

Freedom

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Threepence

"Society exists for the benefit of its members; not its members for the benefit of society. It has to be remembered that great as may be the efforts made for the prosperity of the body politic, yet the claims of the body politic are nothing in themselves, and become something only in so far as they embody the claims of its component individuals."
—HERBERT SPENCER.

TEDDY BOYS IN HIGH PLACES

THE League of Empire Loyalists is a small group of neo-fascists who have been described as 'right-wing, upper crust Teddy boys and girls'. That they are upper crust is, in our opinion and without much graphical detail to go on, very likely, for the publicity-seeking antics which have brought the League into the public eye are out of character for young ladies who might be debutantes and young men who might be officers in the Guards.

At the social levels from which the outfit like this draws its goons are much lower than upper. They are from the frustrated middle and lower middle classes who are jealous of workers who earn much or more than they, who no longer afford private education or domestic servants or who take as a personal affront (because they have no personality of their own) the decline of Britain's power in the world and the complementary animosity among Asians, Africans, and Arabs.

In their frustration, it is true, they have something in common with the Teddy boys, and in their urge for action. But the channels into which they divert their frustrated energies are very different. The Teddy boy proper has no time for militarism or patriotism; he is a rebel without a cause. The essentially middle class members of the League of Empire Loyalists have found in their organisation an acceptable cause, an ideology which is respectable and is, after all, only a somewhat militant Toryism. And the compulsive need to do something is provided by the

Tory Party's vote-catching new look whereby they appear to be flabby welfare-statists instead of rugged empire-defending individualists.

Respectable Meetings

The League has won its notoriety by stunting at respectable gatherings where the maximum publicity may be expected: at Tory meetings particularly and at the Lambeth Conference last summer when some of its members donned bishop's garb and got in on a gathering in order to protest against the Archbishop of Canterbury's invitation to Makarios to come to this country for the Conference.

In choosing this respectable type of meeting they have shown wisdom. They presumably knew better than to try their tricks at say—a Communist meetings. Communists are no gentlemen and an Empire Loyalist, being from the Communist point of view loyal to the wrong empire, could expect short shrift at the hands of the comrades. But the Conservative Party is the party of ladies and gentlemen—or so the Empire Loyalists thought.

They certainly know better now. In an attempt to draw attention to what they consider to be the betrayal of the empire they staged an organised interruption during the Prime Minister's final speech at the Party Conference at Blackpool, and got the surprise of their mis-spent lives.

For instead of politely shushing them, or leaving the speaker to quiet the opposition, the Tories went mad. Instead of ejecting the interrupters with a minimum of violence they

were most savagely set upon, in a manner described by eyewitnesses as criminal (see the letter from a Dutch reporter reprinted in FREEDOM last week).

The Savages

Now in this incident it was not the Empire Loyalists who behaved like Teddy boys at their worst—it was the Tories. The Conservative gentleman who smashed his fist into a League member's face while two others held his arms; the Conservative lady who struck another interrupter 'in his vital parts' while he was being carried out stretcher-fashion from the hall—these were the upper crust Teddy boys and girls whose mask of restraint and good breeding slipped more than somewhat, and showed better than anything else could possibly have the basis of frustrated hate and violence upon which their ideology rests.

These were the same Tories who but a few days before had been howling for the return of flogging and the rope, but who had been cleverly restrained by Mr. Butler. The bloodthirsty rank and file Tories were concerned, they said, to remove violence from our society—i.e., to stamp it out by the violence of the state. But by their immediate reaction to the Empire Loyalists' interruption of their leader, by the blind fury of their savage assaults—for which the stewards were congratulated from the platform—they demonstrated plainly enough that for them violence is more than an expediency or an accident: it is a way of settling differences, a way of life, part of their hateful being.

As one of the Empire Loyalists said: 'Communists, Socialists, Liberals—they're nothing by comparison. Them Tories, they're bloody savages!'

TOO MUCH COAL TO BURN?

HOW is the Coal Board going to get out of the mess it is in at the moment? The latest report is that unsold stocks amount to a value of £67 million, and the storage of this costs about £5 million per year. Demand is falling even now, and the problem is therefore likely to be aggravated.

There are two courses open to the financial and economic experts. The first is to obtain more credit from the government, and the second involves closing down many pits, causing widespread unemployment, and cutting down production of coal. Naturally, it would like to be able to pursue the former course, and for their electoral interests, the political parties would like to be able to urge it along. The arguments presented for this approach are that at least part of the fall off in the demand for coal may be temporary, and that the increase in oil consumption, which is to a large extent responsible for it, is politically uncertain. Just about as convincing from the economic point of view, that is, as the arguments for keeping trolley buses.

The solution being advocated by the political parties and trade unions would result in the prolonging and worsening of the economic unreliability of the mining industry. It does not require much imagination to realise that such unwieldiness will not last for ever. Later on, perhaps just after an election, and it will not make much difference which party has won, the whole problem will arise again in an even more aggravated form, and the unemployment which has been avoided now will hit us then—unless of course a little war can be devised in some corner of the earth to take care of it.

The economy of state capitalism has a quality of inflexibility about it. There is obviously going to be a trend away from coal consumption in the future, and the Board and the Union have made some plans to meet it, but according to the *Manchester Guardian* 8/10/58:

"At the beginning of the year the situation did not look too grim, and the board presumably hoped that even with more and more of its working capital

being frozen in unsaleable stocks of coal it would still be able to pay its way by forcing its annual overdraft with the Ministry up to the hilt. It would appear now however, that the full £75 million for this year has been already drawn, or nearly so."

In an editorial for the same day, the *Guardian* lays its finger, although lightly, on the central issue, in saying

"... this is not a matter of trading policy, but one of great political moment. For years the Coal Board has been instructed to produce coal at almost any cost. It has done so—at great cost—and now there is more coal than can be sold."

The crisis has arisen, not as an act of God, but because coal production has been treated, not as a question of producing needs, or even as a 'trading policy', but as one of 'great political moment'. Notice that even so, the Coal Board could not correctly anticipate the position seven months in advance. Where does it lead the miners? Under the ground doing overtime when the 'great political moment' calls for high production, and on the dole when it does not. No wonder the industrial psychologists find it a problem to convince workers that hard work will not work them out of a job. Looking back, the men at the South Wales pits who fought against the voluntary Saturday shifts were right all the time. They knew more about where their interests lay, and as it turns out the interests of their fellow miners and many more workers as well, than the Coal Board. The next step is for them to gain enough confidence in their judgment to get into a position where they can put their knowledge into practice.

At the same time, a change-over from high coal production to a lesser level can only be accomplished without hardship in a society where production on a national scale is concerned solely with the needs of consumers, and where the livelihood of each individual or community is not tied up with the actual amount of work he is doing at that particular time.

SYNDICALIST.

Australia

Nuclear Hazards

KRUSHCHEV has now announced that Russian nuclear weapon tests will be continued, since (as he clearly foresaw) the U.S. and Britain did not stop exploding their bombs. Meanwhile, a recent article in *The Australian Journal of Biological Sciences* (Aug. 1958, p. 382) gives further information on the dissemination of radio-active elements from nuclear explosions. The author, H. R. Marston, shows that radio-active iodine collects in the thyroid glands of pasture-fed sheep and cattle.

A few days after the first nuclear explosion at Monte Bello (May 16, 1956), activity due to radio-iodine was detected in thyroid glands collected from sheep and cattle over a wide area. After the second explosion (June 19, 1956), these concentrations of radio-iodine increased a hundredfold or more showing the speed with which grazing animals assimilate and concentrate radio-iodine from fall-out. Some of the areas most heavily contaminated by this second explosion were 1500-2000 miles away, and its subsequent effects could be detected in the thyroid glands of these animals in territory about a thousand miles wide, stretching west to east across the Australian continent. There were indications that many areas received repeated contaminations of radio-active debris, the hazards from which are cumulative.

Since sheep fed in pens, on covered hay, had little radio-iodine in their thyroids, the radio-iodine must be absorbed from the pasture, not via the lungs. It thus follows that the concentration of radio-iodine indicates the rate

at which the grazing animal gathers other radio-active material, such as radio-strontium. The rapid accumulation of radio-iodine points to an equally rapid gathering of radio-strontium and other bone-seeking isotopes, and a speedy launching via milk, into human food-stuffs, thence to the skeleton, where they attack the bone marrow. The ensuing risk of leukaemia and other diseases is particularly great in the very young, e.g. the unborn child and the baby, since bone-formation is then particularly intensive.

Measurements of the radio-activity of the air in Adelaide indicated that the plume from the third Maralinga explosion (Oct. 11, 1956) passed close to the city, and contaminated it and the surrounding country with radio-active fission products.

One can only hope that children in Adelaide were not significantly affected by this contamination. What are their parents doing about it?

**FREEDOM
IS LOSING
MONEY**

Deficit List on p. 4

Political Realism and the Bomb

A CORRESPONDENT in our "Letters to the Editors" column this week ("Doing something about the Bomb") gently pours scorn on those pacifists and anarchists whose "beautifully rational theories" are all very fine, and may well "point the way out of the chaos", but which, she maintains, are useless, in fact, in a world in which the majority of people are not "beautifully rational". And she therefore welcomes any and every attempt to do something to save mankind from the annihilation which will almost undoubtedly result from the unleashing of nuclear war.

The strength of the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign lies, in her opinion, in its appeal to mankind's fundamental desire "to go on living" which, she maintains, has nothing to do with reason, or enlightenment. It's something which is there in all of us. Three times in her short letter does our correspondent refer to "the basic desire for survival [coming] to the fore" or to "enlightened or unenlightened we want to go on living".

We are glad to read of one young person for whom the will to live is so strong (especially since one hears

so many theories about young people being cynics and defeatists as a result of having grown up first in a war and then in a permanent cold war!), but if we are to be realistic we must look at things as they are and not as we feel or experience them personally.

Unlike the lesser animals Man is guided by the intellect and not by instinct. Animals are equipped for survival (within limits) because only those so equipped survived in the evolutionary process, and reproduce themselves because they have no alternative! For Man, on the other hand, death or survival depends on social customs, economic conditions and other Man-determined factors. And the reproduction of the human race, too, is Man-determined.

We enter the world unequipped intellectually, and virtually without instincts; we are therefore, entirely at the mercy of our fellow-men. At a certain stage we are left to our own devices, with our physical inheritance, and the knowledge and prejudices acquired in those so-called "formative years". If the "desire for survival" were so strongly ingrained in us—either by our education or by our inheritance—it

should manifest itself universally in the human race, rather in the same way as every nightingale from Communist China to the B.B.C.'s stars in the Surrey woods all sing the same song. But it is (fortunately) only too clear that this is not the case. The millionaire who commits suicide because he is bored with life, and the man obsessed with money who risks the hangman's rope in a desperate effort to achieve his goal; the passenger who scrambles into the first lifeboat, and the captain who calmly stands on the bridge as his ship goes down; the swimmers who watch a child being carried out to sea, and the non-swimmer who gets drowned in a vain attempt to save it... these are all members of the human race, but their attitudes to survival in any particular situation are as diverse as is their approach to life.

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IS it not significant that the family-, security-, pensioned-minded city clerk who shuffles over London Bridge every morning, and whose most adventurous thought has been to spend a night in a low dive in Soho, should be the backbone of the

Continued on p. 3

Unconventional Wisdom

"If you open the works of any economist you will find that he begins with PRODUCTION, i.e., by the analysis of the means employed nowadays for the creation of wealth: division of labour, the factory, its machinery, the accumulation of capital. From Adam Smith to Marx, all have proceeded along these lines. Only in the latter parts of their books do they treat CONSUMPTION, that is to say, of the means resorted to in our present society to satisfy the needs of the individuals; and even there they confine themselves to explaining how riches are divided among those who vie with one another for their possession.

"Perhaps you will say this is logical. Before satisfying needs you must create the wherewithal to satisfy them. But, before producing anything, must you not feel the need of it? Was it not necessity that first drove man to hunt, to raise cattle, to cultivate land, to make implements, and later on to invent machinery? Is it not the study of the needs that should govern production? To say the least, it would therefore be quite as logical to begin by considering the needs, and afterwards to discuss how production is, and ought to be, organised, in order to satisfy these needs.

"But as soon as we look at Political Economy from this point of view, it entirely changes its aspect. It ceases to be a simple description of facts, and becomes a science, and we may define this science as: The Study of the needs of mankind, and the means of satisfying them with the least possible waste of human energy."

—PETER KROPOTKIN: "The Conquest of Bread".

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THE second thing that the student of economics is taught is the assumption that "goods are scarce: economics is a study of scarcity and the problems arising from scarcity". But what happens when scarcity is replaced by superfluity? Professor Galbraith's book* seeks to show that the assumptions of orthodox economics with its assumption of scarcity and its consequent religion of production are absurd in the context of contemporary America.

His country's productive capacity is so much greater than its needs that a significant slice of the gross national product—eleven billion dollars worth of advertising—is devoted to the frantic production of wants which the actual productive machine has subsequently to satisfy. Advertising has, in fact, become the key to the whole economic system and is the most important industry since it alone keeps people and factories at work. And production is vital, not for the sake of the goods produced, but because the worker's income, security and purchasing power depend upon it.

In the interpretation of social phenomena, says Galbraith, there is a continual competition between what is relevant and what is merely acceptable, and in this competition "all tactical advantage is with the acceptable". Audiences of all kinds most applaud what they like best, and people approve most what they understand best—"we adhere as though to a raft, to those ideas which represent our understanding. This is a prime manifestation of vested interest. For a vested interest in understanding is more preciously guarded than any other treasure. It is why men react, not infrequently with something akin to religious

*THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY by John Kenneth Galbraith. (Hamish Hamilton, 21s.)

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passion, to the defence of what they have so laboriously learned". The consensus of acceptable ideas he calls the Conventional Wisdom. It is not the property of any one political group—there is a conventional wisdom of the left as well as of the right.

The notion of the conventional wisdom applies as much to economic theory as to anything else. Adam Smith's classical formulation of economic liberalism was viewed with alarm when published; soon afterwards it became the conventional wisdom and "there were solemn warnings of the irreparable damage that would be done by Factory Acts, trade unions, social insurance, and other social legislation". Now the conventional wisdom accepts the welfare state and holds that these measures "softened and civilised capitalism and made it tenable", though there have never ceased to be warnings that the break with *laissez-faire* was fatal. It has been the same story with the gold standard and the balanced budget, and again it was only circumstances which defeated the conventional wisdom. The American budget was never balanced during the depression, but it was not until 1936 that Keynes published his *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, and the unbalanced budget became respectable. Keynesian theory itself has now turned into a body of conventional wisdom, the obsolescence of parts of which, in Galbraith's view, is now well advanced.

He makes fun of the different conventional wisdoms, from Social Darwinism to Marxism, which substitute acceptable ideas for observable facts, and in particular, of the economic shibboleths to which all right-thinking Americans subscribe, most of which are "cherished almost exclusively either in the second person or in the abstract". Rugged champions of free enterprise scorn the quest for security, having first ensured their own, and the advocates of bold risk-taking are often those who have never, individually or corporately taken a risk in their lives. "The preoccupation of workers with unemployment insurance or old age pensions has usually seemed most supine and degenerate to business executives who would be unattracted by companies in which they were subject to arbitrary discharge or which lacked adequate pension arrangements."

The conventional wisdom lauds production when it is sanctified by profit and gratifies private acquisitiveness, but deprecates it when its purpose is to satisfy social needs; thus cars have an importance greater than the roads on which they are driven, and "Vacuum cleaners to ensure clean houses are praiseworthy and essential in our standard of living. Street cleaners to ensure clean streets are an unfortunate expense. Partly as a result, our houses are generally clean and our streets generally filthy." Education is unproductive and the manufacturer of the school toilet seats productive. The theme stirs Galbraith to this report on an American domestic outfit:

"The family which takes its maul and cerise air-conditioned, power-steered, and power-braked car out for a tour passes through cities that are badly paved, made hideous by litter, blighted buildings, billboards, and posts for wires that should long since have been put underground. They pass on into a countryside that has been rendered largely invisible by commercial art. They picnic on exquisitely packaged food from a portable ice-box, by a polluted stream and go on to spend the night in a park which is a menace to public health and morals. Just before dozing off on an air-mattress, beneath a nylon tent, amid the stench of decaying refuse, they may reflect vaguely on the enormous unevenness of their blessing."

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ANARCHISTS have never thought much of the conventional wisdom (they may have, of course, a conventional wisdom of their own), and many of Galbraith's points they would take for granted. The book's principal interest from an anarchist point of view is the

fact that the Professor of Economics at Harvard has come round to the "to each according to his need" principle. For Galbraith is arguing the case for divorcing income from employment, divorcing production from security. "We have seen," he says,

"that while our productive energies are used to make things of no great urgency—things for which the demand must be synthesised at elaborate cost or they might not be wanted at all—the process of production continues to be of nearly undiminished urgency as a source of income. The income men derive from producing things of slight consequence is of great consequence. The production reflects the low marginal utility of the goods to society. The income reflects the high total utility of a livelihood to a person."

No-one could seriously argue that we "miss" the goods which are not produced in a depression, it is the hardship due to unemployment which depresses us. Thus "good times" are identified with full employment rather than with high production. Galbraith therefore proposes to "break the connection between output and production" and to eliminate the hazard of depression unemployment for the worker by what he calls Cyclically Graduated Compensation—unemployment compensation which, as unemployment increases, is itself increased to approach the level of the weekly wage, and diminishes as full employment is approached.

Even worse, from the point of view of the conventional wisdom, he is no longer impressed by the cult of efficiency:

"If the modern corporation must manufacture not only the goods but the desire for the goods it manufactures, the efficiency of the first part of this activity ceases to be decisive. One could argue that human happiness would be as effectively advanced by inefficiency in want creation, as efficiency in production. Under these circumstances, the relation of the modern corporation to the people who comprise it—their chance for dignity, individuality, and full development of personality—may be at least as important as its efficiency. These may be worth having even at higher cost of production."

"Can the North Dakota farmer be indicted for failure to labour hard and long to produce the wheat that his government wishes passionately it did not have to buy? Are we desperately dependent on the diligence of the worker who applies maroon and pink enamel to the functionless bulge of a modern motor-car? The idle man may still be an enemy of himself. But it is hard to say that the loss of his effort is damaging to society. Yet it is such damage which causes us to condemn idleness."

"In the United States, as in other western countries, we have for long had a respected secular priesthood whose function it has been to rise above questions of religious ethics, kindness, and compassion and show how these might have to be sacrificed on the altar of the larger good. The larger good, invariably, was more efficient production. The sacrifice obviously loses some of its point if it is on behalf of the more efficient production of goods for the satisfaction of wants of which people are not yet aware. It is even more tenuous, in its philosophical foundations, if it is to permit the more efficient contriving of wants of which people are not aware. And the latter is no insignificant industry in our time."

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TO a lot of people, quite apart from those to whom it is economic blasphemy, Galbraith's debunking of the religion of production may seem to ignore two important facts: that America's age of affluence is an island in a world of poverty, and that in America itself there are large 'pockets' of poverty. He has in fact an admirable chapter on the new position of poverty in the United States, (in 1955, 7.7 per cent. of U.S. families had incomes of less than 1,000 dollars, and a very large number of individuals, not members of families were in this income class), distinguishing between what he terms "case" poverty and "insular" poverty. The point is that neither of these forms of poverty are susceptible to elimination merely by increasing production of goods and services. Of the problems of the "underdeveloped" countries, and of the responsibilities of the rich countries towards them, Galbraith is well aware, as we know from other utterances of his, but the point is again in this context, the output of goods and services in America has little to do with their problems. He remarks that the obvious remedy to the "problem" of over-production of food in the United States is to give the surplus away to people who can eat it, a solution which the conventional wisdom regards with horror. The other remedy, that of taking acres out of production has to be euphemistically described as putting them into a soil bank, while

... as others see them

I HAVE passed a whole afternoon at Hyde Park by the portable platform of the London Anarchist Group. The regular speakers at this weekly meeting have dazzled me by their physical powers of resistance and their presence of mind, their brio and their seriousness, their bite and their humour.

A young Spanish militant opens fire, in an English a little hesitant still, but which promises us, with the aid of greater maturity, a debater full of interest. Then comes the turn of Rita Milton, as pleasing to look at as to hear, nervous as a cat in her gestures and her Scottish mimicry—sometimes with claws out, sometimes with the velvet glove. What life (and what precision of language) is in this little bit of a woman, at grips with the obstinate contradictor, who twists and turns about, quibbles, and ends by striking his colours!

But here is Philip Sansom, with his good-natured air, youthfully socratic, his ruddy complexion, his beard and hair of golden red floating in the wind. He takes possession of his audience at once, and will not release it for nearly two hours. His calm and his conviction, his warm voice, his smile, the perfectly relaxed way he makes use of each incident, of each interruption, to nourish, to illustrate, to knit together an impressive improvisation, permit him to dominate all the difficulties of his fourfold task: to please and instruct, to move and to convince. How different he is from the tub-thumper or the dreamer, which is how the anarchist is conventionally represented!

Philip on the platform is so little embarrassed or self-infatuated that he slides easily into whatever rôle circumstance

offers. In his hands social satire comes comedy, and the eyes which are fixed on his fill with mischief. Suddenly he takes on, in order to reach the point of view of his adversarial militant Communists or Socialists, or Tories, Conservatives, austere clergymen, their forced attitudes, their accents and their conventional gestures, their stereotyped vocabulary of grim ideas and words. He refuses, in doing this, the image which they give of these human caricatures made to measure of dehumanised folk, themselves deformed and reduced to caricatures of present society. And the falseness of the social content shows itself so clearly that the falseness of the cant which comes—aristocratic cant, clerical cant, bourgeois cant, proletarian cant—that is no need for any other refutation.

Young and old, men and women, workers and bourgeois, Negroes, Hong Chinese and Cockneys (and even those for whom every political theory is a dead letter) then explode with an awing laugh. They blossom out in a full humanity, momentarily delivered from all the limitations of etiquette. It is Hyde Park itself which parodies Hyde Park, with all the joyous verve of the English genius is capable. A humanitarian and egalitarian spirit has been through the crowd. And, in front of this platform, set up before a varied glomeration of people at a loose end, who thus become a single people, it is to the spirit of comedy, one thinks of Shakespeare, of Ben Jonson, of Molière, and, still more, of Aristophanes.

Translated from "Les Harangues à Hyde Park", in "Défense de l'Homme", August 1958, by A. J. R.

Footsteps in the Snow

IN a recent *New Yorker* there was a cartoon which sums up this age of anxiety. Two explorers in a jeep are surveying a wild, snowy landscape and saying to each other: "They said it was here they saw the monster," the horror lies in the fact that their jeep is stationed in the midst of a vast depression made by an enormous footprint.

The credulous reception of stories about the abominable snowman is the keynote of modern belief. Footprints in the snow lead to an enormous man-like creature called by the natives a Yeti. Descriptions of the creature are vague but the chief feature seems to be a desire to believe in its existence and its resemblance to man gives an added dimension of horror. One can expect anything to

happen in the animal or vegetable or mineral kingdom but a man-like animal is rather like blasphemy.

This ability to believe in the supernatural has fathered the Loch Ness monster, flying saucers and men from Mars amongst its numerous progenies. The Loch Ness monster shows up frequently—during the tourist season. The rumour of men from Mars found in New Jersey suburb into a wild panic in 1938 and to-day sightings of flying-saucers are common and an organization exists which claims to receive messages from outer space.

What is it that creates this willful suspension of disbelief? The boredom induced by the limited, charted and tabulated universe leads one to believe that there are more things in heaven and earth, etc., etc. There is also a little pleasure in feeling that the men of science do not know everything. Their paternal power is undermined by the feeling that there are things which their philosophy has not dreamed of.

But this feeling goes deeper. In the myth of the abominable snowman there are parallels to the Norwegian legend of the Boog and the German legend of the spectre of the Brocken. In each case a figure appears in a high place, the Boog is actually invisible but its presence is felt. The isolation has presumably allowed the creature to live undisturbed by man and his appearance is presumably to warn man off this sanctuary of the unknown.

The physical explanation has been made that the spectre of the Brocken was the shadow of a man thrown onto the mist. This he failed to recognize and took it for a Boog, a spectre or a yeti. The flood of science-fiction, fantasy and X-horror films are indications of the type of material which evokes a response in the fantasy and horror-ridden minds of modern man.

W. B. Yeats wrote that:

What the world's million lips are
Must be substantial somewhere,
Searching for,

This yearning for the unknown whether for the lips of love of Bardot or the lips of death of Dracula is strong in man. The projection of fears and desires into fantasy constructions is obvious in the cinema and literature and popular myths.

What is less obvious is the projection of these into life, politics and international affairs. The mechanism of projection is the driving force in modern war and race hatred. The spectre that looms up before us on the Brocken is our own, those huge footsteps in the snow are ours, our complex civilization is encamped in the footprint of a primeval man.

The Teddy Boys of Notting Hill Gate are the other half of the respectable citizens of Little Rock. The gunmen of EOKA are the counterpart of the NATO forces. The lengthened shadow of a man is history, but the stunted shadow of a man is criminology. J.R.

C.W.

Realism and the Bomb

(Continued from p. 1)

Armed Forces in time of war is unquestioned. The man who is quitted for fear of losing his job, calls on him to risk his life in the line of duty. He is much more likely to do so if he is a Christian socialist types who are distinguished in a category of their own (those who have neither any nor status in existing society, are unfraid of social upheav, the upsetting of the strata *quo* the "routine" of stable society, and only be necessary to show the exceptions behaved in the we describe to make nonsense the notion that Man is controlled instinct of survival.

used, just as it has been made fully clear that smoking is a major factor in the incidence of cancer, yet we smokers go on doing the deleterious weed, so in the case of the fact that as long ago as 1911 some scientists, including the man who made the effects of bomb war, (and dozens more since confirmed their views and insisted on the serious genetic effects of continued testing of behaviours), mankind goes on behaving as if he were a different creature, all but unaware of his own life. Which of course they are!

WE have argued at length the case against the H-bomb threats to survival, because when we were living in years we too started thinking of the desire to live (in the same way as we also thought it obvious that all workers must be socialists or communists or anarchists, and could not therefore understand why, with a majority of a few non-voting anarchists—the Tories always won the elections!), but soon came to realise that we were simply reflecting our own feelings. And however meaningful it was to us—and still is—it is not necessarily a reliable yardstick in the case of the mass survival that millions could die in Russia, and more millions could be killed in wars in which nothing was at stake for them, without hardly a protest either from the victors or the victims. There is acceptance, and that is the nature of war. It is the nature of war of tearing down the population; war was in Man's nature. So far as war is concerned the public in general has not been allowed to change its views. And if the campaign *effectively* for the abolition of nuclear weapons seems to us that we must take this factor into account, among others.

AS our correspondent points out a decision cannot come in the mind that the political leopards will change its spots in ten minutes! For this is what the self-styled realists who believe that public opinion (expressed through constitutional government to course), will induce them to do. It is the nature of war (pal weapon of its authority and the strongest argument in the diplomatic vocabulary, are asking us to believe. Surely their illusions should have been shattered long ago by Bécov's own history, Brighton speech". In "See 'The Spaciness of the Hon. Mr. ...', *Freedom* Selection, Vol. 7, pp. 187-190.

THE three most recent important films are the ones in which the three women find themselves, when the actors have, in the early period, outward matters, much as one of the director must be in choosing the right word, sufficiently to keep his point, without discouraging the impression of the film. It is made dramatically and impressively, taking their attitudes to husband and boy friends, the visitors they receive, and the little things that are done. It has been for half an hour longer.

The other naturalist film is the one directed by Kjelgren, 'Lek på regnbågen' (Rainbow). It is a very moving dialogue between a progressive theme is a love affair with a progressive young literary assistant (Aif Kjelhin) and a young liberal student (Mai Zetzeling). We are introduced to them with previous lovers. Their first meeting takes place at an 'advanced' film discussion meeting, and the humorous aspects of progressive student life are lightly touched upon. The film is a very moving dialogue between a progressive theme is a love affair with a progressive young literary assistant (Aif Kjelhin) and a young liberal student (Mai Zetzeling). We are introduced to them with previous lovers. Their first meeting takes place at an 'advanced' film discussion meeting, and the humorous aspects of progressive student life are lightly touched upon.

The film starts with the inestimable advantage of four extremely attractive and popular roles, of which the two mothers and the two daughters, between south and the things they are called on to play in Hollywood has not been so good. The film is really excellent, it was not a film at all, but a slice of real life. For instance, the whole of the action takes place in the city, the theatre and the sister's office. All the people concerned could easily have come from a moderate circle of friends, and it is a pity that the film is so much deeper analysis of the possible reactions to her mother.

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WAGING PEACE, by Sir Richard Acland. Muller, 13s. 6d.

THIS book is subtitled, "The positive path to peace". It is written by Sir Richard Acland, who has been given up arguing that the Bomb should be given up, dealing with the issue from various points of view, ranging from that of the "practical man", who sees in the Bomb no effective defence, owing to its tremendous destructiveness, to that of the "idealistic" who sees in it a path to peace. The decisions are taken by an oligarchy, responsible to no one but itself, to whom the masses submit. The character of the masses is such as to prevent them from bringing about any change in the world to develop a free attitude. But they cannot develop a free attitude because of their upbringing. It would require years of education to change the nature of the masses and this is scarcely a practical proposition when one considers that it would have to be given to most of the world's population. The industrial is becoming increasingly one of industrial survival in a barbaric society. The fate of civilisation worries me progressively less and less. I can never contemplate his total destruction of the civilisation of all life on the planet leaves me unaffected, since each individual now alive is bound to die, whether alone or in company. It seems to me that there is nothing that can be done to check or divert the course of events, but as individuals one can do a lot to:

- (a) avoid being conscripted or drawn into the war machine;
- (b) survive in the case of nuclear war, by living in a well-protected area, some remote place beforehand and learning how to live off the country, what plants are good to eat, how to hunt with the bow, how to construct a hut out of the raw materials that will keep out the rain.
- (c) Peril and hardship are involved in both (a) and (b), but the situation that confronts us is utterly fantastic in the nature of it. It is a matter of life and death, if any one can survive at all, they shall be free at will.

Three Swedish Films

the other's side. At one point, while the other is talking, she is making remarks such as "Your ideas are all out of date now." The conversation goes by outside singing "The International", and she shames at her retreat from the heights of progressive ardour. Such a picture could perhaps not have been made in England because free love is not so common here. It is a picture which treats a controversial question in a really integral way when both points of view are fully represented in the community.

The third film, "Svartsvindlar" (Widow Stravinsky) and in Bergman makes use in parts of surrealist techniques reminiscent of the early Bunuel production. An old doctor is to be presented with a young girl, who is to be the recipient of his journey to the presentation in the fields on his life, each important influence or incident being recalled by some phrase or happening on the way. There is a picture which treats a controversial question in a really integral way when both points of view are fully represented in the community.

All these productions combine intelligent and sensitive treatment of important affairs with beautiful photography and editing. They are well made, interesting and well thought out. They are not only an artistic approach one can only try to develop consciousness of them.

Sir Richard's Dilemma

himself as a unique individual rather than as part of a group. This is the spirit in man's nature which the Christians refer to as "the Fall", but it is not something to be regarded as a terrifying and wickedness about which we can do nothing. We can do in the field of private life, our personal relationships and the political arena. The effects of authoritarian upbringing can be overcome by a few exceptional people.

The author hopes for "an almost miraculous transformation in the outlook and behaviour of millions of people". All his hopes for what might be done if this miracle, which was abolished depend on this miracle, which I do not believe will ever happen.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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Welsh Nationalism

The traditional pattern of community life in Wales is certainly healthier than the pattern of relationships in big cities like London and Cardiff, and Welsh is a fine language with an ancient literature. One must sympathise with your correspondent Hywel Davies in his anxiety lest Welsh culture should die. But it is very doubtful whether the establishment of a Welsh state would be of much use in keeping it alive.

I agree that an independent Welsh government would support and encourage the language, and any institution or custom which would tend to show reason for its existence as a separate state. The first act of the independent Irish government (whose case was somewhat similar) was an Act for re-naming the police force and painting the pillar boxes green, and it has kept up a campaign to Irishise Eire ever since. The Irish language is taught in all schools; a working knowledge of it is obligatory in Civil Service candidates; official announcements are published in two languages; there are long broadcasts in Irish, and publications in Irish are heavily subsidised.

And the result of all this is that the Irish language is still dying, about as quickly as it was dying under the English. The aspects of Irish culture which are thriving, like devotion to the clergy and hatred of sex, are thriving without official support; and the tradition of young men drilling in the mountains survives in the face of active state opposition.

I know there are big differences between the Irish and Welsh situations. But there is a general lesson to be learned from Ireland, Nepal, New Zealand and all the other places where the State has supported a local culture; namely, that no State can revive a culture. It is possible to support a corpse, and to push it from outside so that it moves like a live thing; but when the pushing stops the movement stops, and when there is no support the corpse immediately falls down.

A language or a community, is only alive so long as people accept it as part of their normal, ordinary, everyday lives. When it becomes a hobby, a subject of serious study, a thing of wonder, to those who are alleged to live by it, it is dead.

Subsidies, museums, propaganda, censorship, all the good works a State could perform, would be completely ineffective to defend the Welsh way of life against a feeling, among the Welsh, that English provincial dullness is ordinary.

How, then, can the Welsh way of life be defended, by the Welshman who honestly feels that it is superior to the possible alternatives? Part of the answer, I think, is to be found in those communities where ordinary people have learned to mistrust and oppose the State, instead of trying to use it for their own purposes. The best known example is Morellus in Mexico, whose inhabitants joined in several Mexican insurrections in the hope of protection from land-grabbers and corrupt police, only to be invaded again by the same marauders, immediately a new government recalled the arms by which it had come to power. The anarchist Emiliano Zapata, himself a Morellus Indian, eventually taught his people that they could keep their freedom by refusing to surrender their arms, taking the law into their own hands and remaining outside the control or the protection of the Mexican state, without creating a State of Morellus.

A nearer and more recent example is Friesland in the Netherlands. During the war, the resistance movements of Europe were issued with hundreds of short-wave radio transmitters, which were recalled in due course by the governments of the Liberation. But the Frieslanders hung on to their transmitters, and now use them against the Dutch authorities as they used them against the Germans. The positions and directions of police patrol cars, customs launches and whatnot are broadcast continually, so that smugglers, moonshiners, deserters, tax dodgers and other criminals (including the broadcasters), have adequate warning of their approach. The Dutch comrade who gives me this information tells me that the Frieslanders are much influenced by the ideas of the anarchist Johann Most, a native of German Friesland, where the peasants speak the same language.

A few years ago the Dutch Minister of the Interior described the illegal broadcasters as 'an illiterate rabble who have put Friesland outside the Netherlands community'. But the real com-

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

community life of Friesland and Morellus, the loyalty of neighbours to each other and the traditional form of mutual aid, is now unrivalled as the means by which society helps individuals. The Morellus and Frieslandish languages have gained a special importance as the sign to distinguish neighbours from strangers, and remain in favour with their users in spite of the fact that other languages have to be learned for the purposes of commerce or travel.

It may be said, with truth, that the independence of Morellus and Friesland could not have been achieved if weapons had not been distributed to them by the very people against whom the weapons are used, and could not be maintained if the State were willing to go to expensive and bloody lengths to repress them (as the Bolshevik government repressed Makhno's followers in the Ukraine). But it is equally true that such independence would not have been attempted, if the people had been as law-abiding and trustful as the others who were issued with arms, or if they had thought in terms of national sovereignty and independence rather than of personal sovereignty and independence; it was essential to their culture that they accepted some of the things they heard from anarchists.

The communal feeling of a population cannot be strengthened by State subsidies, but it cannot fail to be strengthened if the population will make themselves independent of the State, and given certain conditions they will seize the opportunity for independence when it comes. What the necessary conditions are can only be guessed, but it appears from the cases of Morellus and Friesland that they include the following. The population must be a regional minority within the jurisdiction of the State, inhabiting a somewhat inaccessible and sparsely populated region. They must also be a distinct cultural minority, with a language and a pattern of life which is peculiar to them. And they must be influenced by the doctrine of individual sovereignty, through anarchist agitators who must be of them and speak their language (for one of the less desirable features of minorities is their clannishness).

What about Wales, Mr. Davies?

DONALD ROOM.

Doing Something About the Bomb

Some anarchists and pacifists have declined to give their support to the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign, on the grounds that it is far too superficial a remedy, attempting to deal only with the symptoms of the evils of our society, whilst neglecting the fundamental problems: *i.e.* the unstable structure of a competitive power-seeking society; in the case of the anarchists—the need to condemn all war as a crime against humanity; the pacifists.

The Nuclear Disarmament Campaign proposes a superficial remedy. We are a society largely composed of superficial people. The most carefully reasoned argument in the world can pass far above the average person's comprehension, but when faced with the possibility of total extinction, the basic desire for survival comes to the fore. It may only be the desire to survive and go on living in

the same old routine existence, but it is still the desire to go on living.

We have beautifully rational theories which seem to point the way out of the chaos, but not enough beautifully rational people to put them into practice. The majority of people may not be capable of individually deciding to carry out non-violent civil disobedience.

Enlightenment cannot come in a decade, but in the meantime, enlightened or unenlightened, we want to go on living. This campaign may only be dealing with a symptom, but at least it is not ignoring it. A faint rumbling of public opinion perhaps, but thank God for the rumble.

yours sincerely,

London, Oct. 9. P.B.

[This letter is referred to in our Editorial columns].

Research

Several anarchist comrades in different countries are agreed in the view that there is a place for the scientific study of a series of problems, and have decided to found an international Institute for that purpose. The project is called, provisionally and simply, "RESEARCH". Among the first of the potential collaborators, we have met several comrades who are interested in the problems of

EDUCATION

We would like moreover, to get in touch with all those, in the movement or among sympathisers from the ideological point of view, who would be prepared to make contributions to this "Education" section of the Institute "Research", of which they would thus form the first section.

We are making this appeal so that all those who feel themselves capable of collaborating should make the fact known, by writing to comrade J. de Smet, rue de la poste 57, Bruxelles 3.

We wait with joy and impatience for other "specialists", mathematicians, logicians, anthropologists, biologists, historians, etc., to get in touch. When a "genuine" prospectus of the Institute "Research" has been drawn up, we will communicate it to you.

Brussels, Oct. 12.

J.D.S.

Church & Hospital

Nearly a third of all New Yorkers are Roman Catholics and their political influence has imposed upon the municipal hospitals an unwritten rule that they must not prescribe contraceptive devices even when a patient's health or life is at stake. Early last summer, when one of the hospitals decided to break the controversial rule for a Protestant woman with severe diabetes, it was forbidden to do so by the Commissioner of Hospitals, who is a Jew, and the Mayor, Mr. Wagner, who is a Catholic, refused to intervene. Protestant and Jewish doctors and other groups hotly disputed the right of any religious body to dictate the practices of tax-supported hospitals and recently the city's Board of Hospitals voted to erase the unwritten rule—with the proviso that doctors, nurses and patients who have religious objections need not take any part in promoting artificial contraception. At Queen's College, a public institution, the shoe may be on the other foot. The State Commission Against Discrimination has ordered an investigation of charges that, although Roman Catholic teachers are hired, they are discharged before they have served long enough to have permanency of tenure.

The Economist 11/10/58.

Pink Spectacles

The editor of FREEDOM during the recent past has been quite liberal in printing critical comment of Anarchist dogma, but not much of this criticism has been very constructive, as the critics adhered too much to abstract condemnations of the state, which presently is the capitalist state. These critics condemn this state too abstractly, ignoring the foundation on which it rests, to wit, the private ownership of the means of production. Marx was more fundamental, as he pointed out that the nature of the state, as well as all other social institutions, depended upon the mode of production as varied historically during evolutionary development. Thus Marx could see that due to evolutionary development, the proletariat finally would take control of the means of production, thus abolishing the class struggle, resulting in the witherance of the state, as the state never was any more than referee in this struggle or a means forcible to suppress it in favour of the owning class. Abolition of ownership would abolish the state he said. Already it is seen that the increase in power of the workers is decreasing the power of the state.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH MANLET.

Ohio, Oct. [Is that so!—EDITORS.]

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

WEEK 42	
Deficit on Freedom	£840
Contributions received	£601
DEFICIT	£239
October 10 to October 16	
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London: J.S.* 3/-; Maidstone: S.P. 10/-;	
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London: London Anarchist Group £10/11;	
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2/6; Wolverhampton: J.W. 2/6; Salisbury,	
S.R.: L.A.S. in memory of M.L.B. £1; Lon-	
don: V.R. £1; St. Louis: N.M. £17/6; Gates-	
head: J.D. £1; London: W.F.* 2/6.	
Total	8 6 8
Previously acknowledged	592 18 7
1958 TOTAL TO DDATE	£601 5 3

GIFT OF BOOKS: Moline: E.R.J.

*Indicates regular contributor.

Marx & Anarchism

GEORGE MOLNAR notes that I am quoted in FREEDOM as regretting that anarchism has been "contaminated" by Marxism, and points out that a study of Marx's writings could benefit anarchists on the whole. I agree that anarchists could benefit from such study, provided that it were broad enough to get a proper perspective of Marx's writings, and included some study of the French socialists, English economists, Hegelian writers, Russian revolutionists and early anthropologists which make up the background of Marx's thought. A study of Marx which is limited to such snippets of Marx which have been endlessly re-published by the self-styled "Marxists" of one sort and another, seldom does more than equip people with a set of slogans and clichés which are a substitute for thinking. This vulgar-Marxism has indeed contaminated anarchism, for it provides a superficially easy understanding of social dynamics in terms of class struggles with the implication that the problem is as stated in the Communist Manifesto. The Communist Manifesto was something of an "energizing myth" when it was written and does not compare well with the greater understanding of Marx's more reasoned works. But it is precisely this myth of the messianic rôle of the "proletariat" which is seized upon most eagerly by those whose acquaintance with Marx is slight. The sadly defeated individual, insecure in his personal life, can pin his hopes to the great by-and-by when he as a class-conscious member of the "proletariat" will come into his own. Marx had something of the Hebrew prophet in him, and it is the voice of Elijah, Amos and Hosea which echoes through his works, which has had the greatest mass appeal.

Marx has been shown to be wrong. Events have not turned out as he predicted. This does not detract from his eminence as an important sociologist—by being involved as an active politician he was led to be far more dogmatic and polemical than befits any social scientist. Events have shown that the class system instead of becoming more and more polarized as one must predict from Marxist theory, has been at all times highly fluid. The individual's destiny is not determined by his class any more than it is by his genetic constitution; in fact Marxist thinking in terms of destiny has proved singularly unscientific in that it has been worthless as a predictive method. Anarchism has stressed the importance of government as a thing in itself, and not as a mere dependent variable of property ownership or class, and indeed how right the anarchists have been. The most important social fact of the 20th century has been the enormous concentration of power in the State, and the threat to every individual, group, association and class consequent upon such concentration. We live now under the threat of extermination which has little to do with any of the tensions which a Marxist analysis of society claims to reveal.

My remark about the contamination of anarchism by Marxism was made at an international anarchist congress, and I think that the delegates from other countries well knew to what I referred, for their experience has frequently paralleled ours in this country regarding the dissensions within the anarchist movement. Towards the end of the war, the movement in this country embraced tendencies which were both anarchist and anarcho-Marxist. Those of the latter tendency, regarding themselves as class-conscious proletarians intent upon the pursuing of the class struggle, affected to despise the merely anarchist part of the movement who were concerned only with the opposition to authoritarianism as such. The anarcho-Marxists in the two big centres of the movement in Britain, Glasgow and London, did their best to put theory into practice and expropriate the tangible assets of the movement—with varying success.

In practice, both splinter groups and individuals who have sought to square Marxism with anarchism have generally ended up in the fold of some authoritarian party, or have quietly subsided into passivity.

Autonomy Call

Uruguayan students barricaded themselves inside the university building at Montevideo last week after a clash with police in which 130 students were arrested. Scores of students and 11 police were injured in the fighting. The students are demanding greater autonomy for the university.

Times Educational Supplement 10/10/58.

From what George Molnar writes is obviously no mere vulgar-Marxism appreciates the complexity of the involved. I would, however, stress point that Marx is not the only source of extra-anarchist ideas which anarchists who have the inclination could well study. The anarchists from Hume to J. S. Mill perhaps a more important field of study for anarchists, particularly those of movement in Britain. Again, we really far more enlightening on problems of class and power than Marx. Pareto far more important for those who studies the 20th century developments of State power. Again, having sat with Marx at Hegel's youth, cuts the Gordian knot of dialectic from which Marx never escapes and much of Stirner is as fresh and to-day as when he wrote it. Spinoza; Malthus—yes; Godwin—of course. And I have even forgotten to mention Hobbes in with Stirner as a must for anarchists.

So really, unless we are going to live our lives in a University library, anarchism is not so very important after all. Anarchism has its roots, not only in anarchist writers such as Proudhon published by anarchist printing presses but in many important writers who are certainly not anarchists. Marx is important, but his influence has been grossly pulled up by those who have achieved emancipation from lowly living by climbing up upon the backs of the "fellow workers". The anarchist movement has been contaminated by Marx and many led by the nose by Marxist slogans. Ordinary people have no time to spend their days in university libraries (where even some of the most interesting works of Marx are unobtainable in translation). I therefore criticise George Molnar for implying that there is a treasure of enlightenment which anarchists could use to end anarchism through the works of Marx.

TONY GIBSON

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Regular Sunday meetings now held at "Marquis of Granby" Public House Rathbone Street (near Percy Street and Oxford Street), 7.0 p.m.

OCT. 26.—Arthur Uloth
Subject to be announced.

WATFORD: "Community Living"; Speaker: John Cooper, and Discussion (Group in formation). Watford Branch, Progressive League, Thursday, Nov. 6th, 7.45 p.m. at the Cookery Nook, 93, The Parade, High Street, Watford (near the ponds). Train met Watford Junction, 7.30 p.m.

CROYDON LIBERTARIAN GROUP For details of meetings and other activities, please write to:

S. E. PARKER,
228 HOLMESDALE ROAD,
LONDON, S.E.25.

COMMUNAL LIVING SCHEME

Will those people, whether anarchists or not, who would like to contribute to social evolution and to their own enjoyment of life by trying out some form or other of community living please contact: J. D. COOPER, 54 Hillfield Road, N.W.6?

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