

FREEDOM

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY -4d.

FEBRUARY 29 1964 Vol 25 No 7

'When I have not paid the tax which the state demanded for that protection which I did not want, itself has robbed me; when I have asserted the liberty it presumed to declare, itself has imprisoned me.'

H. D. THOREAU

Support the Anti-Election Campaign!

The Old Moores of the Crisis Industry

"It is now apparent", declared the *Observer* in its editorial on "priorities" last Sunday, "that Britain is moving into the most serious economic crisis for a decade". A conservative speaker in the Commons, Sir Cyril Osborne, went further and predicted that a "widening trade gap and the growing loss of confidence in sterling were leading us to the gravest economic crisis since 1931."

No, this was not last Sunday's *Observer*, and it was not Sir Cyril warning the House last week. This was the "crisis" of the summer of 1961! Last week the "danger" flags were again being hoisted: "Hell-Bent for Crisis" declared the *New Statesman*; "Outlook seen through a trade gap" was how the *Guardian's* crystal-gazer saw the future; "Is there an Economic Crisis?" was the slogan attached to the kite launched by the *Observer's* financial expert,

while editorially it was the "Economic Jitters" from which we were suffering. The *Sunday Times* sees only a "Crisis of Expansion" ahead while their expert Mr. William Rees-Mogg is busy having "Hard Thought in a Back Room". And last, but not least in this brief review of expert opinion is the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, consisting of "an independent group of economists" who are urging either an increase in personal taxation of around £200 million or an equivalent cut in Government expenditure.

These same "independent" experts—by the way, "independent" of

whom? And are they sufficiently independent to have even considered whether the whole capitalist system should be condemned and opposed, and not made to work, because it is anti-social, restrictive, and inefficient?—we were saying, these same experts were arguing, a year ago, that the Chancellor would have to give a budget "stimulus" of £400m. if output were to rise by 5 per cent. during the year. "In fact—writes the *Guardian's* financial editor—5 per cent. has been reached with a stimulus of £280 millions".

We have no financial expert advising us in FREEDOM office; this writer is in the same boat as our readers and 99.99 per cent. of the population: we are at the receiving end of both the jargon and the application of capitalist financial and economic theories. Most of us are hypnotised by the apparent complexity of the problem and silenced by the cock-sure volubility of the experts in economics. This writer and most anarchists without being "experts" are neither hypnotised nor silenced for the very obvious reason that the complexities

of the problem are basically social and not financial and therefore so long as the "experts" are concerned with the solvency of the capitalist system—that is, so long as they approach the economic needs of the community with the eyes and arguments of accountants—their arguments from the point of view of human needs and aspirations have no meaning. What is more, by and large, they are phoney!

★

THEY are phoney, dear reader, because it is impossible to subject them to a scientific test. To quote one example. What proof is there that during the past year output rose by 5 per cent. as a result of a "stimulus" of £280 m. and not the £400m. estimated by the "independent" experts? Again, last month's trade gap of £120 m., does this point to a "crisis" in the export rat-race or is it simply an indication that in January this country imported more than it exported, and invites the comment "so what"? Surely, unless one can also ascertain how much of what has been

imported has been consumed and how much is in stock, these statistics are valueless, except, of course, as fuel for the electoral-year fire; to keep the economists wrangling (at the public's expense) and to give the newspapers yet another crisis to get their journalistic teeth into.

It seems to this writer that most of the "experts" are, in fact, cranks, people with an *idée fixe* and that when their "cures" pay of it is more by chance than by judgment; they are the Old Moores of Capitalism, and because both the production of the Almanac and the profession of economist are very profitable indeed, they will go on cashing-in so long as there is a gullible public to buy their wares. We purposely started this piece with the opening paragraph from an editorial in July, 1961* because it is the kind of "crisis talk" that we may well expect in the coming weeks and which will be lapped up just as it was in 1961

*"Financial Crisis" (FREEDOM July 15th, 1961 (*Freedom Selections*, Vol. 11 pp. 107-110).

Continued on page 3

BOYCOTT MARTELL'S STRIKE-BREAKERS!

BRITAIN'S No. 1 strike breaker has just experienced a head-on clash with printworkers. Freedom Group have just taken over Westbourne Press in Hove and declared it an 'open house'. The manager of Westbourne Press wished to advertise for staff in the *Brighton Argus*. Prior to the take-over Westbourne Press adverts had been accepted, now the *Brighton Argus* refuses them.

Mr. Martell believes this alteration of policy was due to Union pressure, I sincerely hope so, this is the policy that should be adopted everywhere the Freedom Group try to creep in.

Sapphire Press (Freedom Group) have just won a contract from the Greyhound Racing Association to print race cards for White City, Harringay, Stamford Bridge and New Cross. Welbecson Ltd., were the former printers, G.R.A. wished to decrease costs, and asked for tenders, Sapphire Press was the lowest. The contract is due to start May 1, but evidently the workers at Welbecson Ltd., are disturbed, and the race cards appear to be delayed. According to my informants, the cards at one track were badly duplicated and the price for the card was reduced.

Printworkers always appear to be at loggerheads with Martell, I wonder why? Is it because he tried to 'take them on' with the printing of the *Recorder* when he hired a machine in the former Star building. His ideas of staffing the machine were a little different from theirs. They had no intention of allowing him to make a fortune out of their

labour power, I am assured he was 'choked'.

Stanborough Press Ltd., had better watch out, the Freedom Group has offered them assistance because their plant was partially destroyed by fire. Stanborough Press Ltd., is run by Seventh Day Adventists who employ non-union labour. It is reported that the firm is non-commercial, dealing only in religious work. Other printers offered to assist Stanborough Press but their workers refused to handle work by non-union labour.

I understand that Seventh Day Adventists stick to their principles through hell and high water, so do printworkers, so dry your eyes Mr. Martell, your crocodile tears are wasted, you can't make capital out of this venture.

Freedom Group were considering making a bid for British Lion. It is their intention to attack the so-called restrictive practices in the film industry, I imagine workers in the film industry would have something to say and 'do' about that. The film industry is not so open to attack in this type of situation as the print industry.

Martell's organisation claims they are not anti-union, union members can work in their plant, provided they behave, and treat their union card as if it were a ticket to a flower show.

In the *New Daily* 29/1/64 (Freedom Group's daily) there was an article concerning the 18 men at Fords who couldn't get their jobs back after the dispute. The unions are pressing for their reinstatement. According to the article their chances are very small and it goes on to say "If other employers will not employ the men, it may well be that they consider the fact that their dismissal was followed by peace at Fords as being significant. The unions apparently do not".

What wishful thinking! Ford workers are struggling and arguing every day. There can be no peace at Fords especially since American managerial methods are becoming more obvious.

Fords failure to take back these 18 men was meant to be a direct challenge to the shop steward organisation, calling those specific 18 'trouble makers' was so much baloney.

We will hear a lot more of the Freedom Group in the months to come, their plan is to infiltrate the Tory Party and give it a boost in areas where there is a fear of it becoming right-wing Liberal. In any trade dispute if it is at all possible they will be there to scab, as midland bus workers know to their cost.

Every effort must be made to wreck Freedom Group's industrial plans, if we don't we have only ourselves to blame.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

FORD'S PLAN SACKINGS

It was last October that Fords first announced their re-organisation of production plans and since that time, rumours have been widespread among the workers at Dagenham that these plans would mean a certain amount of redundancy. At the time, this was strongly denied by the management (FREEDOM, No. 34, Oct. 26th, 1963), but now they have admitted that there will be some sackings at the end of the year.

The extent of the sackings is not yet known. They say that if the market remains as good as it is now, this redundancy would only involve a small proportion. Of course if the economic situation deteriorates, and with the uncertainties of an election year, this is likely, the market will possibly decline. It would also be affected by an increased tax in the Budget and a higher Bank Rate. Fords say these things would make it necessary to sack more men.

At a meeting of the Nation Joint Negotiating Committee, the Ford management gave the reasons for these sackings. This year they will be changing their manufacturing facilities. The tractor production is being transferred from Dagenham to the new factory at Basildon, transmission production is being moved to Halewood and there is to be a new automated foundry at Dagenham. All of this will mean a surplus of labour.

Fords have drawn up plans for compensation by which all workers affected by redundancy would get one week's basic wage for every year in the employ of Fords. These payments would be made as a "Supplemental Unemployment Benefit", and would be divided up and paid with the ordinary weekly unemployment payments.

At this same N.J.N.C. meeting the unions announced that they would not sit on any more of the Councils subverted to be a lot of lies and, although

committees, but that all negotiations would have to go before the full council on which all of the 22 unions are represented. The reason given by the unions for this, was that the management's representatives on these sub-committees "lacked authority". The management pressed the unions to reduce the number of representatives on the N.J.N.C., as the "Jack" inquiry recommended. This request was rejected.

The unions have for some time now been requesting a third week's holiday for all workers employed by Fords, to which the management has replied with an offer of four extra paid days which, linked with the Bank Holiday, would give the workers three weeks holiday. This is to be done in stages and will be in operation by 1967. The strings attached to this offer are that Fords want a "specific guarantee" of overtime to be worked. The figure they are asking for is 40 hours per month if necessary. The unions' present agreement with the management states that there should be only a "reasonable amount" of compulsory overtime. This is no doubt, too vague for Fords and they would like to step up overtime, when production schedules demand it.

At the moment the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions are seeking a reduction in the amount of overtime worked in the engineering trades generally. This now stands at 30 hours per month and they are trying to reduce it to 20 hours.

It is obvious that Fords knew of the likelihood of sackings, last October. At that time, they told the unions of their re-organisation plans and extended the three-shift system to other sections of the Dagenham plant. This they said would prevent the sackings which would be necessary with their new manufacturing plans. All of this has now been

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

Fords might blame taxation, the Budget and the General Election, they still admit that some sacking will be necessary. The suspicions that the shop stewards and workers voiced last October, have been proved correct.

The new methods that Fords are trying to introduce will suit the management very well. They will keep down the number of workers employed to the very minimum, but when the car demand is very heavy, they just increase the overtime working. If production was run in a sane manner, surely more labour would be used, but in capitalist terms, it is far more profitable to increase the number of hours worked than the number of men working them.

What Fords want is a smaller workforce, working whatever hours are dictated to them. This extra overtime will be compulsory and will be written into their agreement as a condition of employment. If anyone refuses, no doubt Fords would not hesitate to try to sack him.

Following the management's offer of their third week's holiday scheme, shop stewards and branch officials of the National Union of Vehicle Builders at the Dagenham plant have called for a ban on overtime to back the union's holiday claim (without any strings attached). This ban they say should be operated at all Fords plants.

Since the failure of the unions to get the 17 victimised men re-instated, Fords management have had it all their own way. Because of this, rank and file organisation has been weakened and most of the time the unions have conceded to the management. If any real opposition is to be made to Fords plans, it must come from the workers themselves. This call for a ban on overtime is a step in the right direction, but it must come from the rank and file. It is no good relying on the bureaucrats of the 22 unions. National action by the men themselves is the only way to defeat the plans of the Ford Company.

P.T.

ANARCHY 37: Symposium on 'Why I Don't Vote!'

ANARCHY is Published by
Freedom Press at 2s.
on the first Saturday of every month

Animal Farm

It is especially as an allegory of the course of revolution that *Animal Farm* is read, Orwell's grasp of the character of state socialism can be seen not only in the earlier chapters, in which he gives an account of the expropriation of humans from Manor Farm and of the accelerating development of a new tyranny, but in the last chapter, in which pigs and humans arrive at the brink of mutual admiration, of 'peaceful co-existence'. It will be recalled that at the time of publication, 1945, there were no signs of this development in East-West politics.

In the person of the Donkey, *Animal Farm* also presents a portrait of one kind of response to the enthusiasm of the simple-minded and the claptrap of politicians. Sceptical, tough-minded and without illusions, the Donkey is unmoved by the enthusiasm and undecieved by the claptrap. His behaviour can be taken as an archetype for one kind of anarchism.

Krushevich's statement to British United Press (reported *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31/12/63), predicting East-West agreements, is a grotesque confirmation of Orwell's last chapter, since some of his comments and his paraphrasing of the views of Kennedy and Johnson, parallel the speeches made by Farmer Pilkington and Napoleon after the pigs had conducted the humans on a tour of the farm.

Kennedy, according to Krushchev, held that 'our countries need a better weapon than the hydrogen bomb, a weapon more perfect than ballistic missiles or nuclear submarines'. The 'better weapon' is not Moral Rearma-

ment, as one might imagine, but 'peaceful co-operation'. And Johnson's intentions, again according to Krushchev, are 'peaceful settlement of international problems, improving relations with the Soviet Union and calling a halt to the cold war'. His intentions have aroused Russian 'gratification' and 'favour'.

Compare this with Farmer Pilkington's after-dinner thoughts:

'It was a source of great satisfaction to him, he said—and, he was sure, to all others present—to feel that a long period of mistrust and misunderstanding had now come to an end.'

'He would end his remarks, he said, by emphasising once again the friendly feelings that subsisted, and ought to subsist, between Animal Farm and its neighbours. Between pigs and human beings there was not, and there need not be, any clash of interests whatever. Their struggles and their difficulties were one. *Was not the labour problem the same everywhere?*' (my italics).

For his part Krushchev asserted that 'Russia needed peace to advance its big economic plans' and that Americans 'we believe, do not want war either'. He could see 'no alternative to peaceful co-existence' and was convinced that 'the progress of our system and its development are assured under conditions of peaceful economic competition between the two systems'.

Compare that with Napoleon's reply to Farmer Pilkington:

'He too, he said, was happy that the period of misunderstanding was at an end... Their sole wish, now and in the past, was to live at peace and in normal business relations with their neighbours.'

Napoleon's wish for 'normal business relations' and his toast to prosperity anticipate the stepping up in East-West trade. His sale of Boxer to the knackers anticipates, in ruthless acquisitiveness, the assumption by the Russians of the role of Merchants of Death, selling arms to India and China. His denial that the pigs had attempted 'to stir up rebellion among the animals on neighbouring farms' anticipates the admiration Krushchev has expressed for the living standards of the capitalist countries.

Farmer Pilkington's discovery not only of 'the most up-to-date methods, but a discipline and an orderliness which should be an example to all farmers everywhere' anticipates both the admiration touring American businessmen have expressed for Russian industrial methods and Professor Kennan's comparison of his country's lack of a 'highly developed sense of national purpose' and 'insufficient social discipline' with the 'purposeful, serious and disciplined' character of

Soviet society.

It might be thought that this state of affairs is better than war or the threat of it. For instance, under 'peaceful co-existence' there might be a slackening of security regulations and police activities. But quite apart from the possibility that 'peaceful co-existence' might only be a passing phase there is the possibility that it will bring about co-operation between capitalist and socialist police. The neighbourly gesture of the Russians in handing their file on Lee Harvey Oswald to the Americans is a case in point. This could be the forerunner of systematic exchange of information about 'underisables' and 'trouble-makers' and even the exchange of their persons. Indeed, Orwell could have extended his fairy tale by having Snowball, Mollie and Farmer Jones extradited. If we accept that we cannot do much to affect the changing alliances between nations, let alone abolish nations, then we might be willing to see in the Donkey an archetype for our own behaviour.

The Donkey, unlike the simple-minded sheep (archetype of the broad masses) and the great-hearted Boxer (archetype of the heroic, inevitably betrayed proletarian), never believes in Napoleon's divinity. But unlike some anarchists he doesn't substitute for notions of the divinity of leaders any notion of the divinity of the people. There is no suggestion that he expects the animals at large to turn on the pigs and overthrow them or that, in the event of that happening, he would expect a classless leaderless society to result. (It is significant here that the pigs' rise to power is connected with their assumption of the tasks of co-ordinating and directing labour. As these tasks are presumably called for in any economy not based on self-sufficient peasants and craftsmen, the rise of the pigs provides anarcho-syndicalists, with their advocacy of tiers of councils of delegates, with a case to answer.)

The Donkey evidently disbelieves in the divinity of history, for there is no suggestion that he supposes that 'progress' will somehow erode away the tyranny of pigs or humans. His knowledge of the past tempers his expectations of the future. He 'professed to remember every detail of his long life and to know that things never had been, nor ever could be much better or much worse'. His disbelief in progress is manifested in his unenthusiastic attitude to the windmill.

But he is no 'know-nothing'. Even though he denies that there are any books 'worth reading', he 'could read as well as any pig', an accomplishment lacking among the other animals. And he is shrewder and more observant than the other animals subordinated to the pigs, perhaps more so than the pigs themselves. Thus on the occasion of the second human invasion of the farm he is the first animal to realise the humans' intention of blowing up the windmill. Apart from the pigs he is the only animal to realise that the pigs

are altering the commandments painted on the end wall of the barn. And when Boxer, his health broken by his years of selfless labour, is taken away by the knackers, the Donkey is the first to wake up to this. But for him the other animals would probably never for even a moment have doubted the pigs' lie, that Boxer was being taken to the hospital. As it is the animals are soon reassured. They are the eternal dupes, the pigs the eternal masters and pastors.

The Donkey is characterized as old, ill-tempered, morose, taciturn and cynical. Yet his actions show that he is also intelligent, shrewd and observant and, despite these 'leadership qualities', evidently unambitious for power over others. He is, furthermore, kindly and steadfast in his loyalties, as his behaviour to Boxer shows. Yet he at no time tries to claim credit for these characteristics, he merely practises them. The contrast both with the pigs, greedy for power and ruthless in its exercise, and with the other animals, variously stupid and gullible and servile, is striking. It is a model for the relations of anarchists to rulers on the one hand and to subjects, too-willing subjects, on the other.

Some anarchists with their notions of barricades, insurrections and the like, will see the Donkey as a pessimistic, anti-humanitarian character, unjustifiably lacking faith in the other animals (*i.e.* in 'the people'). They will deplore his lack of activism, which will be mistaken for quietism, for 'do-nothingism' forgetting the Chinese sage's admonition that doing nothing is better than being busy doing nothing and overlooking his freedom from illusion and his attempt to save Boxer. In urging him to a frenzy of action they will ignore the inability of the other animals to share, other than momentarily, the Donkey's critical and unillusioned state of mind. They will offer no procedures whereby this state of mind could be induced in the sheep, the horses, the poultry, the dogs and all the other animals; or whereby these could be dissuaded from obeying the will of the pigs; or whereby the co-ordinative tasks assumed at the beginning by the pigs could be dispensed with and the consequent assumption of tyrannical power by the co-ordinators precluded.

Other anarchists will experience greater sympathy for the Donkey. Thus Alan Sillitoe's heroes in *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* and *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner* exhibit Donkey-like characteristics. Thoreau was a perfect Donkey. His comment on the Maine-Texas telegraph, that as far as he knew Maine and Texas had nothing to say to each other, is a case in point. Some of the attitudes and activities recommended by Alex Comfort—sociological study and awareness, civil disobedience in the face of mad demands, loyalty to persons rather than to 'stuffed substitutes for responsibility', refusal to seek positions of coercive power—are held and practised by the Donkey.

I have suggested that *Animal Farm* not only, as everyone knows, is a fairy story about the course of a state-socialist

revolution, but tells also of the common interests of rulers in all lands, whatever be their ideology, whatever be the structure of the political system they rule. Readers of the book will recall the close of Farmer Pilkington's speech:

'Here it became apparent that Mr. Pilkington was about to spring some carefully prepared witticism on the company, but for a moment he was too overcome by amusement to be able to utter it. After much choking, during which his various chins turned purple, he managed to get it out: "If you have your lower animals to contend with," he said, "we have our lower classes!" This *bon mot* set the table in a roar; and Mr. Pilkington once more congratulated the pigs on the low rations, the long working hours, and the general absence of pampering which he had observed on Animal Farm.'

But if pigs and humans, the rulers, have common interests, they also have divergent interests, a fact exemplified by the anger and suspicion which erupt between them in the book's close. In opposition both to *our* rulers and *their* rulers, with their attempts to learn each other's methods and to use us as tax-fodder, job-fodder and cannon-fodder, stands the character of the Donkey who, I have suggested, can be seen as the archetype of one kind, though not all kinds, of anarchist response and resistance. K.M.

LFA Notes

DEMONSTRATION AT THE FRENCH EMBASSY

Last Saturday a Demonstration was held outside the French Embassy in Knightsbridge, to protest against the continued imprisonment without trial, of seven of our Spanish Comrades exiled in France.

Last Wednesday these comrades began a hunger strike in an attempt to force the authorities to try them. They have been held for six months under the law which claimed that they were an association of malfactors. SIX MONTHS WITHOUT TRIAL and at the moment at least no sign of being tried. About fifty comrades turned up on the demonstration. After some time Brian Hart went into the Embassy to hand in a note of protest. He saw no-one except a clerk and gave the letter to him, receiving the assurance that it would go through to the proper authorities.

Of course we have demonstrated before, at the same Embassy for the same comrades, about five months ago. The protesters then were courteously received BUT THE COMRADES ARE STILL IN PRISON AND HAVE STILL NOT BEEN TRIED.

Personally I was disappointed with the number of demonstrators, I think it should have been AT LEAST three times as many. These kind of 'demos' have to be bigger. It is surprising how many people will come to a ball, compared to a demonstration for comrades, who to say the least, are 'in a bad fix!' Let's try to make it better next time. . .

JACK STEVENSON.

Prepare Now!

DEAR COMRADES,

Some of us felt after the Marham demonstrations that the Committee of 100's Welfare Group activities were lacking and so I volunteered to help, and am now a member of the Welfare Group.

Our previous £500 debt has more or less been paid off, but effective action at Ruislip will be limited by lack of funds unless we can get some cash beforehand. We are producing two duplicated leaflets and hope to be able to supply some sort of refreshments for the Ruislip demonstrations; any other activities will depend on the amount of support we can get.

I hope that those of you who thought more should have been done at Marham will help by sending a donation to:

JEANNE SMYTHE,

88, Park Avenue,

Enfield, Middlesex.

Enfield.

MARY STEVENSON.

SIT DOWN OR PAY UP FUND

ONLY A MONTH TO EASTER when it is anticipated that some comrades will need financial aid after the Committee of 100 activity at Ruislip U.S. H.Q. and elsewhere. Also some fines are still outstanding from previous demonstrations. Donations to:

JEFF ROBINSON,

17a, Maxwell Road,

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JOHN CLARE, was born on the 13th July, 1793, in the Northamptonshire village of Helpston. A twin to a sister, who died soon after birth, he was the eldest child of two surviving to his parents—humble cottage folk. His father worked in the fields and like his mother, was unlettered, though both parents were wont to sing and recite numerous ballads (over one hundred, it was said) to the child.

Clare was a small man and from childhood had delicate poise and sensibility. His eyes were of a very light blue colour and his look was penetrating. His feet and hands were delicate and his hair light—the colour of sun-drenched straw. His forehead was described by a doctor, 'of a great breadth and altitude, such as we are in the habit of ascribing to men of the highest order of intellect'.

Born in poverty—the child had little education, but exulted in the delights of a childhood spent playing, or working amidst the fields and countryside. He had a tendency to be alone—though he had many and particular friends and his many wanderings were mostly solitary and from which sprang his knowledge of nature—primal and direct. Early put to work in the gardens of a large mansion, it soon palled and he returned to work in the fields, 'whence I could look on the wild heath, the wide, spreading variety of cultured and fallow fields, green meadows and brooking brooks, and the dark woods wavering to the murmuring winds. These were my delights and here I could mutter to myself as usual, unheard and unnoticed by the sneering clown and conceited coxcomb'. Clare always reflected this inner perception of freedom, which is a condition of growth—so manifest in

John Clare: an English Peasant Poet

nature.

With the land enclosures, came the destruction of the wild spinneys and dells. Also with the abolition of their habitats, the birds—especially the sparrows—took to the cultivations and crops, which occasioned prolonged trappings and extermination. The poet would expend from his hard-earned money—the pence to purchase some of these creatures and set them free. In this action—he was in company with Leonardo da Vinci, of whom it is recalled, that as he was wont to stride through the market place and perceiving caged birds, he would purchase and set them free.

The enforcement of the enclosures, at first, brought plenty of work. Hedging, ditching and walling—transforming the countryside, but the peasantry who were poor enough, became poorer still.

It was from this background that a local bookseller sent Clare's first poems to a London publisher, by whom they were printed. The poems were accepted and elicited—at best—a patronising enthusiasm. The author came to London, where he was given much sociability—meeting Coleridge, De Quincey,

Charles Lamb and many others. But the poet's subsequent second, third and fourth books failed. Getting a girl with child he ventured into marriage which was unfortunate, but not entirely unhappy. Soon, his fame faded and suffering general indifference he returned to Northamptonshire—to poverty—to verse-making and intermittent work in the fields, made in the endeavour to maintain an ever-increasing family.

Eventually, his health of mind broke down and his publisher procured a place for him in a private asylum at Epsom, from which, after a short residence, he escaped and returned home. Travelling the entire distance on foot, with little rest. He took sustenance by chewing grass taken from the roadside.

At home for a time, but with recurrent bouts of frenzy, he was admitted into the General Lunatic Asylum at Northampton. Clare was forty-eight years of age. Suggestion has been made that his mental illness was occasioned by a syphilis infection, but in the absence of any proof, it remains conjecture.

Clare was humanely and kindly treated in the institution, being allowed the freedom of the town and surrounding countryside, and when he was well, he was often to be seen thereabouts. The Asylum superintendent encouraged Clare to write, and carefully collected his work and it is to the efforts of this official that much of Clare's poetry is extant.

Between the ages of sixty and seventy, the poet's mind broke up quickly and completely, and he finally died of a stroke on the 20th May, 1864, aged seventy years.

Clare's pure, pristine vision is unique in English poetry. S.L.R.

FREEDOM

February 29 1964 Vol 25 No 7

THE CRISIS INDUSTRY

Continued from page 1

without anyone drawing, what seem to be to us, the elementary conclusions.

In February, 1964 the economists are telling us that we are "living beyond our means", that "we have never had it so good" since the memorable occasion when Sir Alec's distinguished predecessor reminded us of our good fortune . . . in 1961. So in a matter of thirty months we have been heading for—to quote a Tory spokesman — "the greatest crisis economic since 1931", and are now on the threshold of another. One assumes therefore that in between the two "crises" we have been living beyond our means, that we have been too greedy in tasting the fruits of prosperity! So what happened to the crisis of 1961? Was it Mr. Macmillan's cabinet reshuffle in October of that year which did the trick and snatched success from a situation threatening disaster? Or was the "prosperity", sandwiched between the crises of 1961 and 1964 (over which more tons of newsprint will be expended), in fact no more a period of prosperity than either 1961 or 1964 are noticeably periods of crisis or potential crisis? What the publicist economists haven't even the wit or the imagination to appreciate from the lofty heights they inhabit, is that the overwhelming majority of wage-earners are still principally concerned with having the means to secure the necessities of life; that a working class family today can "afford" some of the gadgets, the frills of industrial society only because wives go out to work, husbands work overtime and because they jointly mortgage their working-lives to the financiers; that when the economists talk of a 2 or 3 per cent. rate of unemployment as essential to the prosperity of the economy, they mean the prosperity of the capitalist system and the class that benefits thereby, and overlook the misery that results for between half and three-quarters of a million working-class families.

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WHEN the economists declare that, as a nation, we are living beyond our means, they are talking a special jargon of their own which is meaningless to the ordinary person whose experience tells him that he cannot get anything for nothing. When he gets his telly, a suite of contemptible furniture, or a jerry-built house on credit, the working man may be said to be living beyond his means, but the fact remains that these commodities exist and have been paid for by someone. According to the *Observer's* expert, "total stocks held in Britain are worth no less than £10,000 million." Someone has also paid for that lot. That "someone" are the producers who have been robbed of the full product of their labour and who in order "to live beyond their means"—that is pawn their future earning capacity—must apply for credit to those who are robbing them! The people of this and of every capitalist country are at the mercy of the banks, whoever else may be their visible persecutors and exploiters.

Nobody can, or is allowed to live beyond his means. If it were poss-

ible why should workers bother to work overtime or successful business men take on more commitments, or safe-breakers and train robbers take the risks they do? The H.P. system is no exception to this rule, as many suckers realise the hard way, when they can no longer keep up with their payments.

So what are all these "economic crises" about? You and this writer get nothing for nothing; nor does the boss, or anybody else, for that matter. So, all these "crises" must be purely financial and but for the fact that directly or indirectly we are governed by the banks we could ignore them. For finance is itself a capitalist industry. But unlike other socially useless industries, it derives its power and profit by infiltrating every corner of the economy as well as the human mind, and therefore its "crises" hit everybody at some time or another.

Finance is the mother of all monopolists. (The recent incestuous *affaire* between Clore and the merchant bankers M. Samuel is significant in this context.)† And it is the permanent power behind government. Because no government can ignore its "crises", no government is free to pursue policies which clash with the interests of the banks. Or to put it more bluntly any government that did, would soon be out of office because of alleged incompetence.

The question we ask ourselves and to which the political correspondents of the capitalist press never supply the answer, either because the question has never entered their establishment brains or because it is a taboo subject: to what extent are Cabinet "crises" provoked and resolved by the bankers—by high finance? And the conclusive answer for this writer being that they are, also provides a clue as to the role of the millionaire Press in politics. Some readers may have been puzzled as we were by the apparent enthusiasm with which some sections of the capitalist press were headlining and underlining the crisis within the Tory party over the selection of a successor to Mr. Macmillan. But if one sees the National Press as the mouthpiece of high finance and not as Tory stooges everything falls into some kind of perspective. It even explains why Mr. Cecil King, unchallenged boss of Fleet Street and the periodical press of this country, "couldn't care less" which party won the next elections. We suggest that this would not be his group's attitude if they thought a Labour government with a socialist programme also had the power to put it into effect. So only if one sees these tycoons and monopolies such as ICI and the Oil Companies as the tentacles of high finance, whose first loyalty is to the banks, can one appreciate the impotence of governments Right, Left or Centre. The power of the banks is only challenged effectively by unconstitutional means. It is for this reason that anarchist propaganda must encourage and stimulate libertarian revolutionary action wherever possible, and always discourage participation in parliamentary politics.

†See the *Observer's* feature on "The Samuels get the master's touch" (Feb 16).

ERIC TAYLOR, the Jamaican with whom 100 lorry drivers refused to work was revealed last week to have been for the last three years in the employ of Stepney Borough Council. Whilst he was "off sick" he secured his new job. His fellow-workers (white) had questioned his ability to fight for his union rights of overtime and an added excuse (on the BBC) by a lorry-driver was that "landladies would discriminate against him on long-distance journeys". The 80 engineers at the English Steel Corporation, Sheffield rescinded, on the orders of Sheffield AEU committee, a resolution banning "foreigners" from being upgraded to take charge of machines. The motion was passed to debar a Pakistani from promotion. The engineers are now threatening to impose bans on piecework and overtime if the Pakistani is promoted. Jimmy Hoffa has negotiated a contract for his US Teamsters' Union with employers for a 28cents-hourly pay increase, \$5 a week in fringe benefits and an improved holiday plan. It will cost employers \$300 million. Hoffa afterwards went on trial on a charge of tampering with a jury in one of his many court cases. Forty lorry drivers and their mates went on strike at a Newark brewery when a driver was suspended for three days for going to a café for a cup of tea. 100 public-houses had no deliveries of beer. . . .

BRISTOL MAGISTRATES ruled that the froth on a Guinness was an integral part of the pint. Aborigines in the Northern Territory of Australia will be given the same rights to alcohol as white people if a bill before the Legislature at Darwin passes. Previously an aborigine who had not qualified for Australian citizenship was not allowed alcohol—citizenship is restricted to aborigines whose way of life approximated to white standards and customs. The Medical and Agricultural Research Councils published a report that the coming fall-out season is likely to bring as much strontium 90 as the record contamination of 1962. The amount of strontium in milk was twice as great as 1962. There were 25.6 units of strontium in milk in 1963 and 11.7 in 1962. . . .

THE UNITED STATES conducted an underground nuclear test in Nevada of low intermediate yield as part of its programme to develop atomic devices for use in possible excavation experiments. The explosion force was equal to 20,000 to 200,000 tons of TNT. Marshal Malinovsky, the Russian Defence Minister,



said that in recent years Soviet strategic rockets hit targets between 7,500 and 8,000 miles away with pin-point accuracy. Soviet strategic missiles, he said, are "not only a match for American missiles but are far superior to them in every respect". The Queen Mum's discharge from hospital incited the *Guardian's* "London Letter" to quote nostalgically the Queen Mum's remark when Buckingham Palace was bombed during World War Two, "At last I can look the East End in the face". . . .

"NEWSWEEK" RECENTLY carried a story of a research institute in San Diego which plays war games. "We're hoping" said the associate director "that we can establish through these experiments some scientific techniques to learn how decision-makers behave. Then we could foresee international situations and predict behaviour beforehand. We must learn why some decision-makers and some nations set in motion forces which are obviously contrary to their own best interests. Maybe, with new knowledge, we will be able to improve the quality of high-level decisions". . . .

LIVERPOOL CITY Council passed a resolution "That this Council believing (1) that the Civil Defence policy of the Central Government essentially designed for treatment of survivors and salvage of property, does not and cannot offer defence to the community against nuclear attack; (2) that the pursuit of this policy grossly misleads the community into a belief that there is such a defence when there is not, and; (3) that it is a great moral wrong that a community should be misled on this vital issue; [the Council] rejects outright the use of the term 'Defence' in regard to its functions under the Civil Defence

Act 1948; calls upon the Home Secretary to substitute terms which accord with reality, and calls upon the Association of Municipal Corporations to support this step". . . .

CND was said by the *Guardian* on the basis of a forthcoming pamphlet to accept the idea of NATO and of a 'minimum deterrent'. This was denied by the CND chairman who said the pamphlet was not a policy pamphlet but a basis for discussion. Their conference, executive and council were still opposed to NATO and other nuclear alliances. . . .

THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN has cut from an anthology *The Rebel* presented by the Royal Shakespeare Theatre Company at the London Aldwych lines from a poem by E. E. Cummings *I Sing of Olas*. The lines cut concern a conscientious objector, ill-treated by the military until he dies, he says, "I will not kiss your fucking flag (cut) and "there is some shit I will not eat" (cut). The final lines also cut) are:

Christ (of His mercy infinite)
I pray to see; and Olaf, too
preponderatingly because
unless statistics lie he was
more brave than me; more blond than
you."

The complete poem has been anthologized many times and last year was spoken on BBC's *Monitor* and in poetry festivals at the Royal Court, and the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-on-Avon; the missing lines are printed in the programme at the Aldwych. . . .

THE GOVERNMENT moved the second reading of the Emergency Powers Bill. The Home Secretary said that it extended the power of the Government to take emergency measures to maintain essential supplies in times of emergency. Under the Emergency Powers Act 1920, the Government had these powers for emergencies caused by labour troubles. The Bill also made permanent the Defence Regulations 1939, authorising the use of servicemen on agricultural and other land work of national importance. Proclamations of emergency had been made only on six occasions since 1926. The last three were in 1948 and 1949 in connection with dock strikes and in 1955 during a railway strike. The new powers would seldom be exercised. The sort of emergency the government had in mind, said Mr. Brooke, were frosts and floods. The Bill was given a second reading.

JON QUIXOTE.

Needed: a Lot of Education!

THE goal for a truly free and equal society is what the intelligent and one who has heart for his fellow human being should strive for. A statement like the foregoing is easy to make when one has a fairly good command of language. Ah! But the pitfalls that beset the individual who takes it upon himself to work for anarchy and a better and free society!

I learned and heard about anarchy on my Dady's knee, so to speak. I was told of the principles and the workings of a profit-less society. My Dad did not preach anarchy to us kids but only to explain it so that, if ever the time came, we would know which side to be on. Out of two girls and two boys, I am the only one who is an anarchist. My two sisters never were interested in politics and they grew up to be married and simply to raise a family. Their interest lies solely in how much money their husbands bring into the house. My brother (who is three years older than I) was interested in local, national and international politics up till the time that he got married and then he lost all interest in politics. My brother's wife is very status conscious and is an extremely strict conformist. He is now interested in making the fast buck by working overtime and by being a shop steward in his local union. He is not a union official because of his desire to help his fellow working man. He is there simply for that extra money that the union (Union, Hell! His fellow workers' dues) pays him. Can you trust someone who is avaricious and greedy for profit? If, in my lifetime, we had the opportunity to establish a free and profit-less society and I were asked if I had trust in my brother, I would unhesitatingly say no and that I would sooner trust a complete and utter stranger than my brother.

Perhaps, you ask yourself, "What the hell has this background of this guy's family to do with anarchy?" I say this: Look to nature. It is all around us and

we can learn a lot about life by having a simple interest in nature. As nature is all around us, so are our families and our intimate friends. We can learn a lot by observing those who are near and dear to us. The moral about my brother and two sisters is that the profit system has turned three people into chasing the holy grail of the fast buck.

As long as we have people who are seeking a profit, can we have a free and equal society? People can be taught, can they not? So, it falls upon the shoulders of each and all of us, as anarchists, to try to rationalize so that we can try to teach and educate people of the folly of a profit system.

I have been a member of the anarchist movement since December of 1957. I have often thought and tried to rationalize why the movement hasn't grown more than it has and why does the average man have such apathy towards a society that will benefit him along with everyone else. The only solution that I can arrive at is that man needs education and a hell of a lot of education on the principles of anarchy. Man is brainwashed from the time that he can barely walk (by being taken to church on a Sunday) and then in school he is not only brainwashed but thoroughly confused about life itself. There is hope from the college student but that is only a small and quite forlorn hope. The first two years of college, a student might and quite often questions our culture and our society as a whole.

There lies the opportunity to convince a person of a just, free and equal way of life. By the third year, the student begins to think of what his approach to life will be with the idea of trying to make the most money he possibly can, year by year. The fourth year in college, he is well-nigh lost to the anarchist movement, as he is trying to join some business concern that will pay him more than the next one. What is the good of higher education if you are so brainwashed that you will eagerly seek to fit yourself into a segment of society and uphold the traditions of a profit society?

Recently, I read an autobiography by Peter Kropotkin, "Memoirs Of A Revolutionary". It is a wonderful book and very easy to read. Tons and tons of literature was smuggled into Russia and passed around the fifty provinces of Russia. Thus, by literature (mainly pamphlets) and talks, a movement was started that in fifty years developed into a successful revolution. It is sad that the Bolsheviks took the power into their own hands and killed off many of the Russian anarchists. Some anarchists were fortunate to flee to other countries and a few are still living in Russia.

We, as anarchists, must never forget the lessons of the Russian and Spanish revolutions. In our attempts to teach people about anarchism, we must never fail to point out that power corrupts and that there is no power in a truly free society.

SYNDICALIST GEORGE.

ENERGY, ENTHUSIASM AND MONEY ARE REQUIRED FOR THE ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Do-it-yourself

DEAR SIR,
At a recent Sunday-night L.F.A. talk called 'Reich, do-it-yourself therapy, and the anarchist movement', I failed to bring out the connections between the first two items and the last. Since some of the people who were there read FREEDOM and other readers may be interested, here are some of them:

W. Reich showed (e.g. in 'The Function of the Orgasm', Noonday Press) that someone without 'character armouring', i.e., without muscles permanently tensed and shrunken, is completely non-authoritarian, and unresponsive to authoritarians (among other things). Also, if people with such armouring cease having it, their authoritarian-centred attitudes and ideas automatically disappear, as the unbudgeability of these is rooted in such muscles.

Reich developed a complex therapy that released these muscles, but the number of therapists and the number of people they could treat were too few to make any appreciable dent in the problem, which is, that almost everybody in the world has at least some character armouring. (This is not, of course, a full statement of Reich's position, with its emphasis on prevention.)

Now a new method of ridding oneself of these permanent tensions has been developed. The theory of it, and its results, confirm, completely, what Reich has said about the existence of the character armour and its effects and causes.

It is called 'Movements' and is a do-it-yourself therapy, costing no money, and is thorough, certain, of limited duration, and does not even require intelligence to apply it. (Phew!) It can be done alone, or in groups, and one is in charge 'from the word go'. It is not dangerous and is certainly not heaven all along the way.

By 'moving', one can get rid of the police-state in oneself. As long as one permanent inner conflict remains there is a repressor and a repressed in oneself (the permanently tensed muscles doing the repressing). To the extent

★ **LETTERS** ★

such conflicts and musculatures remain in a non-authoritarian to that extent is one a hypocrite. Anarchists who are dissolving or have dissolved such tight musculatures in themselves are living examples of non-authoritarianism, practising what they preach.

And many people who are impervious to non-authoritarian arguments are interested in being 'complete', i.e. without the conflicts, tiredness, disgusts, joylessness, intolerances, ineffectiveness and uncreativeness that are by-products of these tense muscles. Such complete, free (or in Reich's words, 'orgastically potent'), people are obviously more effective for the good of themselves and the world.

Yours sincerely,
London, Feb. 22. DAVID KOZUBEL.

Why so cross . . .

I don't know why Jack Stevenson (FREEDOM Feb. 8) should get so cross about the newspapers and television getting us all wrong and making a joke of it. I have never regarded anarchism as something sacred, and if there are jokes to be made I prefer to make them.

Can we expect anything more from the press and the television except a mention and a giggle? One might have expected the *Guardian* to get facts right—viz that the London Federation has been in existence for some time and also that the individualists returned to the meeting. This may have been due to the fact that he had courteously been asked to go as he was not an anarchist and only self-professed anarchists were asked. He courteously went so we cannot complain of invasion of privacy. He did not however leave the building and he could have checked his facts or asked for a statement from anyone passing through. I did not feel that his flippant account was offensive, certainly much better than the *Express* account of the Ball or the BBC Tonight treatment of Malatesta Club.

We live in an age when the press, radio and television specialize in triviality and we can hope for only superficial treatment if they bother to see us or even if we dodge them.

I warn Comrade Stevenson that *Punch* has had an interview and the *Observer* is on the trail. Watch your blood-pressure Jack
London, Feb. 15. JACK ROBINSON.

. . . with Journalists

DEAR FRIENDS,
I read with distaste the article "A laugh for the posh Sundays" by Jack Stevenson in FREEDOM of Feb. 15th.

Immediate distaste—or more like disgust—with reporter (I'm one) being grouped with "capitalist stooge", being referred to as "this creature", belonging to "that dishonourable profession".

Further distaste came when I considered the theme of the latter half of the article. I appreciate Stevenson's point. It can be a little sickening when folks greet the fact that I'm an anarchist with sniggers, grins, and twittish references to bomb-throwing.

But if a newspaper reporter who "stood quietly listening to what was said", at the meeting held to set up a Federation of London's Anarchist Group was turfed out—I can't for the life of me see why, is this a potential secret society?—little wonder that the consequent article was ignorant in conception and mocking in tone.

If Stevenson wants to avoid ridicule and lies, one step in the right direction would be to stop taking newspaper reporters as enemies of freedom and establishment-loving pro-government propaganda merchants (his article implies this to me).

Public relations is a dirty word, but, although I'm no staunch believer in its virtues, the gross misrepresentation of the anarchist movement won't be helped by anarchist meetings becoming conclaves.

This is not an argument for increased external publicity—which could lead to a strengthening of the tendency to view anarchists as curios, or with a sympathy akin to that felt when looking at a monkey in a cage at the zoo.

But reporters go to meetings to report (I know I'm laying myself open to peals of cynical laughter) and if they were informed instead of being turned away, anarchists might achieve a greater dissemination of the truth about their opinions and facts about their choice of a "way of life" than they get at the moment.
Rhyl, Feb. 17. CHRIS SEGAR.

Using the Beatles

DEAR COMRADES,
I found F.H.'s letter about the Beatles very interesting, but I feel there is much more to be said about this social phenomenon than merely dismissing it as a manifestation of latent Fascism. True, the mass hysteria and abnegating of self to the mass-agreed-ideal is all very typical of Fascism, but I doubt very much if the British "Fascist" leaders have any liking for the Beatles—partly through their consistent lack of imagination in promoting their ideas, and partly because whatever we may think of the Beatles (which in my case isn't much) they themselves are not Fascists, but merely being manipulated as much as their excitable followers. No doubt many people's lives are so lacking in colour or purpose that such an invisible organisation as Beatlemania offers some solution to this problem. The Beatles themselves are always plugging the records of American coloured artistes such as Mary Wells, Shirley Ellis and Chuck Berry, and let's face it, music has probably been one of the greatest destroyers of racialism in America there has ever been. Stars like James Brown are popular with both white and coloured audiences, and their contribution to tolerance this way must be of some value. Whether the Beatles will continue to be used or not depends very much I believe on how they conform to society's demands, for although they are at present the nation's love affair, their days would certainly be numbered if they failed to please their masters. Already in the U.S.A. the music industry is complaining that although Beatle's records are selling, little else is moving, and so we will see the rest of the industry line up against the Beatle release companies, and new toys dangled before the public's fickle gaze. What will happen here where the record industry is one of the most monopolised is hard to foretell, but for all the Beatles' faults we should be grateful that the nation is not falling over itself for some of the real freak outfits that are lingering in the background waiting for a chance to snatch the Beatles' crown. I know for a fact through personal contact of a year or so back that two members of one of the most freakish up and coming groups are racialists, and if they commanded the sway that the Beatles have, then it could well have uglier overtones. So far the Beatles' most unhealthy influence has been promoting leather-wear—it may well stop there, which apart from their debased music is perhaps not such a bad thing as it could be.
Kent, Feb. 24. D.G.

Mankind is one!

DEAR EDITORS,
My conception of anarchism is that of a society wherein the individuals comprising that society will voluntarily co-operate in any necessary administration, authority having ceased by reason of the restoration to the people of all communal wealth.

This is a natural development which to a very limited extent is even taking place now and which must inevitably

FINANCE!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT FEBRUARY 22, 1964

Weeks 7 & 8		
EXPENSES: 8 weeks at £70		£560
INCOME:		
Sales & Sub. Renewals:	£	£
Weeks 1-6	437	
Weeks 7 & 8	78	
		515
New Subscriptions:		
Weeks 1-6 (37)	38	
Weeks 7 & 8 (10)	10	
		48
		563
		SURPLUS £3

DEFICIT FUND

London: B.W. 17/-; New Malden: J. T. 5/-;	
E. Rutherford: A.S.* 4/-; Hartford: M.G.A.*	
£2/12/9; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.*	
4/-; Corbridge: R.G.D. 2/6; Glasgow: J.H.*	
11/-; Colchester: C.J. 8/6; Cheltenham:	
L.G.W.* 10/-; Stevenage: V.M. £1; Gibsons:	
B.C.: W.P. £1/1/8; Hounslow: L.* 2/6;	
Glasgow: T.D. 10/-; London: R.S. 13/-;	
Nyack, N.Y. B.K. 13/-; London: T.K. 4/-;	
Birmingham: F.D. 1/9; Wolverhampton:	
J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 2/-; Bilston: J.W.P. 2/6;	
Preston: R.M. 4/6; New York: N.M.C.D.	
£4/18/0; London: "Victoria" 10/-; Chelten-	
ham: L.G.W. 10/-; E. Rutherford: A.S.* 7/-;	
Oxford: A.H. 1/3; Surrey: F.B.* 10/-.	
TOTAL	17 10 11
Previously acknowledged	146 13 9
1964 TOTAL TO DATE	£164 4 8

*denotes regular contributors.

increase in momentum as the necessity for human toil decreases, with the outcome of automation and elimination of waste inherent in any system of private ownership. Being based on economic facts, this contains nothing very visionary, unlike the crazy philosophy of Stirner and the individualists, which, if ever it could be put into practice, would inevitably fail and result in a return to Authority, as with the philosophy of religion to which with the doctrine of reformation from within, it is related. Always and ever the individualist must rely on the wholly illogical belief that liberty can be qualified in accordance with the liberty of others, as once more enunciated by Armand in his interpretation of Stirner. Liberty is absolute and cannot be made conditional. There is no dividing line in our conduct towards our fellows. The only safeguard against trespass on the liberty of others is that by reason of common interest such encroachment would be senseless, and this common interest can be realised in one way and one way only—common ownership when wealth is no longer appropriated by individuals and belongs equally to all and is as free as the air. This way lies freedom of the individual as well as that of the community. The conception of the individual as being in antagonism to the community is false and disastrous. Mankind is One.

To show that I too can be visionary. I refer to the concluding paragraph of Sheila Leslie's otherwise excellent letter on birth control. I see no reason to impose a 1984 world because of the development of the embryo in the laboratory nor can I see what this has to do with the "toil of the masses" outside. On the contrary, I look on it as a scientific possibility in the direction of ending the toil of the masses. I do not believe that women will for ever be content to act as human incubators or that they will give up the best years of their lives indefinitely to the slavery of child-rearing, unless of course it is their own choice. Undoubtedly, as the result of economic change, the family in time will cease to be the basic unit in Society, but this may be a little too distant for us to worry our pretty heads about.
Yours sincerely,
Surrey, Feb. 16. F. BALL.

BIRMINGHAM COLLEGE OF COMMERCE ANARCHIST SOCIETY

Discussion meetings weekly. Details from John Philby, c/o College.

PROPOSED YORK LIBERTARIAN GROUP

Informal meeting to discuss aims at 8 p.m., Wednesday, 26th February, 1964, at Brian McGrath's, Flat 7, 30, Monk-gate, York.

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First Tuesday in each month at 8 p.m. at Jean and Tony Smythe's Ground Floor Flat, 88, Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21, Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

Freedom weekly

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PROPOSED BRITISH FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

Co-ordinating Secretary: J. E. Stevenson, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.

- MAR 1st Brains Trust
- MAR 8 Social in Aid of Anti-Election Funds. Admission 2/6
- MAR 15 Alfred Rajk: Between the Devil & the Deep Blue Sea ALL WELCOME

For activities of other London Groups, see 'Off-Centre' activities below.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

Cambridge Group
Meets Tuesdays (in term), Q5 Queens. Details and information, town and gown, Adrian Cunningham, 3 North Cottages, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.

Edinburgh Group
First meeting at Anne-Marie Fearon's, (Top flat), 31 Scotland Street, 7.30, March 2nd. All welcome.

Oxford Group
Contact N. Gould, Corpus Christi.

Tunbridge Wells Group
J. D. Gilbert-Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex.
Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at 8 p.m..

PROPOSED GROUPS BIRMINGHAM AND WEST MIDLANDS

Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

BIRMINGHAM (UNIVERSITY)
Dave Chaney, 7, Birches Close, Moseley, Birmingham, 13.

COUNTY OF STAFFORD TRAINING COLLEGE
John Wheeler, C.S.T.C., Nr. Stafford, Staffs.

HEREFORD
Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close, Hereford

MANCHESTER
John McEwan, c/o Farrish, 4, Sanby Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Manchester.

MERSEYSIDE
Details from Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13. (STO 2632). Every Saturday 2.30.

PLYMOUTH
Fred Spiers, 35 Ridge Park Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.

READING
Meetings third Friday of each month 7.30 p.m. at Eric and Carol Morse's, 16 Foxhill Road, Reading.

ROMFORD & HORNCHURCH
John Chamberlain, 19 Chestnut Glen, Hornchurch, Essex.

SHEFFIELD
Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.

Tyneside Federation
Enquiries H. D. Nash, 30 Queens Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 2.

Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

1st Friday of each month at 4, Benhams Place N.W.3. Beginning March 6th.

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Notting Hill Anarchist Group. Enquiries (Top Flat) 38 Oxford Gardens, W10.

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