

THE proposed Ships-for-Oil deal between Britain and Russia as was to be expected, has started a controversy among governments, Big Business, the Trades Unions and in the Press which reflects once again the deep division of interests within a nation, the continued existence of which makes nonsense of the politicians'—not to mention the Trades Unions'—fine words about Unity whether of Western Europe, the World or even just of the United Nations!

The simple facts of this "crisis" are that Russia is proposing to build a number of fishmeal factory ships and to place the order with shipyards outside Russia. For some inexplicable reason their Trade Delegation here will not disclose how many ships they want or the amount that would be involved. But they suggest that in order to get the sterling to pay for the ships, they would have to sell something to this country in return—say a couple of million tons of oil. Naturally, as good business men the Russians deny that they want to make a conditional sale: neither do they wish to "dump" their oil nor are they prepared to pay fancy prices for their ships. Their hint about wanting to sell oil uttered in the same breath as they dangle fat contracts before the eyes of the idle shipyards may look a bit like blackmail, but what is business if not another form of blackmail? Britain has surplus shipyards and steel potential; Russia envisages having surplus oil.

In a sane society such a situation would be openly welcomed for barter, in the interests of all concerned. In the jungle we live in such a situation creates as many problems as it solves. For, on the one hand, the shipyards and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions are unreservedly in favour of any arrangement whereby the contracts come their way, while on the other, the major Oil Companies and the National Union of Mineworkers view the importation of Russian Oil as a threat to their interests. We need hardly point out that normally the shipyards and the Confederation are at loggerheads for the obvious reasons that bosses and workers have divergent interests; and that the Oil Companies are viewed by the mine workers as an ever-growing threat to the coal industry which is their livelihood. But on the issue of Ships-for-Oil the shipyards are opposed to the Oil Companies and the mine workers opposed to the shipbuilding workers! At government level too we can expect Britain's sympathetic approach to the Russian offer will

WHAT IS BUSINESS IF NOT BLACKMAIL?

Ships for Oil

Profits know no ideology

be strongly resented by the United States as well as by other freedom-loving nations such as Venezuela, Kuwait and Iraq!

THE United States' intransigent attitude of refusal to trade with the so-called Communist countries, and the pressures it seeks to put on its allies to prevent them from so doing, can be explained by strategic and military arguments, but only in part. Ten years ago, for instance, when the Middle East was the alleged "crisis centre" one of the arguments used by the Western politicians to justify sending arms to that already troubled area was the Russian bogey. And of course Russia was after the oil wells! Now, ten years later, without the Middle East wells, Russia has developed its own oil resources to the point where it is estimated that she will have an exportable surplus of 45 million tons by 1965. This too has become a military threat! Or so it would seem if one accepts the recent NATO Council resolution proposing an embargo on the export of 40 inch steel pipe to the Soviet bloc. According to the *Observer* (Feb. 10)

Russia's exports of crude oil will be helped substantially by three new pipeline systems. [It is estimated that] these pipelines could push through 75 million tons of oil a year to Russian terminals in Central Europe, the Baltic and the Black Sea. But the construction of these pipelines has been lagging. The

whole pipeline programme needs around 13½ million tons of steel pipe. Russia's domestic production covers about 75 to 80 per cent of requirements. More important, they are extremely short of 40-inch steel pipe, and the embargo on steel tube exports proposed in a recent resolution of the Nato Council, could hit the Russian oil industry at one of its most vulnerable points.

Now everybody, as well as President de Gaulle, knows that Nato exists to do America's bidding. What military reasons are there for seeking to prevent Russia from completing these pipelines? Neither W.Germany, Italy nor Sweden who not only are on Russia's doorstep,

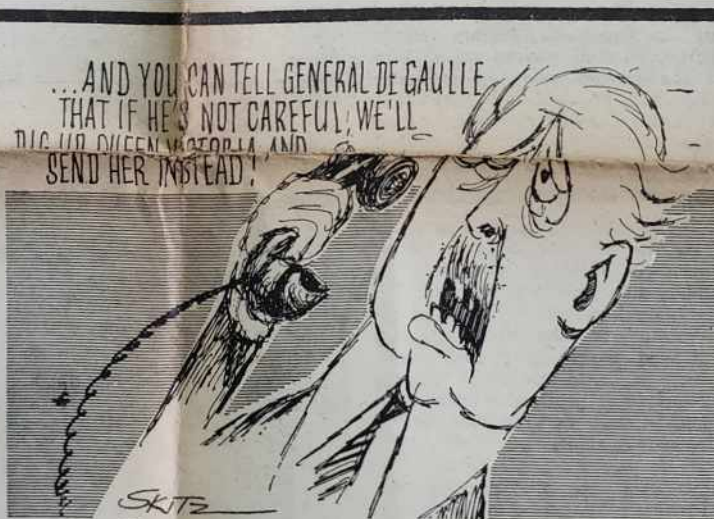
but who can hardly be accused of having Russian or "Communist" sympathies, thought they were conniving at Russia's military build-up when they supplied them with 40-inch pipes; indeed Italy and other member countries of the Common Market have been importing probably more than 10 per cent of their oil from Russia. That the EEC—according to the *Observer*—has been trying to "reach agreement to limit it to 10 per cent more than 10 per cent of their needs, because of the obvious danger of interruption of supplies" is understandable, but that surely, is a completely different argument. In any case one cannot be sure to what extent strategic and not France's interest in developing Sahara oil prevailed! And so far as Britain is concerned oil supplies from Russia in the event of war with Russia would certainly be cut-off, but it is doubtful in such an eventuality that supplies from Kuwait, Iran or Iraq (Britain's

major sources) would be seen by the baboons of Gibraltar let alone the refineries of Milford Haven.

THE American-inspired boycott of trade with the Soviet bloc and China is more than unconvincing from a purely military-strategic point of view. In the short term, American policy can be presented as a sacrifice for a principle. Trade with Cuba has dropped from £78m. a year to £200,000 plus a couple of thousand prisoners from Kennedy's ill-fated Bay of Pigs sortie; less than 1 per cent of American exports go to the Soviet bloc; China, so far as the American ruling class is concerned, just doesn't exist. For them Formosa is China, and the trade is one-way! But even the "principled" boycott wears thin when one thinks of the United States' close association with the dictators of Latin America, and the economic and security prop it has offered to General Franco in Spain.

To our minds one will be unable to explain the intransigent politico-economic attitude of the American ruling class to the Russian bloc by the formula "capitalism versus communism". Without wishing to give undue importance to the event, one cannot just dismiss as a stunt the week-end organised by Mr. Roy Thomson and the Russian government-business-men ostensibly celebrated the first anniversary of Mr. T's coloured supplement to the *Sunday Times* by flying to Moscow in a Russian jet air-liner put at their disposal by Mr. K. himself, Mr. Thomson is no eccentric millionaire; we would distrust him more than we distrust the politicians, if that were possible, because he and his ilk are the real power behind the facade of government and Parliament. (And how they enjoy their power as well as their millions!).

Continued on page 3



Official Strike at Fords?

WITH the strike called on February 18th at Fords over the 17 sacked men, we will see in the next week the comings and goings of union officials, management and the Ministry of Labour.

Do the unions really want a showdown with Fords? The Transport and General Workers' Union has the support of its members for the strike. The Amalgamated Engineering Union and the National Union of General & Municipal Workers are planning to hold a ballot amongst their members. This ballot is due to be held at the end of this week and if it is in favour of strike action, time will be short for any preparations. As for the T.G.W.U., they talk of going it alone if need be, but this isn't the first time that Cousins has blown hot only to cool off as the strike date approaches.

The Ministry of Labour has been meeting union officials and management in an effort to bring them together. If a settlement is not reached, a Court of Inquiry may be set up to investigate the situation. This, it has been reported, would be welcomed by the unions.

As usual, the unions have no stomach for a real fight against the employers, for their interests are really the same. Both have to control the men either as

members of the union or as employees.

The T.G.W.U. have criticised the shop stewards for trying to solve job difficulties themselves. They are quoted as saying "Even more serious are the activities of the joint shop stewards' committee which has its own officers and churns out anti-company literature daily. Its action makes it impossible to build up the sort of relationship with the Ford Company which will enable the unions to obtain for their members the best wages and conditions possible, and has brought us to a position where we are forced to declare war on the company."

Here we have it in a nutshell, for if the unions were not forced to act, they would do even less than they do now. It is only because of the strength of the rank and file at Fords that the reluctant unions have been forced into any sort of action. According to the unions, they want peaceful relations with the company, but what lies behind these so-called "peace" relations? They mean the acceptance of worse conditions with a little more pay but a lot more work.

This is becoming the pattern throughout all industries. All-round expansion is needed, we are told, and the unions agree. In the drive for more production it is the producer who suffers, with long

hours, bad conditions, continual surveillance and inhuman treatment of just complaints. This is the lot of the worker at Fords.

These conditions have been the subject of a series of articles written by a Ford worker, which have recently been published in the *Daily Herald*. Written in diary form, they give a vivid picture of what it is like to work at Dagenham.

This man tells of how overtime is considered to be compulsory by the management and an extra two hours is automatically added to the eight hour shift. According to the management, this is part of the contract. If a man wants to leave after the normal eight hours, he must give a reasonable excuse. That is, reasonable in the eyes of the management.

In the section where the writer works, there are only 24 toilets for over 500 men, and chargehands watch to see how long a man is away from his machine. There is continual inter-departmental rivalry for higher production with each foreman chasing the men of his section.

Men are often moved from one job to another, and not being familiar with it, are blamed when their work is rejected. When the schedules are behind, the foreman will often try to get bad work through. Sometimes this is dis-

covered by the inspector and the foreman denies all knowledge of it and the men are blamed.

These are the inhuman conditions under which men have to work in order to earn a living. Men are turned one against the other in the scramble for more production and higher profits. There is a general and justifiable complaint that the unions are out of touch and do not represent the men.

Even under these conditions, the men at Fords have built and maintained their own organisations. Solidarity has been their strength but in all their disputes has been this questioning of the position of the unions and their lack of action even to the extent that men have torn up their union cards in disgust. This age-old reliance on the union leadership has been fatal, for it has only frustrated their hopes. Their disputes can be won only by their own efforts.

When the union leaders are running the show, they give the employers plenty of time to organise themselves. If the men are in control, they can choose the right time for action, finding the employers' weakest point and so hitting him where it most hurts.

The walk-out often hits the worker harder than the employer, so other methods which will be more effective must be used. Their aim must be control of the job, and even today a certain amount can be achieved along these lines if the organisation on the job is strong. Only in this way can anything approaching decent conditions be won for the workers at Fords. P.T.

NEXT WEEK

For technical reasons we have had to change our publishing arrangements for next week. Being the last Saturday in February there would normally be no issue of FREEDOM, and ANARCHY-25 would be on sale. Instead next Saturday (February 23) we shall be publishing FREEDOM, and on the following Saturday (March 2) ANARCHY will be published and not FREEDOM.

AFRICA TODAY AND TOMORROW

TWO recent publications of the Union for Democratic Control (13 Prince of Wales Terrace, London, W.8), are "The Fight for Trade Union Rights in South Africa", by J. Letsoaba (Price 9d.) and "Tomorrow's Africa?", by Basil Davidson (Price 9d.).

The former, by a South African Trade Unionist, gives a closely factual account of trade unionism in South Africa, more especially since the war. It is revealing that only 3.4% of the African workers in mines and industries in South Africa are organised. As opposed to this 31.5% of the white workers are organised and the relationship between the African and white unions is not a close one. In the main, *apartheid* is practised in trade union affairs, although a few White and Coloured Unions are affiliated to the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa, which is open to workers of all races.

The Nationalist Government has been strongly hostile to the formation of African Trade Unions with the declared aim to "bleed the African trade unions to death". Persecution of all attempts to organise African workers includes the banning of meetings, refusal to grant licences for office accommodation, prohibition of the wages of Africans going to African unions, victimisation, spying and arrest.

The division of the workers in South Africa along colour lines is obviously the main drawback, racialism is thus encouraged, and the violent overthrow of the Verwoerd Government ensured by its own policies. That Africans are resorting to sabotage and, in some isolated cases, to murderous atrocities is understandable. No people can accept submission as an "inferior race" and retain human dignity; resistance is thus vital to the deepest forces in the African personality.

What is really needed is some sign of

solidarity from workers in this country by an industrial boycott of South African goods. As the Trade Union bureaucrats would never consider such action it seems relevant to suggest that the workers themselves might demonstrate their opposition to the colour bar by direct means.

"Tomorrow's Africa?" is an interesting pamphlet. I find myself strongly encouraged by its objectivity. To take an instance of the attitude found the following is indicative:—"Political independence is good, but clearly not enough. It is more than a century since

the Latin American colonies of Spain and Portugal broke away from imperialist control. Yet today those countries are still, with few exceptions, poor and backward and bedevilled by bad government. In spite of vast natural resources, they show in full measure the misery and scandal of a few men wealthy and many starving. Often they are little more than wretched pawns in the game of international power politics and business intrigue. Their independence has become a sham. There is a revolution that stopped half-way—and failed. "Some African leaders and govern-

ments appear content to follow the same unpromising road."

Some very thought-provoking facts come out in this pamphlet—for instance I quote:—"In 1959 the profits of the giant British holding, Tanganyika Concessions, amounted to £4.4 millions. Of this great sum, none of which went to Africans, £2.3 m. was paid up by mining in the Katanga, £613,000 from royalties on various mining concessions, and no less than £1.2 million from the Senguela Railway which carries Central African ore to the port of Lobito on the South Atlantic coast of Angola."

Also significant are the following facts:—Investment in Africa by West Germany is now running at a higher rate than that of Britain; the Deutsche Bank is now a business partner of more than 100 companies in south-central and east Africa; a big loan was made by

West Germany to the Belgian colonial authorities in 1959; West German arms were exported to the Portuguese in Angola in 1961. This last fact comes from *Der Spiegel* (7/2/62).

One, however, is dubious of the author's commendation of Ghana's "socialist economy" which is assisted by Russia and other countries in the Communist bloc. I heard Mr. John Strachey recently commend the dual economic assistance from the Communist bloc and America to countries like Ghana and Guinea; none the less the "socialism" being built is centralist and authoritarian. Although there may be no strings, the end result will be the creation of states that in no way differ from Western society. I believe Africa could have a finer destiny, setting an example that our sick society might gladly follow. J.W.

A Poet's Emotion Considered in Prose

"SPRIGHTLY RUNNING", Part of an Autobiography, by John Wain. (Macmillan) 25s.

John Wain is an honest writer. And before anyone suggests I intend this as faint praise, may I say that I think being honest is not at all easy? Unfashionable as it may have become, or perhaps, always has been, I think it's quite a nice quality to possess. What constitutes 'honesty' requires more clarification than it's going to receive here, but I must explain that I do not include among honest men those who are scrupulous about the promulgation of self-deception. No matter how big and skilful that self-deception is.

In this biography John Wain takes a long, careful, not invariably pleased, and not overly charitable look at himself, child and man, and what emerges of his mind and temperament makes an attractive picture. The effect upon him of being a middle-class outcast among homogeneous proletarians during his childhood in the Midlands, his most significant years at Oxford, his disastrous marriage, his literary efforts, achievements and opinions are all here, and the Oxford years in particular, during which he was lucky to have known and been influenced by some brilliant people—his description of the fascinating and erratic Meyerstein is worth a dozen poems in modern fiction—is particu-

larly invaluable for those who are familiar with John Wain's fiction and poetry.

When I say he is honest, I do not mean to imply that I invariably agree with him. I merely mean that he agrees with himself. His view is candid, refreshingly naive, sometimes absurd. Take his touching belief in the efficacy of psychoanalysis; he thought that Meyerstein, a rather advanced but curiously integrated neurotic, could profit by it; is rather startling to someone like me (who once wrote a story called *Tales from the Vienna Woods* which demonstrated I believe, that a person not unlike this one—in fact all the approximate Meyersteins of the world—could be more easily injured than helped by this abusive process).

Wain is not unduly taken by literary chicanery. His observations on the beat poet, Allen Ginsburg, makes one want to hug him; on the other hand, his appreciation of T. S. Eliot (who in many ways is a considerable fraud in his own right), is inordinately excessive. Similarly, his observations of America are sound:

"... one looks at America: a confusion... Only a few things are common to the entire population, and these things began to stand out as quintessentially 'American'. Of these, the two most striking are the reliance on material progress and the importance of neighbourliness."

"What would happen to the American people if their country ever had to endure a period of acute material shortage, such as most other countries have been through in our time, I just don't know. Quite possibly they would curl up and die." What Wain fails to observe is the relation of this to their provinciality. American soldiers in Korea did curl up and die, not because of an insufficiency of food, but because they were offered food—the staples of the Korean diet) unfamiliar to them, and consequently not deemed suitable for an American.

Wain concludes: "... If it is a disgrace to be poor, it is doubly a disgrace to be old. The old belong to yesterday and America is Tomorrow. Is anything more pathetic than the shamefaced attitude of American old people? Or more irritating than the pertness of American children?"

But then he irrationally, I think, adds, "But when these drawbacks have been allowed for, one is still left with the wonderful exhilaration and openness of America... etc."

I have come across this phenomenon among the most intelligent of the English before. They are dismayed, and correctly, by what they see in America, but they respond with a certain ironic exuberance to one thing or another. Usually the big empty spaces.

(They might as well like Australia). Never mind.

What I do mind is not the content of Mr. Wain's book; that I like very much indeed. It is the style. It is thin, and textureless, the same qualities that disturbed me in his *Hurry on Down*, a book that in many ways I enjoyed. He is very analytical, more suitable here, but even his recapitulation of emotion is stony cold; it is emotion considered, not felt. Mr. Wain is intelligent and observant, but he is not particularly lyrical or imaginative. And although he is analytical, he is not sufficiently detached; he always sees clearly, but he is self-absorbed, and on the whole, too humourless.

Now all this is very strange. For there is one thing in which I am in complete agreement with him, and which seems to refute the above, and that is, that he is primarily a poet and not a writer of fiction at all. Writers are inclined towards misconceptions about where their genuine talent lies, and one has grown particularly mistrustful to claims of possessing the sacred fire of poetry. But in this instance, it is perfectly true; John Wain, as anyone knows who has read one of his best poems, and one of the best written in England during this decade "Song about Major Eatherly", is a very fine poet indeed. I cannot altogether explain this, for the liabilities mentioned would be adequate to kill most poetry, but here the sustained and intense absorption, essential to this art, magically overcomes the rest.

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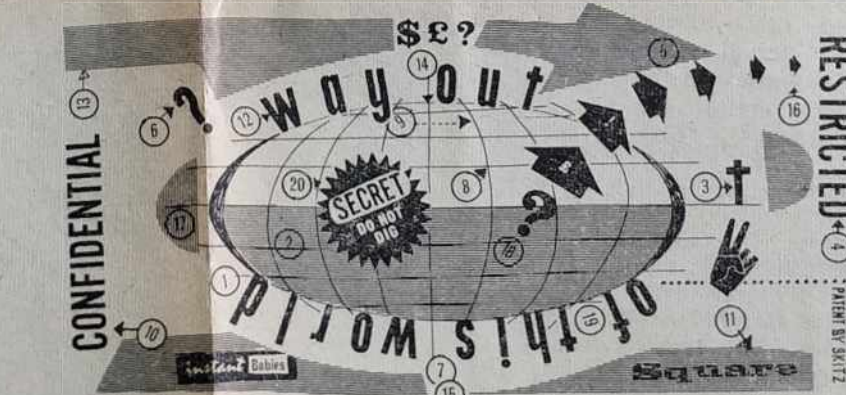
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MR. DIFENBAKER of Canada and General Kassim of Iraq both lost their Premierships. General Kassim, who was a military dictator, lost his life too. Mr. Diefenbaker hopes for a majority at the next election, since he fell for attacking the United States for 'unwarrantable intrusion' in Canadian affairs. Kassim's successors are pro-Nasser and anti-Communist and the US has not intruded in their affairs. ...

THE WEEK-END export of Princess Margaret to Paris was denied to the French, the French in their turn denied to the French the distribution of a TV film of Mr. Khrushchev denouncing the Franco-Western German rapprochement, Franco-French military conversations took place resulting in a Spanish-French naval exercise. ...

MINERS IN Pennsylvania refused to return to work in a pit in which 37 miners were killed last December. Power workers work to rule is settled but a peer (one-time military prosecutor in Palestine), asked Her Majesty's Government to show cause why they should not deport Charles Doyle, a leading figure in the power shop stewards' movement. The cause is that Mr. Doyle has done nothing illegal and is a British subject, having been born in Scotland. His wife, however, claims that she has been discharged from her job at an advertising agency because of her husband's activities. The *Daily Mail* suggested, quite without any foundation, that the flood which caused one of the most spectacular power failures in London in recent weeks was "suspected sabotage". Fulham power-workers lifted their 'work-to-rule' during this breakdown and worked overtime on the night shift without extra pay. The New York press strike continues and shop-keepers are allowing credit to strikers. 3,000 Helsinki bus and tramway workers struck for one day for higher pay. 7,000 Argentine unemployed tried to get into the Kaiser car factory at Cordoba, which has been closed for a fortnight owing to lack of sales, police used tear-gas but rain stopped the clash. Women at Bangor, North Wales, went on strike when a woman was employed to note the name and number of all girls going to the toilet to check on time spent. The firm worked out it cost them £574 a



week. At Hazard in Kentucky, a mining town, where the coal companies have stopped contributing to welfare and pension funds. The miners have resorted by picketing the mines and sabotaging production. John Lewis Partnership of London, a strong anti-union shop, are to increase their private detective force since 'partners' as they affectionately call their employees cost them £220,000 last year in 'wastage'. The firm claims to have one of the biggest private detective forces in Britain. Prison chaplains, drawing £21 10s. per week are claiming £3 10s. per week rise and recognition as civil servants in recognition of the importance of their jobs and harrowing duties in the condemned cell. ...

THE BULLETIN (Australia) writing on the death sentence passed on Robert Tait tells of an execution in Victoria in 1951 when a woman and two men were hanged for murdering a bookmaker. The woman was carried to the scaffold handcuffed to a stretcher. She appeared to be unconscious and was hanged in that condition. It was said that she had been drugged because she was hysterical. The two men were calm. Some outcry was caused by the news of the proposed release from prison of Christopher Craig, convicted in 1952 of the murder of a policeman, for which crime his companion, and supposed accomplice, Derek Bentley, was hanged. A writer to a Sunday newspaper recalled knowing the murderer of William Whiteley, after his release from prison, and said that after release he lived a quiet, useful life as a garage manager and no-one knew of his past. Mr. Leo

Abse, member of Parliament for Pontypool said that in 1961, on more than 100 occasions, men and women in prisons and borstals were placed in strait-jackets, more than half of the women suffering this were young women in Borstal. One prisoner was in a strait jacket for 47 hours with only one break of one hour after 24 hours. The Home Secretary replied that the jackets were used only when strictly necessary "Conditions, particularly in overcrowded prisons, led to tensions and violence". Dr. T. C. N. Glidden, senior lecturer in forensic psychiatry at London University suggested in a preliminary report of a psychiatric investigation of borstal boys that delinquency represents a failure to achieve a social life organized around sexual interests, 46% of the boys examined had no experience of heterosexual intercourse, 37% had occasional experience, and 17% were promiscuous. The vast majority of boys said they did not drink or seldom did so. ...

THE TWO airmen who wrote to *Peace News* suggesting a Services CND group were arrested by RAF police, for "conduct to the prejudice to good order and RAF discipline". It is untrue (though stated in the *Guardian*) "the Committee of 100 have officially disassociated themselves from campaigns which may cause disaffection in the Services. The US resumed underground tests. France's plans to explode her own H-Bomb in the Gambier Archipelago called protests, short of mutiny from the Pitcairn Islanders who are 250 miles away. The Cook, Tongan, Samoan, Fijian and Society Islands all may receive the bounty of fall-out. The Colonial Office

received the protest and said, "We shall obviously make sure that none of the islands for which Britain is responsible suffer any ill-effects" a spokesman said. It was pointed out that the Gambier Archipelago is farther away from other inhabited islands than is Christmas Island, where the British tests took place. A freehold island in the South Pacific is for sale. It is Naituga, one of the Lau group, Fiji, and the price is £70,000. The two Londoners who are pioneering life on an island for a 'community' group have arrived on the island, Middle Island, off Queensland. ...

TWO JOURNALISTS on the *People* (which features exposés of cruelty to animals) were acquitted on a charge of causing unnecessary suffering to a tame rabbit. A degree of unnecessary suffering was caused in order to take pictures of a greyhound being "blooded", that is, chasing and catching a rabbit. The *Daily Sketch* which has had one of its journalists sentenced for failure to disclose source of information, announces it is still helping the Admiralty with their problems by showing pictures of a missing clerk (from the Admiralty's personnel dept.). He is shown looking dissolute with bottle and glass, cigarette dangling from lips; a second photograph portrays him after climbing a cliff in Cornwall in exclusively male company. There is a picture of him before he grew that most sinister excrescence, a beard, and the depths of perfidy to which this creature has plunged are given in detail. He was fined for being drunk the day before he vanished, he didn't pay the fine, he owed two weeks rent, a warrant was issued for the drunk and disorderly charge, he had been a champion walker but was putting on weight, wrote less and less letters home, he didn't come home for Christmas, he had a bank overdraft, but worst of all, which must lead all readers of the *Sketch* to fear the most: he seems to have been spending his time in jazz clubs. ...

THE SUCCESSOR to Mr. Heath's post on *The Church Times* remembers Ted. "Even in those days he had that Common Market laugh". ...

JON QUIXOTE.

SHIPS FOR OIL

Continued from page 1

Last week's *Sunday Times* with its two pictures of Khrushchev and Thomson, one, smiling at each other across the table, the other shaking hands across it, with the caption "handshake from East to West in the Kremlin yesterday", was a poke in the ribs for Macmillan and a cocking a snook at American Big Brother. To our minds the Iron Curtain was drawn, or lowered, long after the moment for a "confrontation" between capitalism and communism had passed. The power struggle today is between different forms of capitalism: on the one hand *laissez faire* capitalism desperately trying to avoid being taken over by monopoly capitalism; on the other State capitalism.

When the *Sunday Times*'s Moscow correspondent, Tom Stacey, concluded his dispatch on the Khrushchev-Thomson talks with these words:

As the two men, symbolising two worlds, stood together to say goodbye, Mr. Thomson disarmingly announced to his host: "I like you". This was the spirit which was patently reciprocated. he was either writing to orders, or the poor man couldn't see that, far from "symbolising two worlds", they were believers in the same world. Khrushchev is the spokesman of a system which believes that an élite knows best what is in the best interest of the masses. Thomson, on his own admission, is a monopolist primarily because his main interest is not function but making money. But just as the Khrushchev élitist approach results in material privilege for a minority (as evidenced by the "speculators" who are actually caught and handed over to the firing squads), the Thomson "make money approach" inevitably leads to ambitions for power as well (e.g. Mr. Thomson's own recent Moscow excursion!).

★ WHY then the antagonism between Russia and the United States? And it is our impression that America is more rabidly anti-Russian than *vice-versa*; a view based on the "quality" American Press which is supposed to be free from government control.

MORE Government?

WE hope our friends on *Peace News* will not develop a persecution complex as a result of the critical attention their editorials receive from these columns. But the fact is that *Peace News* is one of the few minority papers that provokes discussion even if, as on this particular occasion, we find ourselves accusing it of serving up clichés and pedestrian arguments as well as immodestly suggesting that they represented a "radical policy"!

The first paragraph of the *P.N.* editorial (Feb. 8) "The Common Market: It's Time to Wake Up" reads:

The collapse of the Brussels negotiations has created a situation of the greatest danger. The threat has appeared of a Franco-German nuclear alliance, a combination which would be highly provocative in itself and would also set a precedent for the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries.

Not only do we question this "situation of the greatest danger". We would ask the editorial writer why things would have been different if negotiations had not collapsed. And thirdly we would ask, does he seriously believe that other countries need somebody to "set a pre-

The answer we believe, is contained in the points we have already tried to make, plus this important fact: America and Russia are the world's principal producers of Primary Products. They are also, from the point of view of land utilisation* among the underdeveloped land areas of the world, both capable of actually feeding populations more than twice their present size. Because the United States is in the lead as far as industrial and agricultural productivity and production are concerned, and furthermore, is experiencing great difficulty in disposing of the goods it produces, in spite of cutting back on industrial production and the acreage cultivated, as well as having nearly 5 million jobless workers, it is not surprising that the prospect of Russian competition for world markets should be viewed in Washington with considerable apprehension.

As compared with the United States which is choked with cars, frozen stiff with refrigerators, and whose thought is larded with surplus tons of butter, the Russian economy is still an expanding one, and because controlled, one that, in theory at least, need never get out of control. As an exporter in these post-war years, Russia has trodden on nobody's toes. An importer, in 1959, she imported less than France and only a few hundred millions more than Holland. Mr. Thomson and his 138 business tycoons took their samples East. It would seem that the Americans and the French are taking theirs to Spain, another up-and-coming undeveloped market.

But what have all these manoeuvres to do with principles, with ethics? When the Americans point an accusing finger at those who trade with Cuba or Khrushchev yet encourage trade with Franco's Spain and thereby bolster the regime, one can only conclude that the overriding considerations are business interests and not principles, which is the gist of the first sentence of this Editorial!

*See "Our Undeveloped World" by Dudley Stamp, p.182.

cedent" in order to decide whether or not to make their own nuclear weapons?

We will pass over the platitudes that follow, about the sympathy felt for Mr. Edward Heath, and quote the following:

Under the present Government, Britain has come to be an irrelevant country whose influence in international affairs is negligible.

We think it is fair to imply that *Peace News* imagines that under another government it need not have been so. It would be interesting to know what *P.N.* considers to be a "relevant government" and what they mean when they write about "international affairs". We ask this because these two terms have meaning for us only in the context of capitalism and power politics (neither of which we support!) and in this context we would say that after the United States and Russia, Britain is in fact the most "relevant" power in the world today.

Peace News goes on to point out that the Government has shown itself "quite incapable" of preventing unemployment, the drift of population to the South, as well as of "providing sufficient houses and schools, a rational transport system

Anarchy and Conservatism

"If God existed it would be necessary to abolish him." (Bakunin).

"It is the total transformation of our society that they [the anarchists] aim at, and they will certainly try to do this by means our society will deem illegal." (Colin MacInnes).

"Dynamite! Of all the good stuff, that is the stuff!" (??).

"Anarchism is the great liberator of man from the phantoms that have held him captive." (Emma Goldman).

THESE few quotations could be multiplied a hundred times. They show the anarchist in his role as radical, as iconoclast; prepared to abolish, dynamite, totally transform and employ illegal means to achieve the Freer and Better Society. This is the popular image of the anarchist. It is also a self-image, for this is how many anarchists see themselves. Thus Maurice Cranston in his "A Dialogue on Anarchy" makes Bakunin declare that "We must overthrow the whole political and moral order of the world as it is today. We must change it from top to bottom. It is no good just trying to modify existing institutions."

But why heap quotation on quotation? Aren't all these quotations really tautological? Isn't the anarchist by definition opposed to the existing character of whatever society he finds himself in? If one thing is certain it is that anarchism and conservatism are polar opposites (cf the extract from a *New Society* article by Colin MacInnes printed in ANARCHY 22).

These objections are true only if one is thinking of anarchism in the West. Your European anarchist has never lived in an anarchy, and is never likely to. The most he can hope for is to enter into satisfying personal relations with others of his own persuasion, possibly for some common task such as editing and publishing a magazine. The only exceptions to this are perhaps those anarchists who were in the right parts of Spain at the right time in the thirties.

Men and ideas take colour from their social context, and no one can be surprised therefore if anarchism seems an oppositionist stance. Logically anarchism does entail opposition to the State. I doubt if logically it entails opposition to very much else. The readiness to transform, to sweep away the accumulated debris of the past, to start anew with all the old constraints gone stems rather from a particular set of social circumstances. Anarchists oppose because how else could they express their ideas?

But the presence of anarchists in parts of the primitive world, and the understanding we have gained of them through the researches of social anthropologists (e.g., *The Nuer*, some of the essays in *African Political Systems*, all of the essays in *Tribes Without Rulers*), call out for a reappraisal of the relation of anarchism to conservatism. Are they really polar opposites? I think for instance of the titles of two papers in *Continuity and Change in African Cultures*, edited

or adequate medical and welfare services".

To the question we would put: "Which Government would be capable?", *P.N.* answers that a future Labour Government "might make some improvement in these fields" but would be limited so long as "defence" was first priority, and concludes that

The need is to change over to a peace economy from an economy whose public sector at least is dominated by spending for war; to develop trade with fast-growing countries (which include not only the countries of Africa and Asia but also those of Eastern Europe); and to invest more. All this requires far greater Government intervention in the economy than we have had for some years. It could mean controlling the supply of steel to the motor industry so that it could be more usefully allocated elsewhere; it would certainly mean far stricter control of industrial location and office building; and it should mean taking profitable as well as stagnant industries into public ownership.

The foregoing is described as "a radical policy" which would need "immense popular support to be successful" for "without the energy and enthusiasm of a great number of people it would certainly be de-

feated by the powerful people for whom the *status quo* is a source of profit". Far from being "radical" it is a hotchpotch of clichés, undigested ideas, reformism and naïveté which cannot be excused in the editorial columns of a paper which has been viewing the world scene for nearly 30 years!

I am going to suggest that anarchists can also be conservative in relation to their own society. Take for instance the English monarchy, which is opposed by probably nine out of ten anarchists. Why is their attitude negative? Perhaps they see it as a symbol of the State; perhaps it symbolizes the "Establishment"; perhaps they fastidiously resent its popularity (ultimate proof of rottenness).

But if we think of the monarchy symbolically, then it is a symbol of far more than the State. George Orwell for instance once wrote of England as "an everlasting animal stretching into the future and the past, and, like all living things, having the power to change out of recognition and yet remain the same" (which, incidentally, is pretty true of the Monarchy itself). Now of all English institutions none could better symbolize England's continuity through time than the Crown.

In his *Prospects for Conservatives* Russell Kirk has tersely stated the function of tradition. It "joins the individual with the generations which are dead and the generations which are yet to be born." The monarchy, like all long-established institutions, is a part of the life of each age in which it exists and yet transcends that age. If someone objects that it doesn't matter whether traditions persist or not, the social anthropologist can point to the many societies

of Africa, the Pacific and the Americas for whom the snapping off of old values and institutions has had lamentable effects.

If we think of the Crown in terms of the *pietas* surrounding it (which is independent of adulation for this or that particular monarch), another merit emerges. The *pietas* inhibits that adulation of politicians which is a feature of France, Germany, Russia and the United States. English politicians exercise power, but they are not revered for it as de Gaulle and Stalin and Hitler and Eisenhower are and have been. A monarchy which enjoys wide public support but lacks direct political power syphons off the sentiments which otherwise would form around leaders who do have direct power.

In relation to the Crown I have tried to make a point which applies in other fields too: anarchists who value the past (the essence of conservatism) instead of falling into a reflex devaluation of it, will tend to uphold on sociological grounds what other anarchists condemn moralistically. The former kind of anarchist, though not the latter, will avoid what Kirk calls "aimless alteration for alteration's sake". Of the reformer and the revolutionary he will inquire what indubitable benefits are likely to accrue from the abolition of traditional values and institutions, and will place the onus of proof on the abolitionists. To those whose ends are really "more democracy, more freedom, more social justice (the goals Max Nomad attributes to Bakunin) he will suggest that these are not necessarily realized by "aimless alteration for alteration's sake".

Some months ago K.W. suggested in *FREEDOM* that anarchist-communist was an appellation preferable to anarchist alone. I am suggesting that for some anarchist-conservative (or, more succinctly, Tory-anarchist) is to be preferred.

K.M.

HAILSHAM'S NEW JOB

LORD HAILSHAM has had an easy time during his tour of the unemployment areas in the North-East of England. He has trotted (he never walks, according to the *Guardian*) around the area talking to employers, local councillors, trade union officials and workers. In fact it has been a good outing for him but what has he learnt that he didn't know already? His appointment to this particular job is really an insult to the unemployed in the area as well as all the others in areas which are just as badly hit as this one.

At the end of this week's tour, Hailsham plus cloth cap, visited Darlington. He had refused to discuss the railway workshop closures with the workers concerned, so they met him at the Town Hall when he arrived to meet the town corporation.

He was greeted with boos and catcalls from about 200 men. He expressed

sympathy, said he respected their feelings and all the usual old rubbish, but these men refused to be soothed by these platitudes. After further heckling, Hailsham got annoyed and shouted "You have absolutely no hope at all of altering the decision and that's final."

When faced with any opposition, Hailsham, the friendly T.V. personality disappears and we see the real Hailsham who doesn't give a damn for the unemployed. This is as much as he cares, full of arrogant contempt for men who will shortly be losing their jobs, many of whom have spent their whole working lives in these workshops.

These shops are to be closed because they are not paying and at the same time other services are being cut. All this is happening when new industries are said to be wanted in the North-East. This crazy behaviour is what is known

Continued on page 4

oneself and to the community. As *Peace News* points out, all kinds of practical initiatives could be taken by the people themselves as part of this process of revolutionary education but it would be self-deception to believe that society can be changed as a result of nibbling at the super-structure of the existing system. At a certain stage when the people are strong enough both in knowing what kind of a world they want to live in and in their determination to achieve it, the ruling class and government will find the situation intolerable and will seek a solution through force. And this is the challenge the people must be ready to face . . . or be crushed. And when the people take up the challenge this is social revolution. Where we quarrel with our friends on *Peace News* is that they make revolutionary proposals and run away from the fact that such changes require revolutionary methods, and not the conventional reforms of "more trade", "more investment", "more government intervention", which simply perpetuate the capitalist system and all the evils of centralised power.

Positive examples please!

DEAR EDITORS,

Some thoughts provoked by the admirably stimulating talk at the "Two Brewers" yesterday, given by Ken Weller seem to me to be worthy of further discussion.

Ken stressed that while leisure and wages may be quantitatively improved, the life of the industrial worker is becoming increasingly soul-destroying in that in his conditions of work he is deprived of the proper use of those abilities which are distinctively human and which can be called initiative, reason, intelligence and co-operativeness; that these qualities survive only by secrecy, deception, etc.

The discussion of how to alter this tendency turned out to be somewhat pessimistic. It was felt that radicals/libertarians should support all local struggles against dehumanization of labour relationships.

I would like to suggest that activity which relates only to the worst and most hopeless enterprises, run by the most reactionary managements, and therefore carried through in a spirit of violent resentment, hardly induces in workers that vision of a free and co-operative society which should rightly be the focus of all collective effort.

The meeting seemed agreed that we are not working for a progressive deterioration of conditions ending in civil war, since this road to socialism has not led to the expected results, but that the new society should develop within the shell of the old. Do we not therefore need more and more positive examples and suggestions? Every time a body of workers is fed up with the way things are run they should at the same time have in mind a detailed picture of how they could run them?

The idea of violent revolution was not the only concept that bit the dust at the meeting. With it went the idea that all workers are libertarian and that the victory of the working class as such would realize all our hopes. It was

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

agreed that workers in general are inclined to be more hidebound and authoritarian in their personal character-structure than are many not engaged in industrial labour (personally I would say this is true only of the older generation, as a whole).

However it is my contention that society is prevented from crystallising into some form of caste society by the upheavals caused by technological developments. We have seen the lives of every individual altered by such things as T.V., or, in the factory, by the arrival of new machinery. I suggest our job is to examine and describe the good that can come out of such a wind of change.

It is a historical fact that many persons of wealth, in positions of management, have contributed support and funds to revolutionary movements. There must also be factories, and small enterprises which are run on co-operative lines to a greater or lesser degree and with varying degrees of success. Let us hear more about these. And is it not possible that some owner and employer somewhere may not volunteer to convert his enterprise into a commonly owned co-operative? And would we not perhaps learn more from the difficulties and triumphs of some such concern than

from the bickerings and hates of class warfare? If, as many contend, this kind of enterprise is impossible and cannot survive while the capitalistic integument is intact, should we not enquire why?

We have, in the long run, not only to convince the industrial workers but also the bosses, that the boss-worker relationship, the idea that bosses think workers obey, is wasteful and destructive to all concerned, and our arguments will become increasingly acceptable in a society where the evils of traditional, caste-system resolutions of competitive attitudes become more and more absurd and their persistence more and more catastrophic.

In case anyone reading this thinks I am a class enemy let me say that if, as I have said and the meeting agreed, the average worker is unfree in his personal character structure, I attribute this to the long periods of exploitation and suppression he has endured. His internal rigidities have been imposed by society, just as the outlook of many women is the result of millennia of repression. And just as social developments have forced legal emancipation of women, so the real struggle of the worker will come after his formal emancipation by similar developments, which will not be the work of any one class or group, but of human inventiveness as a whole, particularly in the fields of science, technology and communications.

Yours fraternally,

London, Feb. 11. TOM BARNES.

Productivity

DEAR EDITORS,

In his latest contribution (Productivity and the Mass Society, FREEDOM Feb. 2), Francis Ellingham argues again that 'productivity would not have developed as it has in an anarchist society (which is a subject for debate in itself; a good case can be argued for the proposition that it would have developed much further, especially if such a society had developed from the stage of technological development reached, say, by the time of the General Strike); that it is capitalism which has developed productivity; capitalism is evil; therefore productivity is evil! This, I must again reiterate, is a *non sequitur*. I can only ask him to re-read his own latest contribution, trying as he does to distinguish carefully between the results of the essential nature of productivity itself, and the results of the uses to which capitalism has put it.

Further, I must ask him to distinguish between productivity, i.e. the rate of production per man-hour worked, and rate of production, which depends on productivity, but also on total man-hours worked. There is no reason on earth to object on principle to productivity in itself, at least as far as I can see; certainly Francis has failed to produce one. (I would recommend him to read some of Lewis Mumford's writings on this and related topics).

It would be too tedious to answer his letter again point-by-point; it all rests on the failure to make these distinctions. But one point I cannot let rest; he says, 'the workers had no such desire [to raise productivity] and even resisted the new technology? Yes, of course they did; because they were not working for themselves, nor even for the community at large, but for capitalist bosses; and

they rightly saw increased productivity, in the circumstances, as a threat to their continued employment, and so, again in the circumstances, to their right to eat and live. Had they seen a little further, of course, they would have rejected the system which made this so.

Yours,

London, Feb. 4. BRIAN LESLIE.

A fatal flaw?

DEAR EDITORS,

Francis Ellingham puts a very convincing case for the impossibility of large-scale production in an Anarchist world. It seems to me however, that his argument contains a fatal flaw.

His basic premise seems to be that whenever men put high-production techniques into operation they become enslaved by them and turned into spiritually stunted creatures. It happens however, that such techniques already exist, at an advanced stage, almost everywhere. Thus logically, according to Mr. Ellingham's theory, man was already doomed, as soon as these techniques came into existence to an eternity of spiritual slavery. This is incompatible with the fact that like all Anarchists, Mr. Ellingham claims to believe that the possibility of a free society coming about is sufficiently great at least to make it worth campaigning for.

Thus Mr. Ellingham is either a prophet of despair and therefore not an Anarchist; or he believes that even surrounded by the tyranny of high production Man is somehow capable of freeing himself from this and achieving such spiritual maturity as to wish and be able to destroy the machine. Can Mr. Ellingham convincingly say why, after having obtained this spiritual maturity, Man, with the aid of automation should not control the machine instead of destroying it?

Yours truly,

GEOFFREY BOARDMAN.

Todmorden, Lancs. Feb. 2.

Communal house

DEAR EDITOR,

We have not been able to reply personally to all the letters we have received regarding the scheme to rent a large house, so, we would be grateful if you could let us make use of your columns once again to inform them of the present situation.

Although advertisements were placed in two papers and agents contacted, we had no response whatsoever. We have,

Hailsham

Continued from page 3
as business which says if a thing doesn't pay get rid of it and don't worry about the men who get a living from working on it.

Government plans for the area were announced earlier this week. Contracts for three tankers, orders worth £10 million are to go to shipbuilders in the North-East. These tankers will give 1,500 men work for about two years. Other contracts and projects are supposed to be on the way, but all of these are like drops of water in the ocean.

Hailsham's whole tour has been a "tongue in cheek" affair, for it is obvious that the Government has no real plan for the solving of the unemployment problem. At one meeting, Hailsham spoke of the good times coming back, "I would like to think that even if we did nothing they would come back but we do not propose to do nothing. The problem is to bring back the good times quickly".

When there is plenty of work, it is rushed through as quickly as possible, with everyone working overtime and now men are being thrown out of work. Surely the signs of impending unemployment were apparent for a long time. The shorter working week without loss of pay should have been demanded and introduced a long time ago. Although men have taken strike action against sackings, it has been too late.

What are the railway unions doing now? Nothing much has happened since their one-day token strike. Why should men be made redundant and have to suffer because of this rotten system that we live under. It is obvious that the bosses and Government are unable to run industry. The only ones who can do that are the workers themselves, who are doing it even now at factory level and doing it very well. It is only when the bosses take a hand in the matter that all the mess up occurs.

The only answer to the unemployment problem is for the workers to take over their own industries and run them for the needs of the community.

P.T.

FREEDOM

therefore, been forced to abandon the scheme for the time being and intend to try and find a smaller house suitable for about half-a-dozen people. We would be pleased to hear from anyone who could help us find such a place.

Yours sincerely,

London, Feb. 10. S. E. PARKER.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS CENTRAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at
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FEB 17 Bob Green:
Why Frances's Cat Eats Olives
FEB 24 Brian Hart:
Nestor Makhno
MAR 3 Tom Barnes:
Psychology and Anarchism
MAR 10 To be announced
MAR 17 S.F.:
The Great American Myth

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

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

3rd Tuesday at Brian and Doris Lelie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

Third Wednesday of the month, at 8 p.m. at Albert Portch's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3. Please note that the meetings at Fellows Road, N.W.3 are now on the third Friday, not the third Wednesday as hitherto.

Last Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2.

Notting Hill Anarchist Group (Discussion Group)

Last Friday of the month, at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Road, (near Notting Hill Station), W.11. (N.B.—No February meeting).

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Statesmen and Children

WHEN a young child plays for any length of time and the person or people with whom she is playing allow him or her to get the ascendancy then that child begins to understand the first feelings of power. The child can become vindictive, spiteful and often regimentates the children she plays with, often adults as well but they don't allow the process to go too far; the next stage which can take place is that in the stronger child, with the control over other children, he or she becomes a bully.

This process becomes much more obvious when the adult plays with a child and because of the difference in strength and intellect the adult will play at the child's level. In judging a child's mentality we often under-estimate and play and talk at a lower level the child assumes control of the adult at that level and the adult realising that the situation has changed—retreats. The child often has to be rebuked and very often completes "La Ronde" by crying.

How different is the adult mind from the juvenile mind. Too often we tend to think of the two "minds" in two different conditions, there being almost two different objects, instead of an empty box filling up. Looking at the child not being part of our world we ignore the most elementary lessons that could answer some of the problems of our day.

There can be no real difference between the child and the statesman, for if power is allowed to be concentrated in the hands of a few people the effects that are so obvious in the child manifest themselves in the leadership of our country, county, borough and street. Young children often worship the few that rule them but is this an admirable condition? If it is not, then neither is the respect we give the political leaders of our main political parties to-day. The anarchist does not recognise the need for power to be concentrated in minority groups, rather that the individual should be allowed complete freedom and to take an active part in his life and living, for to live the complete life we must know that all major decisions that we take, are taken voluntarily and with a positive mental approach to the problem in hand. Rather than allowing all our decisions to be made for us, decisions often contradicting every moral conception that the individual stands for. Future generations will look back in this present age as a group of nations separated by power-hungry politicians only, each small group of power men owning a nation of servants, rather as we look back at the lords and their serfs in our own country.

JON OLBEY.

Going Well!

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