nut topping a macaroon. It is in every way a reflection of the kind of society which has produced it and if we want to control it we must work out ways of controlling the forces it so evilly but so appropriately expresses.

JOHN PAPWORTH.

MUST WE FILL THE PRISONS?

Continued from page 1

WHAT do we anarchists believe in fact? Because we believe that human beings can achieve their maximum development and fulfilment as individuals in a community of individuals, only when they have access to the means of life and the equals among equals, we maintain that to achieve a society in which these conditions are possible is necessary to destroy all that is authoritarian in existing society. If we are to persuade as many of our fellow beings as possible as to the rightness of the need to destroy, we must also convince them of the reorganisation of the social and economic life of the community along libertarian lines is possible as desirable.

Therefore, as we see it, the movement of the free society (by which we mean the society in which coercion and not violence will regulate human relations) can only be achieved by a series of steps, by which the power of government and the privileged class will be weakened as the people take over control of certain aspects of their daily lives. This is not to be confused with the reformism of the well-meaning, Lib-Labs who do 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 steps to anarchy which we advocate, aim at freeing the many from dependence on initiative coming from the State, by making them aware of the simple fact that, whatever initiative the state takes on their behalf, could be equally, if not better, done by the people themselves. It is a fact that every service we receive "as of right" we actually provide by our labour. In withdrawing the initiative from the State not only do we strengthen initiative and sense of responsibility among the people. We also consolidate resistance and hostility to the State.

We also believe, unlike the social democrats and their "solid majorities", that radical changes in society 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. For this reason while agreeing with much of last week's Peace News editorial on "December 9" we profoundly disagree with their view that

If we want a genuine policy of disarmament to be implemented then it is idiotic to expect this without the support and consent of most people in this country.

Indeed, we wonder whether even they agree, for earlier in the same paragraph our pacifist friends write "If we believe in the need for mass non-violent action to curb governments from launching war, then we have to win over the people who will go on strike, who will refuse to make nuclear weapons or to man bases, and will sit down with us."

The strike weapon is surely a glaring example of the ability of a minority of the community to paralyse government and the "will of the people" (if it could be ascertained, for instance, that the majority of the people had been bamboozled into believing that they preferred annihilation to say, "red dictatorship"). We believe in the strike weapon because in spite

of what the capitalist press says about a handful of workers "holding the country to ransom" it is clear that only in a capitalist society with its particular forms of centralised organisation, and dependence on force and the weapons of force to implement its policies, could a strike of even a relatively small number of key workers threaten its authority. But no such strike could, in fact, hold the country to ransom. For when it comes to the point man can live by bread and water alone! And to provide these most housewives could, in the circumstances, fill the gap more than adequately. (And if the land workers went on strike, you ask? Then they too, would starve, and that would be suicidal for them!*)

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

*We hope serious readers won't take this remark too seriously. What we are trying to emphasise is that basically the production that matters is that which provides people with the means of life. If to-morrow the cold war industry were to close down it would be possible to keep all the workers who had been so engaged, and their families, in idleness at the same standard of living as they had hitherto enjoyed without effecting the real economy of the country.

which we think 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 which high pressure salesmanship tries to make them believe are the necessities of life in the sixties (How right old Thoreau was when more than a century ago he wrote: "Every generation laughs at the old fashions, but religiously follows the new"!), a step in the right direction is possible. The solid majority, as Malatesta and other anarchists were pointing out even in the heyday of socialism, are reactionary, conservative, and understandably so. The socially conscious minority must act if only to break the vicious circle for the individual who is the product of his environment, and who until then feels unable to break-through.

What would be effected would be a number of prosperous industries and the dividends paid to their shareholders, whose spending power in turn would be affected and so a number of producers of consumer goods or special services, would be affected, and they, in turn, would dismiss some of their employees, who as a result would have less to spend on consumer goods . . . and so on. But this would only upset the financial system and not production of the necessities of life.

Our determination to be rid of them

FOR some of our readers we have wandered a long way from our original theme. To them we can only reply that if they demanded a black and white answer we could have given it in a sentence or two. What we have been trying to do, instead, is to show that considerations of pride, defiance of the powers that be, "victories" and "defeats" are all small, very personal considerations which if we "mean business" should not be allowed to overshadow our objectives which transcend individual considerations without ever minimising or sacrificing them. For this reason we would say that the demonstrator who swallows his pride and pays a fine rather than a month or two in prison and then spends the month or two he would otherwise have spent kicking his heels in prison making propaganda is, in certain circumstances, serving his cause in the most effective manner. We must be ready to go to prison when we and the comrades whom we esteem consider that our gesture is more effective propaganda than our words. But at all times, if we are serious, such a decision must be taken on tactical grounds first and foremost.

And for the same reasons we believe that we should invite arrest only from a position of strength: of morale, of numbers, of initiative (involving the question of secrecy which we realise we have still not discussed. We will do so in the next issue of FREEDOM). As to accepting or refusing to be bound over, again we believe that pride should be the last consideration in determining our decision. And we would add that we would no more recognise as morally binding a "binding over" order which George Clark could have signed as an alternative to a nine-months prison sentence,

than we believe that workers, signing an agreement with their bosses for a pay increase, should respect the "conditions" agreed to by their leaders. The only agreements which should be respected are those between equals. To accept imprisonment as the alternative to a binding over order is to abdicate one's chances of breaking that order. (Again we repeat that it would be another matter if for tactical reasons it were thought to be in the interests of the movement to refuse the "binding over order".) But it would take more than the 100-odd demonstrators in prison as we write; indeed it would need the kinds of numbers Kingsley Martin quotes the "anarchists" as considering necessary to put the judicial machinery out of gear, assuming they could be caught unawares.

Where Mr. Martin has misinterpreted us, and possibly the Committee of 100 has put the cart before the horse, is that we anarchists in fact believe in paralyzing the machinery of State when we are strong enough to do so, violently or non-violently, depending on the measures the ruling minority takes to defend its positions of power. In the meantime all those who believe in radical social change must propagate their ideas wherever they find an opening, among their workmates, their acquaintances and friends, and, yes, within their family circle. And we must undermine the authority of government by solving more and more of our daily problems ourselves, at district and street level. And now and then we should give a public demonstration of our unity and strength, by acts of civil disobedience which make the ruling class aware of our growing determination to be rid of them.

Can't we share?

And what about the other things, the consumer durables? Must each of us have a personal target of one (and even more) of each of the gadgets? Can't we arrange to share a TV set, a car, and so on with neighbours on a basis of more neighbourliness? And can't we try to make them last as long as possible without succumbing to the blandishments of the advertisements to replace as quickly as possible?

Can we make our own furniture? Or break the commercial grip on Christmas by making our own gifts? This kind of direct action, widely practised, would lead to the ability we have now largely lost to control our own economic life. To be effective it is not enough for us to switch from one kind of consumption to another; we must also be content, in a material sense, with a simpler way of life altogether.

There are other reasons for this. It is a capitalist-inspired delusion that the material resources of the

America's Research Industry

AMERICAN industrial concerns spent more than \$4,500 millions (£1,600m.) or approximately 1 per cent. of the gross national product on research and development. Next year the figure is expected to rise to \$5,500m. and to appreciate the magnitude of the figure one should point out that this is what private industry spends. Government expenditure which is mainly directed to military research will account for a further \$10,000m. In the current issue of the *American Economic Report** an article on "The Role of Industrial Research in the U.S. Economy" makes it quite clear that the principal reason for private industry spending so much money is to make more profits.

Given the tools of new scientific and technological advances and the clearer realisation of the potentiality of research, American industries are now using science and technology as a new means for greater profits and for survival in the keen competition in which they are engaged. Not only are companies that sell the same products competing in the same markets, but products of different materials may be seeking to win the same customers.

New products are an important weapon in this struggle. When a product has been on the market for a time, many versions appear and cut down the price—and the profit margin. To assure a supply of new products, the Du Pont Company spent about \$90 million on research and development in 1959. Inter-

national Business Machines \$65 million, and General Electric \$250 million. Because patents do not provide lasting protection, it is necessary to maintain a steady flow of new products.

That is why industrial research expenditures have continued to increase despite economic fluctuations.

Probably as important in the search for profits as new and improved products is the effort made to cut costs of production and distribution. New or improved processes that will make the same product more cheaply can be of extreme importance, especially when marketing becomes more tense with the appearance of competitive items. Then price, not novelty or uniqueness, is the critical factor.

It is also pointed out that still another use to which research is applied is in being alert to and prepared for changes in technology or in the market. New materials, for example, can upset the best plans unless manage-

ment has foreseen the possibility of change. Thus, manufacturers of steam locomotives or motor buses found it necessary to meet the challenge of the diesel engine. It is also a truism that the market will change so decidedly in taste, size, or composition that a company may no longer be able to operate as it has in the past. The Bell Telephone System devotes over \$100 million annually to creating new ways of meeting increased demand before it happens.

The requirements to accomplish these objectives are simple: a highly developed economy, advanced technology, and a steady supply of scientists and engineers. The chief result of considerable research is change. That in its turn, requires new investment in both research and heavy capital goods; so adequate supplies of investment capital are necessary. So, too, the whole idea of competition by new products and processes assumes a large mass market.

This sounds almost like Parkin-

son's argument that "one of the fields in which research pays off is the production of equipment for the growing research market". And of course research is itself a big industry "which has achieved a popularity with the investing public that rivals some of the oldest". As to the future of industrial research in the United States the authors conclude that

Research need not involve a long gamble when the odds are improved by skilful management. Some problems, however, may not have profitable solutions, and other research projects require the investment of considerable time and patience to achieve results. One officer of a company founded from a research project has commented that "Evaluation of research . . . is much more difficult than evaluating sales or production because most research results in failures, and I guess it always will". Good in-

dustrial research management is helping to minimise failures. Industrial research practices are maturing and will increase the successes.

Vital to industrial research is an awareness of the importance of complementary industrial skills such as production preparation, market testing, product modification, and market development. That it is usual to say that five years will go into product development and two into market development. The latter is the area from which comes much of the high failure rate for new products—management does not understand the market well enough to develop a marketable product or does too little development of the consumer's appetites. Advertising budgets exceeding \$1 million to introduce a new product are not unknown.

Research alone will not produce big profits. It can provide the means for winning the big money if management knows how to take advantage of the opportunity through wise decisions, skilful engineering, good plant operations, clever marketing and the like. One company official believes, "The inescapable fact is that research is simply one of several vital factors in the success of a business and the separation from the total mix of the research portion, even the most comprehensive analytical methods".

Australian Election Summary

AT the time of writing—five days after the elections—the politicians are still scraping up the votes.

A mere barrelful could unseat the Liberal Government and give Labour's Mr. Calwell the power he seeks.

The situation is not without embarrassment for even the thickest skin.

Prime Minister Menzies, expecting a "never had it so good" victory has cancelled his public appearances, including a military parade and refused to see anyone until the heads have been counted.

Mr. Calwell, after first admitting defeat, now claims that he could yet receive the call from Government House to be crowned J.M. before Christmas.

Meanwhile, what of the people?

BAR COLOUR BAR GAINS SUPPORT

The campaign continues against the White Australia laws which at present discriminate against non-white immigrants. Members of the recently formed Student Action Group in Melbourne attended the election meetings of both Labour and Liberal Government candidates to voice their protest under the slogan BAR COLOUR BAR. The political bosses have so far been able to ignore all demands for a change in the racial policy.

The Government continues to deport and restrict Asian immigrants. The Labour Party threatens with expulsion anyone supporting the Immigration Reform Group which has dared to suggest a controlled quota system.

Denied the facilities available to the party machines, Student Action decided on a policy which would gain their maximum free publicity in the local press and, they hope, overseas.

Group members interrupted speeches, chanted slogans and displayed banners such as "SCRAP WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY—IT'S OUTDATED". Do they have the support of the people?

A Gallup Poll over 12 months ago showed 51 per cent of the community in favour of a change in the White Australia Policy and since that time there has been continued protests from every State whenever the Government has tried to enforce its racialist laws. The politicians ignore everything.

On September 19th last, however, when the Minister attempted to deport two Malaysians (one a resident for 12 years), 400 people in the Northern Territory marched on Darwin's Government House. Waterside workers struck a ship's crew (fearing that they were being used for the deportation) refused to sail. School children at Darwin High School stopped lessons and demonstrated. On deportation day the two men were taken into hiding and passed from house to house as police raided the town. The two men are still in Australia. The Government has retreated to the Law Courts.

At a meeting the other evening, Prime Minister Menzies was questioned about all this by representatives of Student Action. Forgetting his gentleman-statesman pose he snarled back: "If you alleged representatives of the intelligentsia think you are doing the Universities good I can assure you that you are not. I detest some of the deplorable wretches that get into Universities. Without this Government's help they wouldn't be there. They are a collection of ratbags and larrikins." (Two days later the Press announced that 37 professors and lecturers from Melbourne University and Institute of Technology had expressed their support for the "wretches, ratbags and larrikins" in their efforts to publicise racial issues during the election).

Elections, of course, change nothing.

Apart from our needs as individuals, which no politician has to consider, how many of the vital questions facing the community were even mentioned during the campaign?

On election day the Melbourne *Sun* declared to its readers: "This Is Your Say Day!" Anarchists ask: "Is it?"

FRANCIS WEBB.

Common Market another carrot

DEAR FRIENDS,

I am in complete agreement with you when you remark, in "Common Market or Community", in this week's issue that 'the sinister implications of the Common Market (are) under-estimated'.

The 'Common Market' is another of the disguised carrots dangled before the people to induce them, by the usual promises of 'pie in the sky', to 'put their shoulders to the wheel' in order to reach the 'New Frontiers', to get that '£1,000 a year' pay packet, or, at the lowest level, to 'keep up with the Joneskevitches' of the Soviet Union. The real foundations of this sinister cabal are to be found in the eternal struggle between capital and labour, exemplified at this present time in the opposition of the 'free' (monopoly-capitalist) West to the communist (state-capitalist) East. This could change in time to a co-existence of the corporative states governing élites (for, at present trends, all will become corporative states, West and East) in a concerted domination of the mass of 'wage-slaves'—a sort of Orwell's "1984" perhaps without the war of the hemispheres. (See Albania's latest accusations against Nikita!).

Southampton, Dec. 12 B. C. BEVIS.

Working to rule

Commuters can expect chaos if the working-to-rule on Southern Region suburban lines, likely to be resumed on January 1, spreads to more grades of railway workers.

There are more than 240 working rules laid down by British Railways, with appendices for different regions and different groups of workers. Some rules contain many clauses with detailed instructions to each grade; all appear to be justifiable and a contravention could be subject to disciplinary action. Yet if over-zealously applied, rail traffic could become impossible.

For instance, a passenger guard must have with him a watch, a whistle, a carriage key, a red and a green flag, not fewer than 12 detonators and a hand lamp, which must be lighted when passing through long tunnels, after sunset, and during fog and falling snow.

Before a train starts, he must satisfy himself that it is correctly labelled and that emergency and first-aid equipment, where provided, is intact. He must be sure that it has the necessary lamps; that couplings are properly connected; that

the continuous brake is working; and that hand-brakes are off.

The guard must see that the doors of the carriages and "other vehicles" are properly closed and fastened. He must prohibit any unauthorised person travelling in a brake van or luggage compartment.

He has to call out clearly the names of the stations at which the train stops. He must announce the changes for connecting trains. He must help open and close carriage doors and detect fraudulent travelling.

He must report defective carriages and have them detached if he apprehends danger. He must not throw parcels from trains when passing through stations, unless specially sanctioned and then he must satisfy himself that the station is clear.

If any passenger is drunk or disorderly to the annoyance of others, he must stop the nuisance, have the offender and his luggage removed at the next station, and take names and addresses of the offender and of at least one witness. And he must not allow dogs or cats into vans by which homing pigeons are conveyed. (The Observer)

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP CENTRAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at The Two Brewers, 40 Monmouth Street, WC2 (Leicester Square Tube) Smdays at 7.30 p.m.

DEC 24 No meeting: Saturday
DEC 31 at 8 p.m. (Extension!) Jack Stevenson: 'The Peasants' Revolt'

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 St. Paul's Road, Enfield, Middx.

East, 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.

—NB—N.2 and W.11 no meeting in December.

JAZZ CLUB

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

ANARCHY Nos 1-10

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) 17/- (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/- (\$8.00)

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

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

*December 1961 (USIS, American Embassy, London)

TWO WEEKS TO BEAT IT!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT
DECEMBER 16th 1961

WEEK 50	
Expenses: 50 weeks at £70	£3,500
Income from Sales & Subs:	
Week 49	£1,584
Week 50	£26
	£1,610
DEFICIT	£1,900

DEFICIT FUND

Chicago: J.K. £5/5/-; London: A.M. £6/3/-; Manchester: J.S. 10/-; Shepton Mallett: E.H.S. 10/-; Glasgow: J.H.* 2/-; London: T.K. 5/-; London: C.M. £5; Leeds: G.L. 2/6; Hindhead: F.N.F. 5/-; London: A.T. £1; Southend: P.O.* 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; E. Boston: "Il Circolo Amore" £7; London: A.M. 9/-; Enfield: J.S.* £1; London: Anarchist Ball Oct. 20, Balance tickets £8/8/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-; London: P. & G.T.* 10/-.

TOTAL 37 9 0

Previously acknowledged 985 14 8

1961 TOTAL TO DATE £1,023 3 8

*Indicates regular contributor.

£800 to go!

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