

# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

"Custom may lead a man into many errors, but it justifies none."

—HENRY FIELDING

## The Motor Car Slump is Really Only 'A BIT OF INDIGESTION'

ACCORDING to Mr. George Harriman, Managing Director of the British Motor Corporation—which is responsible for half the British car output—the key to the car slump is due to "a bit of indigestion in stocking" in the N. American market. This consists of some 900,000 unsold cars which are cluttering up the showrooms of American dealers. But clearly it is not only N. America which is suffering from a car indigestion. All the car producing countries and their principal export markets are glutted with unsold cars, in spite of an all round cut in production.

Of the manufacturing countries Britain is probably the worse hit at the moment, with production down to a mere 90,000 vehicles a month compared with 125,000 in the first half of this year. In spite of the present situation the motor firms in this country are going ahead with expansion schemes which will cost some £200 million! Since we have no reason to assume that they and the Banks are amateurs where it

comes to making money, there must be method in their apparent madness. As one manufacturer put it: "The critics have been saying we were wrong for the last 15 years. Yet look what we've achieved. Can industry in the country compare with our record of expansion, production, exports and prosperity?" And since, according to statistical forecasts, world car production will increase in the next ten years from 14 million to 19 million per annum, it is undoubtedly an expanding industry! And workers who earn "big money" in the boom periods must learn to adjust their way of life to cope with those periods when indigestion in the markets means short time and slimmer pay-packets for them.

AND periods of indigestion there will undoubtedly be many, for the car industry looks to Europe and N. America as the principle markets for its ever increasing production. "Europe," said the B.M.C. chief, "is the fastest expanding economy in the world today. The British car industry has got to get into Europe." But in Europe there are three major car-producing countries—France, W. Germany and Italy who are also the principal links in the Common Market. Yet it is these nations that will be absorbing a large part of the increased car production during the next ten years! Germany with one car to every 16 Germans; Italy with a ratio of one to 38 and France, like

Britain, having one car to every 11 people must be made to become more car conscious and approach the much more civilised American ratio of one car for every three inhabitants. And if one looks at it that way undoubtedly there is a rosy future, for to keep up with the Kennedys the four European countries named would need to put a fur-

ther 50 million cars on their roads! That they have succeeded by their high pressure advertising to make the world car-conscious there can be no doubt. When H.P. regulations were relaxed in this country in 1958 loans doubled and reached the £1,000 million mark. Half of this figure was for car purchase. And one can imagine that millions of

Fraus, Signoras and Madames are at this very moment urging their overworked husbands to give them the status which comes even with a car bought on the H.P.

But it is not just B.M.C. and the other British (American owned) manufacturers who are thinking in terms of an expanding European market, but German, French, Italian and American industry as well, and all are expanding in the hope of capturing the lion's share of the business. Again, we credit them with an awareness of what their

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### Unrest in Franco Spain?

GENERAL FRANCO'S repressive régime continues unchallenged by his Western allies eloquent in their defence of freedom when it is threatened by "communist aggressors", but dumb in the face of fascist totalitarianism—unless their economic interests are in danger from it.

Already in Spain there are laws designed to suppress any expression of free speech and criticism of the State, but as if these were not enough a new decree has been published defining "subversive acts subject to the jurisdiction of military courts" which in some cases incur the death penalty.

In whatever manner the decree is parcelled up its outside label "military rebellion" can be applied to the mildest form of criticism of the régime. For example a section reads:

Those who in whatever manner gather together to engage in conspiracy, or who participate in meetings, lectures or demonstrations (are guilty of military rebellion).

In a country where freemasonry is regarded as subversive, any person attending lectures and meetings who might be mildly critical of Franco will be in danger of arrest, as many Spaniards will testify. But the fact that Franco feels the need to underline his threats indicates a fear of serious opposition to his régime which might be growing in Spain.

Last week 200 Spanish intellectuals signed a protest to the Government complaining that censorship was harming their work, but there are also signs of open unrest among the workers and even sections of the priesthood have condemned actions by the government.

If Franco's grip is loosened by open rebellion, the West will doubtless "discover" that he is not such a Christian gentleman after all. Until then the defenders of the democratic way of life will remain silent.

### Hitler: "Social Reformer"

"Dick [Alick Dick managing director of the Standard-Triumph International] is tall, informal and not yet grey. He is the sort of man who likes to philosophise about his business. "All great cars," he will say, "are designed by social reformers. It wasn't Porsche who thought of the Volkswagen; it was Hitler." He believes that the car of the future is the one designed for the grown-up motorist; less speed, less chrome, and less panache, but safer, simpler, nippier and more economical.

"Mammon" in The Observer, Nov. 27.

### Conscription Ends SALUTE TO THE 'COWARDS'

WE are told that conscription has ended. The bouquets have been flung in all directions.

Lord Mountbatten said of the "reluctant heroes":

"We owe them a very great debt. During the war and in the smaller wars after the world war, many lost their lives. We shall always remember them with great pride.

"But all of them made sacrifices—sacrifices partly of their careers, of disruption of their settled family life, and, to them and to their families, the Services of today would like me to say 'Thank you, thank you very much!'"

The Central Board for Consciences Objectors has issued a statement expressing "admiration and respect for all those who have in one way or another suffered because of their adherence to conscience. Though some refused to register at all, over 76,900 have registered as conscientious objectors . . ."

It is necessary at this time to re-

member those unknown thousands who deserted or who in other ways made sure that they were not subordinated to the military machine; to remember the unknown Schweiks who were consciously or unconsciously grains of sand in the military machine; to remember the escorts who sometimes looked the other way. Our thanks go out to the malingers, the scrimshankers, successful and unsuccessful. To the thousands of combat soldiers who never fired a shot; to the bomber pilots who jettisoned their loads. To those whose military career was without glory but also without blame we owe much. To those who failed their medicals, stayed in their jobs, or kept out of it by fair means or foul, we owe a debt.

This is the phantom army of protest. Of such as the Kingdom of Man. J.R.



### NO BIRCHING - BUT

## Exemplary Punishment for Offenders

AS had been generally expected, the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders recommended that birching should not be re-introduced into the English penal system. The emotionally charged debate on that particular question tends to overshadow other points in the Council's report and the government's new Criminal Justice Bill, and presents Mr. Butler and his supporters in rather too favourable

a light, as being reasonable fellows waging a successful fight against their lunatic extremists.

In fact, what the government is doing is not to get away from the idea of punishment, but to rationalise it with a view to making it more effective. "The Council had expressed the views that severe and exemplary punishment was salutary, and that the powers of punishment at the disposal of the courts, which were stronger than often supposed, were adequate to meet this need." The Conservative M.P. Mr. Deedes explained in the debate in the Commons that "when detention centres were described as the civilised alternative to the birch the statement must be fully understood. The detention centre was not simply an instrument for the reclamation of misguided youths; it had now to be the principal means of protecting society against dangerous men . . ."

In other words, the chief reason that most Conservatives, including those in the Labour party, accept the absence of corporal punishment is because they feel that they have got just as vicious an alternative, with which to instill fear into potential or actual delinquents. These detention centres set out with the idea of breaking a boy's spirit by subjecting him to the severest possible discipline from the minute he wakes to the minute he goes to sleep. No doubt in twenty years time enough statistics will be available to show whether they have any effect in deterring crime, and whether they have or not, it is certain that they will

not have "reclaimed" any "misguided youths". At an international conference on treatment of offenders in Stockholm two years ago the British delegates proudly explained about the Detention Centres, to be told by the rest of the conference, including the Germans, that while their ideas were very interesting, no other country but England could actually put them into practice. It is planned that ten of these institutions should be in existence by the end of 1961, with a further two the following year. There is also a massive building programme taking place in the Approved Schools, which several years ago were thought to be on the way out, and plans for new Borstals, including more closed ones. In these Mr. Butler explained that the régime would be "brisk and exacting", which is Parliamentary language for brutal and vicious. All in all, the Prison Commission was driving ahead with the largest programme of building and refurbishing prisons and other institutions known for generations.

This is a consequence of the crime wave which is taking place, although it is interesting to note the conclusions of the research team which has been working at the Cambridge Institute of Criminology which included the comment that: "Scotland Yard's system of classifying crimes to prepare statistics for the public has led to the public forming exaggerated views about the crime wave, and should be reviewed."

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## BOOK REVIEW THE MOTHERS

**THE MOTHERS**, by Robert Briffault, Abridged by Gordon Rattray Taylor, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 36s.

IN spite of the legal equality of the sexes which has now been won in most Western countries, the attitude of men towards women remains to a large extent conditioned by the past. The assumption is still made that it is "natural" for men to dominate women, an assumption that is pleasing to male vanity, since it implies that men have voluntarily abdicated their power owing to the degree of "civilisation" that they have attained.

Modern society however is only the ghost of a patriarchy. The father figure, who reigned until the end of the nineteenth century, has completely disappeared. But we are still far from a sex-egalitarian society. What we have today is, despite American misogynists, a man-dominated society, but not a father-dominated one. The man is important, not as an individual and head of a family but as a member of society, as a citizen. The woman is still not truly regarded as a citizen, although she has a vote. She occupies the sort of position enjoyed by the surviving Red Indians in America. She is in society, yet not completely of it.

I have the greatest respect for Freud, many of whose ideas I find most enlightening, but I believe that he made a serious error in the overwhelming importance he gives to the role of the father. In fact it is the mother who has the greatest impact on the child. She is the first person that the child encounters. Her behaviour conditions that of the child in its earliest months and

years, which are the most decisive ones. By the time the father begins to be important the character of the child has already been formed to a large extent.

From this situation springs the power which women possess even in the most patriarchal cultures. The woman becomes charged with an almost numinous quality. She is able to inspire both love and fear, without needing the muscular power to dominate that men possess. To the small child she can be as much a figure of doom as of love and tenderness. She is as able to withhold love as to give it, and if she chooses to withhold it the child faces a difficult situation.

Briffault's classic work is based on the theory that the relationship between mother and child lies at the basis of human society. In many ancient societies the power of the women was very great for this reason. The woman, particularly the mother, represented the centre of society, the hearth and home, the basis of the clan, the tribe, the community. The Supreme Being was female, or else was a moon god who was the especial god of the women. The priesthood was originally in the hands of the women. They were seers, prophetesses, magicians. The early monarchies were often queen-dom, or else, even when a man was ruler, the descent was reckoned through the female line. In many parts of the world the husband came to live with his wife's clan. He did not take his wife away with him as in patriarchal cultures. This matrilineal marriage always occurs where women possess power and independence, and Briffault takes it as his criterion as to whether the society is one where women are free or not, since some societies where descent is reckoned through the female line are nevertheless male-dominated.

*The Mothers* has until recently only been available in an edition contained in three thick volumes, costing £10 complete. It is about one-and-a-half million words in length, and is somewhat confusing to read. This edition has been reduced to one fifth of the original, and the footnotes and references have mostly been omitted. To some extent this is a pity. It is now a much easier book to read right through, but some of the more quaint pieces of information that I remember from my perusal of the full-length version are missing, and one has

a certain sense of disappointment. Nevertheless the abridgement has been well done, and is absolutely necessary if the book is to be widely read.

There can be no doubt that Robert Briffault believed passionately in freedom for women and hated puritanism. Dr. Westermarck, himself a famous anthropologist in his day, appears in these pages as the spokesman for chastity and repression. Briffault has no mercy on him, tracking down his every evasion and mistatement, and pinning him to the facts.

This adds excitement, but is unlikely to make the orthodox anthropologist raise an eyebrow. G.R. Taylor is occasionally apologetic in his introduction. Briffault loved the broad generalisation, and he liked to shock. His weakness was his rejection of Freud, whose theories would have helped precisely on those very points where he made the heaviest weather. Probably his rejection was due to the patriarchal attitude of Freud.

However scientific one may seek to be it is impossible to eliminate altogether the result of one's upbringing.

G. R. Taylor writes, "I have observed elsewhere that, when a child has one parent who is easy-going and affectionate and another who is severe and apparently unloving, it identifies itself with the former and is preoccupied throughout life with its relationship with the latter. When it is the father who is severe, this seems to lead, in the case of a male child, to a homosexual tendency; when it is the mother who is unloving, this leads the male child to a preoccupation with women and with incest. This was certainly the case in Briffault's great contemporary, Havelock Ellis, for instance. It seems to have been equally true of Briffault."

Much that Briffault says will however shock the romantic rebel as much as the sexual conservative. He demonstrates that jealousy, far from being a natural human trait, is created by culture. He cites examples from all over the world to the effect that among innumerable peoples, perhaps the majority of "backward" folk, adultery is not regarded as a crime or a sin.

The advance, if that is the correct word, to a higher culture, if that too is the correct expression, is usually accom-

panied by an increasing subordination of women. Of course this subordination is not incompatible with "respect" for women, which usually means respect for women who are sexually cold and live according to patriarchal morality. In any case this "chivalry" is a very late development. In the real Middle Ages the awe and fear that the primitive mother had inspired in the past turned into active hate. The woman became the doorway to Hell. The hunting down of women who still practised magic became a veritable obsession as the medieval order began to decay. "Chivalry" was largely a creation of the Victorians.

In modern times we are more humane. We do not actually burn women as witches any more. However, books, plays, films, the press, the radio, the television and the pulpit all unite in telling women, by implication rather than directly, that their place is in the home, their status one of relative subordination. (Except in time of war or when women scientists are in demand so that Britain shall keep abreast of the Joneskis on the other side of that Curtain.)

I am not sure that this constant needling is not another form of cruelty. To keep insisting to someone that he or she is inferior in some way is bound to have an effect sooner or later. The more sensitive or impressionable the person the worse the effect. And if this alleged inferiority is ill-defined the harder it is to fight the feeling that one has it. One has nothing to get hold of. There is just a pervading sense of universal inadequacy. Many women do in fact display a marked sense of inferiority, which often manifests itself by their becoming stern critics of their own sex, saying things like, "women have not the emotional stability of men", and other such generalisations, which cannot be disproved because they are so vague and all-embracing. (In fact men do not display much emotional stability, judging by the events of the last fifty years, and the examples set us by Mussolini, Hitler, Churchill, McCarthy and other great ones, whose calm and moderation has been such an inspiration to us all in these troubled times.)

Men very rarely criticise their own sex as such, however critical of mankind as a whole they may be. Briffault was an exception. In Chapter 3, *The Origin of Social Feeling*, he writes, "Just as the transferred affection of the female for the male is a derivative of maternal love, so all feelings of a tender, altruistic character are extensions and transformations of the maternal instinct. Altruism is almost unknown in animals, and is in contrast to basic biological demands.

## FREEDOM

These sentiments, being of female origin, develop more strongly in the female. The sympathetic, protective, affectionate attitude, transferred by the female from the offspring to its father, is gradually extended towards all males, towards females who are not possible rivals, towards animals and all living things, and even towards plants, flowers and inanimate objects. These are handled tenderly, whereas the male is disposed to be rough and to destroy. For the male the extension of sentiments in this way is much more difficult, more unnatural. The male child is born cruel. It is his natural propensity to inflict suffering and to destroy. Only social education can develop a tender disposition in him to any degree."—p. 42.

I think he overstates his case. But it is worth quoting because it is so rare to find the same sort of criticism applied to the male sex as is so frequently applied to the female. Even rarer is when a man says it. It illustrates however Briffault's basic theory. The social instinct in man is a development of the mother-child relationship.

Our culture is still, in some respects, less enlightened and tolerant than that of the pagan Celts, whose women were as free as the birds. Nowadays it is admitted that men may "sow their wild oats", but it is still rather shocking for a woman to do so. People who would be ashamed to admit to colour prejudice are quite ready to admit to a belief in the inferiority of women to men. E. Dingwall, after writing a brave and scathing analysis of racial prejudice, particularly anti-Negro prejudice, then went on to tackle the fatal topic of the American woman, coming to the depressing conclusion that things would be all right (more or less) if women knew their place and did not try to compete with men.

The old accusation. But where is a woman's place? According to the heroines of Celtic myth it was in someone else's (not their husband's) bed. According to the warrior priestesses of the Moon God Jurapuri it was on the war path. Even in our society, while desperately concerned lest women should cease to be "feminine", which I suspect means in many cases no more than that they will cease to spend money on clothes and cosmetics, public opinion is always ready to call on their aid in time of national crisis.

It seems to me that, beyond the very simplest matters, there is really no "natural" or "basic" rule of conduct for the sexes. Anything goes.

I hope that this book will later come out as a paper-back and have a wide circulation.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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### The Last of the Bohemians

BY one of the 'cruel strokes of fate' as I am sure he would call it, the death of 'Iron-foot Jack', otherwise Jack Neave went practically unnoticed during the 1959 election.

He was born in 1882, and flourished in notoriety during the early thirties. His last public utterance was a remark that the Soho fair was "no place for bohemians". This could be taken as his epitaph.

The margins for eccentricity have been narrowing for years. Iron-foot Jack's old haunts the 'Cally' and the Alexander Café have disappeared from view, and even the 'French' in Old Compton Street, which was one of his latter-day haunts seems to be threatened. The cash-nexus of present day society have made two café tables grow where one grew before and the invention of the cafeteria and the bar-stool have made the ring of the cash-register the sound of "café society" rather than the buzz of conversation.

There is now no place for the one cup of tea and three or four hours of conversation. Even Iron-foot Jack's flights into club-ownership on a shoe-string would find no place in today's rash of strip-tease clubs.

He died on his exit-cue. His life seems to have been wrapped in self-created mysteries. He claimed to have been born in Australia, and returned to England in the nineties where he was placed in a grim orphanage in Walworth. Running away from there he joined up with gypsies and drifted into the life of a travelling-showman, strong man, escapologist, fortune-teller or whatever method of making a living presented itself. During the course of his wanderings. (According to Mark Bennet the author of his biography *What Rough Beast?*) he acquired the leg injury which necessitated the iron-foot which gave him his sobriquet. He was drawn to London like a fly to a jam-pot. Here, according to his biography he was converted to anarchism by picking up FREEDOM in a tenement lavatory.

According to a rather romanticized story Iron-foot Jack had a touching reunion with his father, Ralph Neave at

an anarchist meeting. There was a stirring renunciation scene which bears all the hall-marks of fiction and the passion for self-dramatization which Iron-foot specialized in. Ralph Neave was, as Jack said, a 'big man' in the anarchist movement. 'Big men' are rather rare in the anarchist movement, discouraging as it does, 'the cult of personality', but Ralph Neave was even rarer, having left no trace behind. He may of course, have used a pseudonym.

This romantic touch of the long-lost father is rather like the romantic stories Iron-foot Jack told about how he injured his leg in some rescue attempt from a shark, from a lion, from a bloodhound, from a coastguard, from a speeding car, etcetera, etcetera. He was an entertainer, and remained so all his life in a world whose entertainments became more sophisticated, more knowledgeable, and less impressed by intellectualism.

He was drawn to anarchism as many have been by its romantic content but politically he described himself as a radical (before the *Daily Herald* claimed them), he was ever ready to join in any 'demmo' with the maximum of publicity.

He was a freethinker of the old school, Volney's *Ruins of Empire* was one of his favourite books but he had a passion for the occult which he cultivated to give himself an air of mystery and helped him to earn a few shillings by fortune-telling and selling lucky charms. For a man who was a connoisseur of 'suckers' (he once sold the Bible as "The World's most Daring Book on Sex and Marriage"), he had a tendency to be somewhat of a 'sucker' himself.

He once passed on as worth reading *Secret Powers Behind the World Revolution* and was taken aback to have it criticised as a piece of raving anti-Semitic, anti-Communist trash in the same class of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. He had the fatal reverence for science, education and the written word which is the unhappy lot of the semi-literate.

It is most probable that he was born with a deformed foot and his pathetically clumsy strivings after culture, beauty, and publicity were over-compen-

### Exemplary Punishment Continued from p. 1

Very little has been said on the official side about the social causes of the crime wave, if it really does exist, except for the smug references from the Conservative side that juvenile crime is increasing chiefly in states which boast high standards of living and adequate welfare services. This may be a blow to the hopes of some socialists who had thought that high material standards of living would eliminate personal problems, or that free medicine and family allowances were equivalents to socialism, but it will not surprise anarchists, nor the libertarian branch of the socialist movement who are going beyond the idea that a good society can be brought about by legislation. Only one M.P., Mr. Gordon Walker, put his finger on the reasons for crime, pointing out that the main determining factor was whether the society encouraged or checked impulses towards anti-social behaviour in individuals.

As a radical approach to finding the reasons for delinquency it would be worth finding out to what extent it is due to increased social aware-

sations for an under-privileged childhood.

Once at an anarchist conference there was, as there always is, a clash about the bohemians that infested the movement. Some foreign comrades were under the impression that it was the gypsies who were being criticized, others thought it was Czechoslovakian anarchists. In any case whether they call themselves bohemians or beatniks, and whether we call them bums, layabouts or dreaming visionaries, the 'Iron-foot Jack' types give variety to a conformist society. J.R.

ness on the part of delinquents. It is more openly recognised today that the way to get ahead and make money is to look after yourself and not care about anyone else; that capitalism and its parasites such as advertising are motivated solely by the desire to make quick profits by treating everyone else as mugs. The unfortunate part of this is not that such a large proportion of young people have had the insight to see that they are being exploited and abused by society, but that the way they respond is such that it perpetuates the society that oppresses them. While there is no ethical difference between thugs and hangmen, confidence tricksters and advertising men, share pushers and take-over bidders, the latter get social approval, and the existence of each helps to justify the existence of the other. Scotland Yard publishes its figures to show that there is a crime wave, the public believe them, and the police get more pay.

It is perhaps just because people realise that crime is the other side of the penny to exploitation carried out by the top people that few consider the possibility of eliminating it, but can only envisage a reign of fear, whether of the birch or prison, to repress the desire to get even.

Unfortunately our society produces the conventional delinquents on the one hand and the hanging and flogging enthusiasts on the other. It just depends on your social class. In view of this it is difficult to see how the vicious circle is ever going to be broken.

P.H.



# What Kind of People do we think we are?

## 'A Bit of Indigestion'

Continued from p. 1

competitors are up to. Is it not possible that in the next ten years a large part of the car manufacturers' expansion programmes will consist of the opening of factories and assembly plants outside their own countries? Ford of Detroit for instance, can tailor their production to suit the "demand" of the American market and at the same time be in the happy position of having parallel industries in Germany and Britain which can supply local markets free from tariff barriers, as well as enjoy privileged entry to the Common Market and Outer Seven respectively. After all, what they are interested in are the profits from production and what better way of ensuring the best results than by establishing your factories where your potential markets are?

With the Detroit-Ford bid for the cash-owned 30 per cent. of the shares in Ford of Dagenham, half British car production will be American-owned. From the workers' point of view, as we pointed out last week, the situation will not be changed. All that will change is that the profits will now go to shareholders in America; again, from the workers' point of view, this will not materially affect their

This does not mean that the British manufacturers are letting the grass grow under their feet. B.M.C. has come to an arrangement with Innocenti of Italy to produce British cars in Milan; they have also joined with a Spanish car firm to assemble heavy trucks in Spain early next year as well as using Spain as a base for further expansion. The Standard Company of Coventry have built a plant in Belgium and stepped up their assembly operations in Italy and Australia.

We assume that these trends will be more marked in the years ahead either by the establishment of new plant, or the financial penetration or absorption of existing concerns outside one's own country. In Europe, at least, one can visualise the situation being reached where the export and import of cars will have virtually come to a standstill. Then perhaps the car manufacturers will apply their attention and their financial techniques to the under-developed countries of the world for new markets and more profits!

We have perhaps bored many of our readers by our attempt to analyse the trends of the car industry. But it was, in our opinion, important to try and establish that vital as the car industry is to the economy of the five car manufacturing countries (the livelihoods of millions of workers depend on it) it exists to make profits for shareholders and not to provide jobs for workers.

THE other aspect of the present "crisis" on which we meant to comment was the gloom with which the car production recession has been received in all quarters. It is only in a capitalist system that a falling off in demand can be viewed as a tragedy. It is only in a capitalist society that the production of fewer cars could result in more people going hungry. It is only in a capitalist society that the prospect of working three or four days a week should upset those concerned and their families as well as the Press and the government. Yes, we know all the capitalist arguments to our exclamations. But they are only valid if one can accept that the system exists for the good of the com-

THE recent article by P.H. *Is Anarchism a Minority Sect or Social Force?* (22/10/60) raised such interesting issues on the problems of minority movements, on the kind of anarchism which we wish to propagate, and on the strategy of anarchist journalism, that it is a pity that no-one has thought it worth while to take up their discussion. As they are the kind of questions which I have been raising in these pages for several years, I hope you will forgive me for bringing them up again.

### Sectarianism

There is a deep historical division in the life of this country, which at different times has revealed itself in the opposition of Lords and Commons, Cavaliers and Roundheads, Church and Chapel, Establishment and Outsiders,

munity. And this we cannot do. In our opinion if workers had a social conscience they would use such occasions as the present when the capitalist system is in the throes of a crisis to do what they could to weaken it further because it is in their interest to ultimately destroy a system in which they, as producers, have no say in what they produced nor how they produce it. But instead, delegations of car workers have been lobbying M.P.s to urge them to call on the government to ease H.P. regulations, to lower the bank rate, to open up new markets, so that the wheels of industry can turn at full speed and keep them fully employed!

Raymond Fletcher in *Tribune*, mouthpiece of Michael Foot the new hope of the "Socialist" Left, wrote that

the solution to the car industry cannot be found within the car industry itself. The car workers are taking their questions to Westminster—the only place where they can be adequately answered. (Our italics).

Mr. Harold Wilson, Labour's shadow Chancellor, stated last week what he would do if he were in office:

"We say to the Government: 'Cut the Bank Rate to 4 per cent. Give direct aid to capital goods exports. Encourage capital investment by fiscal and other means. Use building licensing and other controls. Cut down frills and speculative excesses. And concentrate on developments which will strengthen our production and trade.'"

We must say, we found that the *Daily Herald*, in spite of having recently severed its connection with the T.U.C. put forward ideas which were more socialist as well as more human when it concluded two articles on the crisis with the following reflections:

Our own economy, geared for so long to a booming car industry, is bound to become more and more difficult to handle unless the Government steps in and plans it with the nation's real needs in mind.

A Government that really considered the nation's social needs would be thinking more in terms of providing schools and hospitals, rather than over-expanding an already inflated industry.

With this would go an international policy involving help for under-developed nations to buy the cars, commercial vehicles and industrial machinery they need.

But which government has ever considered the 'nation's real needs?' Such a government would have to first ascertain from the public what its needs were, and the moment it took such a step it would be kicked out of office by the real rulers of the land—the civil servants, the industrialists and the financiers as well as the army of professionals whose well paid jobs exist only so long as the public are told what they need!

No one can fight the workers' battles better than they can themselves. When they realise this basic fact they will learn where to look for allies and who to treat as the enemy with whom compromise or co-operation are impossible.

Oxbridge and Redbrick. These, far more than Sir Charles Snow's categories, constitute the "two cultures" of English life, and, our history being what it is, they are commonly expressed in terms borrowed from religious observances, orthodox on the one hand and non-conformity, puritanism or dissent on the others. A topical statement of this division was Richard Hoggart's defence in the witness box of D. H. Lawrence, a writer who belongs in a tradition which stretches from Bunyan through Blake to Orwell.

Anarchism, in this country at least, belongs like the socialist movement in general, to this tradition of radical non-conformity, and shares both the strength of its radicalism and the weakness of its sectarianism. Tony Gibson made this clear in his LAG lecture *The Anarchists: A Non-Conformist Sect* (FREEDOM 28/2/59 and 7/3/59) which like two subsequent articles in these pages, was concerned both with the connections between anarchist thought and this tradition of dissent and with the less comforting comparison between one kind of anarchism and the characteristics of the evangelistic and revivalistic non-conformist sects—a concern with the millenium, with a hypothetical "free society" in which all problems will be solved, coupled with an impatience with the search for radical solutions to actual present-day problems, a withering intolerance of any departure by a hair's breadth from the canons of unorthodox orthodoxy, an elevation of personal predilections and prejudices into moral principles, the assumption of a position of moral judgment over one's fellows, a paranoid suspicion of all existing social institutions, and assumption that no-one but ourselves can act in good faith. A

## The World of Money

### • Another Take-Over Bid

There is news of another take-over bid this morning. Borax, the great chemical company, is ready to buy for around £3million all the shares of the Manchester chemical manufacturers Hardman and Holden.

It has been a closely kept secret. The 5s. Hardman and Holden shares were last quoted at 14s. each but the shareholders are offered, in shares and cash, 18s. 6d. a share.

They are advised by their directors to accept, and it is reasonably certain that most of them will.

(Herald).

### • 5s. Shares Jump to 38s. in 4 Years

Pasolds, makers of Ladybird clothes for kiddies, propose to raise £495,000 by an issue of new shares.

They will be offered to shareholders at 22s. 6d. each. And here's why the cash will fly in.

Four years ago Pasolds made their debut on the Stock Exchange. The 5s. shares were placed at 10s. 1½d. Profits were then £398,700.

Latest profits? £701,800. Today's value of the shares? 38s. each.

And in between shareholders have had a 100 p.c. share bonus. So every 10s. 1½d. speculated in 1957 is now worth 76s.

(Herald).

### • Family Business

Two 100-year-old City merchant banks are forming a merger with combined assets of over £60 millions.

They are Kleinwort, Sons and Co., one of the leading houses in the international financing of trade, and Robert Benson, Lonsdale and Co., whose main business is the financing of industry at home and the arranging of new capital issues.

Kleinworts is a family business in which all the ordinary shares are owned by the members of the board and their families. Robert Benson and Co. merged with Lonsdale Investment Trust, and apart from its growing financing business it manages a group of investment trust companies with combined assets of more than £60 millions.

(Guardian).

## FREEDOM PRESS GREETING CARDS

Sayings by Herten, Turgot, La Bruyère, Maupassant, Pasternak, and Mat Kavanagh.  
3/3 for the set of six, with envelopes, post free.

notable characteristic which this kind of anarchism shares with the sect-type is that its most blistering contempt is reserved for those who go part of the way with it, rather than for its enemies. When P.H. declares that "anarchists must find ways of expressing themselves which do not consist of trying in the wilderness or playing ring-a-ring o' roses with all the other minority sects" he is demanding that we shake off this tendency to moralise, and to postpone all solutions to a stage when everyone has seen the light and government, capitalism, etc., have ceased to be. And this brings me to P.H.'s concluding question.

### Utopianism

"To what extent," he asks, "does anarchism still involve the idea that it can only be effective when everyone has accepted it? Are we looking for world-wide unanimity or are we content to make a contribution to finding a way through social problems, knowing that the solution reached will be either a synthetic one or a pure compromise, and hoping that the anarchist influence will be as big as possible?"

The best answer to this question, it seems to me, was given in George Molnar's article "Anarchy and Utopia" which first appeared in the *Sydney Libertarian* and was reprinted here in the *University Libertarian* (No. 5) and in *FREEDOM* (26/7/58 and 2/8/58). "To the initiated" he wrote,

"as well as to the uninitiated, anarchism is still the search for 'Nowhere'. But to say this is, in my opinion, a misapprehension which ignores certain tendencies in anarchism, and to correct such a one-sided view we have to be reminded that in addition to a considerable amount of naive speculation anarchism also contains a realistic line of thought on the nature of society. In the course of making this point I want to argue that those who work out this realistic line, consistently, by freeing it from its utopian associations, are entitled to claim a stronger connection with traditional anarchism than the mere use of the word 'anarchist' as an appropriate label."

For the way in which Molnar develops his argument I must refer you to his article—one of the only pieces of fundamental critical thinking about anarchism to appear in the English-language press since the war. Molnar concludes that "the contest between freedom and authority is the permanent order of the day. Doing politics, advancing freedom as a programme for the entire human

race, cannot change this: it can only foster illusions about the way society runs." (That these kind of illusions still exist can be seen in almost every issue of this paper. It is implicit in those readers' questions which begin "How, under anarchism, would you...") Certainly the concept of a "free society" has its uses, but these do not include that of a myth for the faithful, like the general strike in Sorel's concept, but simply serve the purpose of the economist's "models" or the sociologist's "ideal types".

The questions for anarchists, looking at the world we live in, are what do we support, what do we oppose, what should we initiate. As André Pradier once put it in these columns:

"every authoritarian institution or proposal is a challenge to the creative intelligence and spirit of initiative of free men; if this challenge is not taken up there need be no surprise that State solutions based on servitude and compulsion, have come more and more to prevail amongst us."

I think it is because we have failed to formulate anarchist alternatives in the most prosaic as well as the most important fields of life, that the very people for whom our ideas would be useful and who could bring life to our own activities, cannot bring themselves to take us seriously.

### Propaganda

In the current issue of the *New Left Review* the editor, discussing the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament writes of "the anarchist case, which I believe to be a felt but unarticulated strand in CND politics, and which is weak largely because it has not been put. In any event, that anarchism and libertarianism has been a most fertile element in the Campaign..." Now I think that anarchist attitudes to CND have in fact been put well enough, the point is that they do not appear to have been taken. And if such a strand exists within CND, and we all think it does, those who adhere to it must presumably form an anarchist stream in many other aspects of their lives. But is this reflected in the circulation and influence of the only anarchist paper in this country? Which brings me to P.H.'s other point. "It is no use making propaganda at all," he writes, "unless we feel confident that it will have a good effect". This raises such wide issues that I would like to leave it to another week. C.W.

## Mr. Littler—Property Man

IN our recent piece on the struggle between the Clore-Cotton and Littler groups to gain control of the theatre business we pointed out that though Mr. Littler had been presented by the Popular Press as the theatre man who believed in the future of the theatre, in reality both the Littlers and the Cottons were interested in making money first and foremost. And we concluded "There is no reason to suppose that the live theatre is any safer in the hands of Mr. Littler" than it would be in those of Messrs. Clore and Cotton.

Sooner than we could have imagined confirmation of this view was provided by the following item from the *Guardian's* financial pages last week:

The consequences of Mr. Charles Clore are never minor. His unsuccessful effort (jointly with Mr. Jack Cotton) to gain control of Moss' Empires has

acted as a catalytic agent on Mr. Prince Littler who sits astride both Moss and the company that controls Moss, Stoll Theatres. These two companies and Howard and Wyndham, the other principal power in theatreland, have consulted S. G. Warburg "on plans for the future of the three companies and their properties." They could not be in better hands.

One problem is to treat equally holders of Moss' preference who were denied an offer from Messrs. Clore and Cotton and failed to benefit from Mr. Littler's preference-buying foray in the market which defeated them. Another is to make the companies much more profitable undertakings by taking proper advantage of their property assets. It should be possible to do this while having "due regard" for theatrical interests. (Our italics).

It "should" be possible... but we are certain that "theatrical interests" will not stand in Mr. Littler's way as a property dealer!

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## 'G' Looks at the New Reader

To the Editors of  
FREEDOM.

A reader called Heason writes to say how disappointed he is with the quality of FREEDOM. I should like to say how disappointed I am that FREEDOM should get such a really silly letter. Indeed, I think he is lucky to get it published anywhere, for it is a mere string of clichés and sheer mis-statements of fact. To make such pronouncements as, "The behaviour of man is governed by complex psychic functions that have no relationship whatever to rationality", is to take worn-half-truths and to remove the last shred of truth from them.

But seemingly this correspondent favours a policy of thumping great lies to make FREEDOM a better paper, for he goes on, "To say there is a value in telling the truth is again to assume that the reader is rational and can formulate permanently valid conclusions himself: a fact which history should tell you is not the case." Isn't it? I rather think that it is better to assume that some readers are rational and can come to valid conclusions themselves, rather than to show the same contempt for readers that is exhibited by the gutter press, which is what the alternative implies.

Although Heason's letter is a poor thing indeed, his half-baked ideas show a lineage from an anti-rational body of opinion which is a permanent threat to good sense. Perhaps he took to reading an anarchist paper because of a mistaken idea that anarchists would be a crazy mob who eschewed thinking rationally in favour of "thinking with the blood".

Anti-rationality has been pleaded most powerfully by such writers as Nietzsche, Dostoevski, Yeats, Pound and D. H. Lawrence. The best of such writers have created works of art, but their activity has been largely irrelevant to the furtherance of social freedom. The worst of them have been in the forefront of everything that FREEDOM is opposed to. D. H. Lawrence wrote, "My great religion is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our minds. But what our blood feels and believes and says is always true."

This led Lawrence and his followers to no great harm, but precisely the same message was put forward by Hitler and his followers. Their "blood" happened to feel and say and believe that the Jewish population should be massacred—so massacre them they did, with not tire-

some interference from the rational intellect.

If we are not going to seek to be guided by rationality, then we are the slaves of anything which captures our emotions. The anti-rational man can say with Lawrence, "What our blood feels and believes and says is always true", but he can be sure that every such man as he will also be convinced of the truth of his own "blood's" promptings, and it is just too bad if the truths conflict. If we despise reason we cannot expect it to help as an arbitrator. Bodies such as the Catholic Church which hold reason in contempt invent their own "truths" and seek to gain social conformity by forcing them on all men. Here the degradation of reason is paraded by making dogmas so outrageously silly that they are a slap in the face to elementary sense. For instance, all Catholics, both wise men and fools, are required to swallow the story that the Virgin Mary ascended to Heaven in her bodily form. This piece of nonsense would be quite pointless were it not for the necessity to rub the noses of the faithful in the dirt of a silly lie. The Mau Mau are alleged to have required their converts to swallow the dung of

goats as part of the initiation ceremony. Roman Catholics must have even stronger stomachs.

Elsewhere in the same issue of FREEDOM I read Arthur Uloth declaring his reasons for preferring emotion to reason. "I believe that a person's emotions are fundamentally healthy. They become twisted in the course of an authoritarian education, and this system of authoritarian upbringing arose in remote times out of ignorance."

Oh, give me patience! Ignorance of what? This is just admitting that the authoritarian miseducators ("in remote times") were irrational. They used their emotions; they followed the Lawrencean or Hitlerian promptings of their "blood", and so they knew they were right.

Let me put in a plea for reason, for science, for truth. Science is not a bogey; it is just a method of systematizing ideas, of separating truth from falsehood. That is all. Scientists, being human, can be silly, dogmatic, deceitful—anything you like—but science necessitates an open mind, a willingness to learn, and honesty. I know that it is uncomfortable to many people when they find that a cherished belief or an ardent hope will not stand up to scientific enquiry. Yet truth is always more satisfying than lies in the long run. Fact is far, far more interesting than fiction. By having the courage to stick to the truth anarchists have preserved something of great value, their own self-respect.

FREEDOM  
Meetings and  
Announcements

LONDON ANARCHIST  
GROUP and MALATESTA  
DEBATING SOCIETY

## IMPORTANT

MEETINGS WILL BE HELD  
in basement, 5, Caledonian Road, N.1  
(near King's Cross Station)  
Sundays at 7.30 p.m.  
All Welcome.

DEC. 4.—Laurens Otter on  
FELLOW-TRAVELLERS WITH  
ANARCHISM

DEC. 11.—To be announced.

DEC. 18.—Philip Sansom  
Subject to be announced.

DEC. 25.—No meeting.

London Anarchist Group  
AN EXPERIMENT IN  
OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION  
MEETINGS

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

Last Wednesday of each month  
8 p.m.

At Dorothy Barasi's,  
45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green.

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

Study Group on Non-Violent  
Defence

(Organised by CND)

Every Thursday at 8 p.m. at  
18 Campden Grove, W.8.  
Admission 1/-.

## MANCHESTER

A Libertarian Group is to be formed  
in Manchester. For details please write  
to:—

F. A. GRESTY,  
4 Smithy Lane, Gee Cross,  
Hyde, Cheshire.

## HULL READERS

Will any readers in Hull desirous of  
forming a group please get in touch  
with:

R. J. WESTALL,  
16 Ainthorpe Grove,  
Derringham Bank,  
Hull.

He is also interested in forming a Uni-  
versity Libertarian Movement if any  
Anarchists (or Libertarians) at Universi-  
ties are interested will they get in touch  
with him?

## Public Discussion Meetings:

RANK AND FILE INDUSTRIAL  
CONFERENCE LIAISON MEETING  
White Swan, 28 Farringdon Road,  
London, E.C.1.

December 2nd. BRIAN BEHAN on  
"Why We Need a Rank and File  
Movement."

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## In the Universities

## Landladies Discriminate

ONE of the most pressing problems in our shrinking world is that of race prejudice which we optimistically hope will be reduced in the course of time and as there is a greater mingling of the races. But there are few widespread signs that man has lost his primitive need for a scapegoat on which he can push the blame for his many frustrations; therefore, all that can be done by reasonable people is to attempt to reduce tension and fear by repeatedly attacking the basis of prejudice wherever possible.

The recent Democratic victory in the United States was heralded as a triumph over religious bigotry; this is one way of interpreting the success of a Catholic President elected for the first time in U.S. history, but he is after all a white man and a Christian even if his church is not the majority religion. It is doubtful, however, if a black man of the "correct" Christian persuasion would have been elected.

Racial prejudice goes even deeper than the religious sort and although for some of us the problem is academic, for others it is a painful practical issue.

One minority section in this country faced with immediate difficulties, is the group of black students attending universities; their search for lodgings is not an easy one and is made even more difficult by the chronic housing shortage.

This subject was discussed by the National Union of Students at its conference in Margate this week, which directed its executive to "discover the extent in Britain of the colour bar which some landladies practise against students". The 500 strong national council meeting was reported as being "surprisingly cautious and very responsible".

Cautious it certainly was since the only practical plan, proposed by the Chelsea College of Science and Technology and subsequently withdrawn, was not pressed. The proposal was for a boycott of landladies who practised a colour bar and was opposed by Mr. Clive Jordan (London School of Economics) on the grounds that:

The already inadequate lodging list would be further reduced and the shortage would hit coloured students most of all. The universities, finding it still more difficult to get lodgings for coloured students, might reduce their intake.

It doesn't necessarily follow that if white students boycott landladies who already will not accept coloured students the "lodging list" would be reduced for the coloured students,

although it might create a problem for white students.

But since it is not desirable (or possible) to force unwanted lodgers on prejudiced landladies the problem has to be dealt with by university authorities backed by the students. Instead of an investigation into the extent of the colour bar when there is enough evidence that there is one, would it not be more practical to investigate the possibility of building accommodation to house both white and black students. There is plenty of land and it is not impossible to raise money for hostels.

What is needed is an extension of the "fighting spirit" aroused over the Anderson report on University grants leading to a campaign (to be held from December 8th-15th under the title of Students' Grant Week):

because the students do not accept as adequate the Minister of Education's recent indications that the Government is ready to go only part of the way in abolishing the means test.

It is probable that to bring pressure on Parliament the students will travel by coach loads to lobby at Westminster. The executive calls for protest meetings and petitions.

The abolition of the "means test" is important, but it is also important to have adequate housing where students can feel "at home". If students are prepared to lobby at Westminster on one issue, why not also press a claim for independent student accommodation?

## The Gentle Sex

A motion urging the birch for criminal offenders aged up to 21 who, having been previously warned, commit further crimes of violence was passed by 95 votes to 58 at a conference sponsored by the Women's Group on Public Welfare in London on Saturday.

The motion was proposed by Mrs. L. E. Middleton (Sheffield), who said that every day there were vicious attacks by thugs upon old women, criminal assaults on young girls, and attacks on the police by gangs of youths. Miss H. Mellor (Bridlington), opposing, said that one crime did not warrant another; to birch anyone was a crime before God.

Guardian, Nov. 28.

'Consumer Resistance' Affects  
S. African Fruit Industry

PRETORIA, NOVEMBER 21.

The South African citrus fruit industry has just ended its worst selling season in 28 years. A statement issued by the Citrus Board in Pretoria today attributed this to overproduction and "consumer resistance."

British United Press.

CO-OPERATION AMONG  
THE FREE SCHOOLS

Dear Comrades,

I thank P.H. for his words of welcome to this little magazine.

May I say that I entirely agree with him in his desire to see co-operation among the handful of free schools and their supporters; I make the point emphatically in the Editorial to the third issue, just out, that it is by no means intended solely for those directly connected with Neill's school, although Summerhill will always signify to us the prototype of the free school. It is a direct aim of the magazine to draw together the scattered groups and individuals who can see the distinction between real freedom and the superficial slackening of the reins which has been happening in conventional schools.

It is financed independently by a small syndicate of individuals, and we urgently seek the support of everyone who really believes in freedom for children and youth.

Sincerely,

IAN LESLIE.

50 Hillfield Park,  
Hornsey, London N.10.  
Nov. 21st.

## Thinking Aloud

When Philip Holgate says "It is no use making any propaganda at all unless we feel confident that it will have a good effect."

I agree with him, except that I would add that the thing to do is to try something different, by which I don't mean change the ideas, but change the approach, change the presentation.

Make it new.

Because when one of the posh weeklies said about the other last week "It is never easy for a journal of the Left to grow to maturity without losing its hold on younger readers" we know it to be true. You have only to look at that paper.

And our own.

Now when I read that every American college student buys a copy of Ginzberg's *Howl* and that "this ever new and young audience would appear to be the source of continuing readership".

And when Paul Goodman says that American twelve-year-olds read *Mad* magazine as their bible, I get howling mad because I think of the

Opportunities we miss.

Especially when the President of Yale University singles out as the feature of our day the "restiveness on the part of the younger generation which is evident in almost all countries and reaches revolutionary intensity and proportions in some."

I think why doesn't every intelligent

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## PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

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\*Indicates regular contributor.

TRISTRAM SHANDY.