

FREEDOM

AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d.

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'Be it or be it not true that Man is shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin, it is unquestionably true that Government is begotten of aggression and by aggression.'
HERBERT SPENCER.

Must Everything Pay?

BEEF BEFORE GADGETS! FOOD BEFORE PROFITS!

A Question of Priorities

WHAT makes the popular press despicable in the eyes of thinking people is its knack of invariably distorting facts so that what is important is overlooked, and what is unimportant gets inflated treatment. Every opportunity it has of stressing the unpleasantness of human beings, or of feeding the latent chauvinism, it has itself fostered over the generations, it does with undisguised relish. The British Press, it should be added, is no worse in this respect than the gutter Press anywhere in the world.

Last week we had two examples of the workings of the Press: in its treatment of the disturbances by large groups of youngsters at a number of seaside resorts during the Whitsun holidays, and later, in its handling of the so-called "beef crisis".

Over the beef crisis, as was to be expected, it was the foreign buyers in our midst who were upsetting the prices and preventing the housewife from getting her week-end joint. Mysterious foreigners were mingling

with our kith and kin in the markets, outbidding them every time and shipping off the cattle to France, Belgium and Italy. And we, the tax payers, were paying subsidies to the farmers for their beef and it was the foreigners who were eating it!

Tucked away in a corner of one's newspaper was the BUP report from Buenos Aires which read: "Argentine short of meat for domestic use because of export commitments, is to import meat from Paraguay".

Now which of the two items from the point of view of the beef "crisis" was the more important? If there is any doubt, let the statistics speak for themselves.

IN March of this year the "drain" to the continent of home-raised beef amounted to 11,725 cwt. which is six times higher than the amount exported in March of last year. Assuming this rate is maintained throughout the year, we shall have exported 140,700 cwt. The papers could have made us even more ap-

prehensive by stating the amount in pounds, or ounces. Since they refer to our imports of beef from Argentine in tons, we will convert the cwt. to tons and the figure is 7,035 tons. The amount of beef that Britain will be importing from Argentina this year is estimated at 160,000 tons! So not only is the newspaper "crisis" over a minute quantity compared with the amount we import, it is also a minute proportion of the quantity of beef actually produced in this country since we are told that only a quarter of the beef consumed in Britain is imported, in other words that about 500,000 tons are produced here. And yet the propaganda was that the whole beef economy was being upset by a few foreigners outbidding local buyers over a few miserable tons. This is nonsense, but makes good headline material for the gutter Press.

That we will have to face a crisis not only over beef but with all food products in due course, is a matter that suffers a severe setback, as hap-

pened last year, resulting in the need to cut down on stocks of cattle (which, incidentally, resulted in a glut on the British market and a drop in wholesale prices—but not in your butcher's shop!—and more subsidies to British farmers) and which is reflected in the quantity

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The Weapon of Deportation

23rd May, 1964.

Mrs. Judith Hart, M.P., is looking into the case of Bert Bensen, the American teacher of psychology who has been asked by the Home Secretary to leave the country. She is to have an interview on Monday, May 25, with the Under-Secretary of State, Miss Mervyn Pike. This interview had been arranged for a later date, but was brought forward at short notice.

The Home Secretary still refuses to give reasons why Mr. Bensen should not stay, and has only recently volunteered that his residence here is not "in

the public interest".

Mr. Bensen, a supporter of the Committee of 100 and of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, had begun research on sociological and political aspects of military service, conscription and conscientious objection. He believes that peace movements and non-violent social action movements should develop outside the political parties. He has been translating and editing material on industrial problems in Italy; he has also written for *Resistance* on the proposed West German emergency laws.

Mr. Bensen does not believe that his activities, past or present, are evidence that he is a danger to the security of the country—the only officially acceptable political reason for asking a foreigner to leave.

Mr. Bensen has been informed that at present, in this country, unlike most parliamentary democracies, no legal appeal is available in such cases, and the Home Secretary is not obliged to give reasons to support his case.

Kenyatta, Kaunda, Consolidate their Power

BOTH Kenyatta in Kenya and Kaunda in Northern Rhodesia are working fast in consolidating their power in their respective countries as well as their "image" as supreme leaders. It is obvious that they haven't much to learn from Nkrumah, or Cassius Clay, for that matter.

A news item from Lusaka states that Manchester Cotton will be used in the manufacture of Northern Rhodesia's "nation dress", and that already Kaunda's UNIP has placed an order for 1,500,000 yards of gaily coloured cotton material with a Manchester firm. The cloth bears the head of Mr. Kaunda and the inscription "Freedom and Labour". According to a UNIP spokesman, it was hoped that when independence comes in the Autumn 5 million yards of the cloth would have been bought.

In Kenya talks are taking place with "a team of British defence experts" about expansion and modernisation of Kenya's military forces. At the same time Kenyatta is waging a ruthless war against the former "field-marshal" of Mau Mau. Last week Mwariama, described as the most powerful of the Mau Mau leaders, who came out of the forest under the amnesty at the time of Kenya's independence three months ago, has been sent to prison for five years and three months on a charge of "obstructing a policeman in the execution of his duty and of possessing an offensive weapon—a swordstick—without authority". That's one way of getting rid of your former allies.

PEKING INCORPORATED

REPORTS continue to reach Hong Kong that the communist Peking Government is considering plans to declare Shanghai an international "free" port.

Although the communist Government already has considerable business interests in the present Hong Kong "free" port set-up (supplying the British Crown colony's drinking water at profitable rates, owning and operating—from what has been described as "the finest modern skyscraper in the Far East"—The Bank of China, sharing in the estimated 2 million U.S. dollars changing hands there every day) Peking is said to have even greater ambitions for Shanghai.

As well as being a powerful rival to Soviet Russia's own "pearl of the East" Vladivostok, Shanghai is well placed for the developing commerce with Japan. Peking believes that much of its 60 million pounds worth of yearly exports at present passing through Hong Kong could be re-routed through Shanghai.

The communist leaders are also said to favour the move for "tactical political reasons": a Chinese communist rival to Hong Kong would be a useful rejoinder to Krushchev's taunts that the Chinese leadership is doing nothing about "the ulcer of colonialism on ancient Chinese soil".

The final decision is believed to rest with the Bank of China experts who are at present studying the likely effects of such a move on their Hong Kong branch. The latter has 'earned' the communists £400 million in sterling assets in the past 10 years.

ANARCHY 39 IS ON HOMER LANE

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SOLIDARITY AT A.E.I.

When four workers at the Associated Electrical Industries plant at Trafford Park, Manchester, stopped for a five-minute chat on union affairs they were dismissed by the shop-floor supervisory staff. On hearing this 400 men downed tools. The next day, after a mass meeting, these were joined by another 1,300. Later on these were joined by others; union officials claimed 6,500, while the management said only 3,500 took strike action.

Although the strikers have now returned to work for negotiations to take place, if action hadn't been taken these four men would probably now be out of a job.

When strike action was taken in solidarity with these four men, the management sent telegrams to 390 of the strikers. The telegrams told them to return to work the next day; if they did not they could regard themselves as

having "terminated their employment". Strikers interpreted this as intimidation. They said that a number of workers didn't receive this telegram and were not wanted back. The management thought it might be able to get the others back, while leaving undesirables out on the stones.

Even by the Company's estimate, just over a quarter of the 12,000 workers were involved in the strike. It seems that a considerable number of workers, especially those who work on the section with or nearby the dismissed men, thought that direct action was necessary to safeguard these men's jobs. It appears the works committee didn't—they recommended a return to work. This works committee consists of 19 shop stewards, one of whom was dismissed, and seven management representatives. These seven have no voting powers. It appears that when the vote was taken

Spanish Strikes Spreading

Strike action, first taken by the Asturias coalminers, is still spreading throughout the country. Some 15,000 vineyard workers from the sherry district of southern Spain have not joined the strike. In Santander, a northern coastal town neighbouring the Asturias region, at the Nueva Mantaña Quijano, steel workers have also taken strike action. This action, according to the Spanish news agency Logos, was taken in protest "against the unjust dismissal of a fellow worker". It appears that only maintenance men of blast furnaces have reported for work. Workers at the same company's plant at Corrales de Buelna have also downed-tools in several sections of the plant.

This week coalminers in the Leon, Cordova, Palencia, Seville, and Ciudad Real areas have been given pay increases and an eight-hour day for surface workers and seven hours for those underground. Wages are to be increased by 25 per cent. to £60 a month for underground workers; surface workers will

receive half of this amount. The Asturias region has been excluded from these improvements until the strike is over.

30,000 miners are still on strike in the Asturias region. Whether these improvements in pay and conditions will bring a return to work remains to be seen but their strike is about more than these grievances, important as they may be. The Asturias miners' demand for free trade unions attacks the Franco régime itself.

These miners have now been on strike for over a month. It must be remembered that all strikes are illegal in Spain, that there is no strike pay and it is very likely that arrests and torture may be resorted to in order to intimidate workers into returning to work. These methods were widely used last year by the police. These repressive measures have not crushed the Asturias miners' will to resist Franco's totalitarian régime.

P.T.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

by the works committee 15 attended, Cliff Renshaw having been sacked, while the other three were on strike.

The strikers set up their own strike committee, also the Manchester district office of the Amalgamated Engineering Union has given the dispute its support. They have organised a number of meetings outside the factory to gain more support.

The Company has said that those attending these meetings included "many sightseers, staff employees and people from neighbouring factories". But the result of these meetings, no matter what the Company may have said, was to increase the support for the stoppage. The management also said that their relations with the works committee had been very good. They referred to "unusual outside pressures" which have interrupted the normal procedures which take place when disputes occur.

It has been pointed out in the *Financial Times* that elections are "now in progress for the post of Manchester district secretary of the A.E.U. Mr. E. Frow, the present holder of this office, holds strong Left-wing views".

What these "strong Left-wing views" are I don't know, but it is nothing new for union officials to become suddenly militant when elections are near. After all, it wasn't the union official who first called the strike, but the men themselves who took action.

Although the workers' loyalty at the A.E.I. factory has been split in this strike, a considerable number of men has shown solidarity with the sacked men. This has been strong enough to show the management that they can't do as they wish. The strike action forced the Company to withdraw its threats of dismissal to men who acted in solidarity. The A.E.I. statement reads: "The management gave an assurance that these men have been fully accepted back into their departments and that their continuity of employment with the Company had not been broken."

With this assurance and with negotiations to take place over the dismissals, the strikers have gained their demands. If these men are not reinstated further action will be taken, but I think the A.E.I. have already been taught a lesson and they will think again before they contemplate sackings and the sending out of threatening telegrams. P.T.

Must Everything Pay?

A YEAR or so ago I used to travel home regularly on a train that had a restaurant car, decent food, standard drinks, and friendly stewards. This car was packed, and I always felt vaguely euphoric—drink or no drink—at the thought that so many people could afford to enjoy the comforts of British Railways. This was our much-vaunted affluence in practice—the shape surely of things to come, but for millions rather than thousands. I remember the time, before the war, when the restaurant car was out of bounds to all but the richer traveller: the rest of us had to make do with sandwiches—eaten furtively and as quickly as possible behind the lid of a suitcase or a folded newspaper.

I am sorry that my restaurant car has gone, been withdrawn from service in the interests of British Railways accountancy, for somehow this move is symbolic of the prevailing attitude to public amenities. The American economist, Galbraith, has pointed out that while we enjoy private affluence (in our homes) we live in a sea of public squalour—poor roads, railways, schools, and so on—and all because we hate paying taxes. We groan when some nationalized, public industry or service records a working loss, because centuries of private enterprise have conditioned us to associate profits with efficiency; and I want to suggest that losses on public undertakings can be justified, can be desirable for their own sake, and need not be synonymous with inefficiency. Do not please label me a 'bolshie': let me try to convince that such heterodoxy is quite sane.

In a leader in *The Times* not long ago I read that the postman's demand for more pay could not be justified by the profitability of the industry. What does this mean? That the Post Office is expected to maximize its profits? That wages must always be geared to profits? If so, the outlook for nurses and doctors and teachers and soldiers is dim. Do we want the Post Office to make big

The following is the text of a talk given on the BBC Home Service last month by Bernard Hollowood, editor of *Punch*, formerly on the staff of the *Economist* and a lecturer in economics. It is interesting to note that this talk was reprinted in the *Listener* and given pride of place on its front page.

profits for us? It could quite easily do so. It could bump up the price of stamps to a shilling per inland letter, reduce the postal staff by making only one delivery a week. Easy: profits galore to help the Exchequer cut the income-tax rate. Or, if you like, the Postmaster-General could abandon his flat-rate system and charge differential rates for letter delivery. Threepence from London to Reading, 8d. to Birmingham, 2s. to Newcastle, and 5s. to Aberdeen. If it is profits we are after, the possibilities are endless.

But what about education and medicine? Could they be made to pay? Easy again: let all text-books contain advertisements—and all classrooms. In other words let education be subsidized by commercial interests. 'Tell Mom to give you Fishy Fingers for tea—they're scrumptious'. 'Get your Dad to smoke Curly Cut: there's a space-man cut-out with every packet'. 'Tell teacher to use Akme chalks for long, non-squeak life, and remember—Akme chalks contain Blue-glo, so that they're whiter than the cliffs of Dover!' 'Yes, we could make education pay; or, rather, we could disguise the fact that education is a real, direct, and unavoidable charge on the community.

Health Service hospitals do not make any profit. Why not? Perhaps we don't try hard enough. We could charge the patient for the bed, for his meals, for bandages (say threepence an inch), for use of bedpan: we could put nurses and doctors in uniforms advertising proprietary medicines. Oh yes, it could be done.

But at what cost? we are apt to forget that almost everything we consume

in goods or services is paid for by us out of current income. And no amount of fiddling the books makes any difference to the bill. If we make the health services free we pay for them in our taxes; if we want the railways or the Post Office to show better financial results we have to pay more in fares and postage and accept less convenient services. If we call in private enterprise to subsidize public services—such as television—then we have to pay for the commercials, the jingles, and so on.

Some industries and services are obviously best left in private hands, working competitively for profit—but the profit must be reasonable and should not arise out of monopoly pressure and inflated prices. Equally, all parties are agreed, some industries and services should be run by the state or by local government—and with them the only matter that concerns us in the long run is their efficiency. The profits or losses do not matter in the slightest—because as we have seen we pay anyway.

In recent reports on transport (Buchanan and others) it has been suggested that the time may have arrived to consider free transport—free bus journeys, perhaps free train journeys. This would mean that we should pay more taxes for the privilege of travelling easily without the incessant palaver and fuss of changing money, buying tickets, losing tickets, chewing tickets, and queuing to submit tickets for inspection. The number of man-hours of labour and anxiety consumed daily in these chores is stupendous. Converted into electric power it would be sufficient, I hazard, to drive every factory in the country.

WHILE I am in this expansive mood

let me look ahead a few years—a few hundred years perhaps—to the time when all essentials will be free. At present we employ the price mechanism to preserve differentials in individual affluence. We must have not enough of everything to satisfy all people's hunger and taste for material goods. So the ancient law of supply and demand still operates. But we could easily, even now, make many things freely available:

bread, milk, newspapers, radio, television, public transport—there is a short list for a start. And it would ensure at least that no one went hungry, lacked mobility, or was deprived of instruction, education, entertainment, and opinion.

Which brings me to the kernel of my argument. In the beginning, as we all know, life was nasty, brutish, and short. Man climbed out of the jungle and brought the law of the jungle with him. For centuries civilized man (so-called) existed according to the principle of the survival of the fittest, the strongest, or the most unscrupulous. And when, about 200 years ago, clever men began to look analytically for the first time at our economic system, they marvelled at the workings of this principle. Hating despotism and oligarchy, they decided that freedom was the ultimate good—freedom to buy and sell land, labour, and capital; freedom to put houses, roads, and factories anywhere one pleased; freedom to employ labour, fix terms of employment, and make any goods—rubbish or not—that could be flogged in markets at home or overseas.

Because this freedom worked well enough in its early days and helped Britain to launch its industrial revolution, it was regarded by economists and political philosophers as the infallible recipe for prosperity, something akin to Holy Writ. And yet, as I have said, it was merely an extension of the law of the jungle. And we are still suffering under it. Many people, most perhaps, in Britain believe passionately in *laissez-faire* or freedom from government intervention; so 'planning' is a dirty word, and so is 'bureaucracy'. And when planning of some kind becomes unavoidable, to avoid total chaos, it is tackled piecemeal; the right hand not knowing or caring what the left is doing. So we close down railways without having anything like enough roads to replace them and without getting ready to cope with a vast increase in car production; we plan a Channel tunnel that would cause industrial and traffic congestion in the south-east when at the same time we are trying to get industry to move north. And worst of all, we continue to apply only one test when judging the worth of any productive activity—does it show a good profit?

Of course when we are really up against it, really in trouble, as in time of war, we abandon *laissez-faire* as quickly as possible. Then we have to plan. The Government takes over and tells manufacturers what they can and cannot make; it sees that everyone gets a fair share of the food and clothing available; and it pulls in taxes to pay

for all the instruments of war that cannot possibly show a profit. *Laissez-faire* could never win a war, and we know it, but as soon as peace comes we rush back to 'business as usual' and freedom from planning at breakneck speed. For we are so stupid that we blame planning for all the hardships of war, the shortages, the rationing, and the austerity.

It is my belief that communism, more than anything else, has prevented Britain—and America—from making the economic and social progress available to us over the past forty years. The example of communism has terrified us, scared us out of our wits. For communism, in Russia and elsewhere, has proved so ruthless, economically and politically, that it has made us deeply suspicious of every element in its composition, even planning. For many of us planning is a euphemism for plotting, and we will have none of it. The bogey of communism is real if fear of it converts a rational democratic people into a haunted nation of reactionaries and non-planners.

SO I return to the question 'must everything pay?' And my answer is that it need not. Our costing methods are outdated if we think exclusively in terms of pecuniary margins. We should think rather of social accountability. We cannot measure in money the good conferred by hospitals, schools, the postal services, public transport, and the rest. A wise democratic people tries to measure efficiency not by profits but by the intangibles of social worth. The manufacture of shoddy goods may show a profit and at the same time debase aesthetic standards, and induce widespread frustration, dissatisfaction, and ruinous scepticism. A decision to make the postal service pay may lure a Ministry into such follies as encouraging superfluous letter-writing, telephonic chatter, and 'owner-or-occupier' literature and samples. And 'making the railways pay' could (it already has) involve us in the closure of railway stations, the cutting of services, the abolition of comforts, and a general lowering of morale.

In an age of advertised material affluence we ought to be turning our attention away from the nicely calculated less or more of private accountancy, of profit and the profit motive, towards the far more complex matters of social accountability, to priorities and the old Benthamite doctrine of 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number'. When we ask 'must everything pay?' we ought to add, surely, 'pay whom?'

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Does Capitalism Work?

ONE of the traditional socialist criticisms of capitalism has been that it is wasteful and inefficient, and that the sheer need for efficiency in society would lead to its inevitable abolition. The fact that this criticism is not made so stridently nowadays is a consequence of several factors. Firstly it was a predominantly Marxist approach, stressed by "scientific" socialists, while the libertarian schools of thought were more concerned with the inhumanity of capitalism than its inefficiency in the technical sense. These Marxist currents of thought in turn favoured nationalisation as an alternative, either as part of the transition to communism, or as a permanent feature of the social democratic society that they hoped to establish. The wind was therefore taken out of the sails of the inefficiency argument when it became obvious that nationalised industries were no better in that respect than private capitalism.

At the same time one of the most frequent arguments of Conservative and Liberal supporters is just the opposite, that private capitalism, whatever its faults, is efficient, as a result of competition and the urge of the profit motive. When they have nothing else left they can fall back on the argument that "whatever you say about capitalism, it does work."

In view of that, it is interesting to see a short book* written by a man with right wing sympathies, in which he describes at length the preposterous waste, inefficiency of organisation and folly that goes on in British capitalist industry. The book itself is a disgrace to its publishers, being written in a careless jargon, and its arguments sketched in vaguely and never clinched. In discussing analogue computers, the author states that they "have considerable uses in industry", and "are only of limited applications", within five lines of print.

*What's Wrong with British Industry?, by Rex Malik. Penguin Special, 3s. 6d.

However, when the reader penetrates the fog of clichés, Malik's criticisms of British industry appear to centre on (a) its structure (b) the activities of the managerial branch and (c) the relations between private industry and the state, in those areas where the state is a dominant customer.

Although his account is full of invitations to get down to fundamental thinking, Malik himself never asks or states what assumptions should be made in discussing industry. There is the pervasive use of the pronoun "we". We have to export this, concentrate on that, expand and grow here and there, which is typical of the popular press, and implies that there is some overall interest in the background which everyone should be serving impersonally. This gives his critique a completely false ring. For instance he points out that each of the large companies in the electrical engineering field has its finger in every pie, resulting in short production runs, small plant, and similar uneconomic consequences, he assumes that this is a bad thing for "us". However, if one takes the point of view that each of the directors and shareholders of these companies probably thinks of success in terms of maximising his own profits and dividends and not in terms of this vague national interest, one would perhaps congratulate them on devising such an inefficient system that half a dozen companies are each making the profit that one would be making in a more rational ordering of capitalism! The anarchist case in that where a tiny minority in a society hold the power in their hands, that is held by the directors of the large engineering groups, they will and do use it in their own social and financial interests, and not in those of the people as a whole. The situation is essentially one of conflict and the only solution that anarchists are interested in is one which takes this power out of the hands of the minority.

A similar criticism can be levelled at

Malik's discussion of the other two points listed above. Surely enough has been written on the social problem of managerial power, to cause a writer to think twice before rushing into print with a naive cry that the managers ought to be doing their job more effectively. It is possible that conserving their own freemasonry and power structure, and befuddling the control of industry so that they are in control rather than workers, scientists or consumer interests is precisely what the managerial class wants. Also, apart from the fact that every penny spent (or in real terms every minute of thought and labour) put into guided missiles and military aircraft is wasted except to the warfare state, the long run of fantastically expensive failures in these fields might seem like economic disasters, they have undoubtedly been godsend to the profiteers in the aircraft and missile industries, the civil servants whose parasitic jobs depend on military contracts and in another more unfortunate way they have been behind the expanding employment of workers and scientists in many fields, who feel adverse effects when the institutions manufacturing them are closed down.

The point is that it is impossible to evaluate such a fundamental aspect of society as its industrial structure without evaluating the society itself. Why are all the goods being produced and who decides which and how? The state demands an armaments programme and capitalism requires that production should be organised for profit rather than for need. Despite the limitations of his style, and without being in any way opposed to the system, Malik has produced a damning indictment of the mess that the government, the bosses and the managers have got industry into.

While the basis of anarchism and libertarian socialism will continue to be, as it should be, based on human desires rather than on economic calculations, it is as well to remember that the

defence of the state, capitalist competition and the social power-seeking of different factions do lead to a terrible waste of labour, skill and materials, and that a rational society based on production for need would put an end to this waste. However complex the anarcho-syndicalist ideal of interlocking federations of worker's councils may appear, it would never make such a mess of things as pettiness and bureaucracy does among the managers of today. P.H.

ELECTION ANTHOLOGY—II

SOME DEFINITIONS

Elector. One who enjoys the sacred privilege of voting for the man of another man's choice.

Vote. The instrument and symbol of a freeman's power to make a fool of himself and a wreck of his country.

Politics. A strife of interests masquerading as a contest of principles. The conduct of public affairs for private advantage.

Politician. An eel in the fundamental mud upon which the superstructure of organized society is reared. When he wriggles he mistakes the agitation of his tail for the trembling of the edifice. As compared with the statesman, he suffers the disadvantage of being alive.

Suffrage. Expression of opinion by means of a ballot. The right of suffrage (which is held to be both a privilege and a duty) means, as commonly interpreted, the right to vote for the man of another man's choice and is highly prized.

Conservative. A statesman who is enamoured of existing evils, as distinguished from the Liberal, who wishes to replace them with others.

Justice. A commodity which in a more or less adulterated condition the State sells to the citizen as a reward for his allegiance, taxes and personal service.

AMBROSE BIERCE,
The Devil's Dictionary.

A QUESTION OF PRIORITIES

Continued on page 4

of beef Argentina can produce for home consumption and export. So this year we shall receive 40,000 tons less, a deficit which will probably be made good by odd thousands of tons British buyers will pick up in various countries by out-bidding local buyers! (And if demand for beef cannot be fully satisfied then as Marie Antoinette might have said, "if you can't buy beef buy pork"—and that will ensure that pork prices to the consumer will go up).

But if droughts and other natural calamities (many of which could be provided for if we concentrated our intelligence and resources on combatting the vagaries of Nature rather than developing the engines for our mutual destruction) reveal these shortages they are, in our opinion, minor evidence compared with that produced by the BUP report from Buenos Aires, and another which states that the demand for spaghetti in Argentina was rocketing, and new factories springing up to meet the demand, because the people were unable to afford even the subsidised "cheap meat" made available by the government.

These two news items sum-up the beef shortages which are the result of unsatisfied "demand" on the one hand and those which would exist if need were to be satisfied on the other. The former can be disguised by the simple expedient of pricing a commodity out of reach of the

Food—at any Price!

THOUGH it could be done it will not be done so long as capitalist values and not needs regulate production and the use to which human skills and natural wealth are put. The fact is that if mankind had to choose between food and shelter on the one hand and motor cars and any gadgets of the affluent society you would care to name (including TV) on the other, they would opt for food and shelter. It is only because a relatively small section of mankind can have both (largely at the expense of those who have neither) that the problems of earning a living are discounted and the argument of socialists and anarchists are pooh-poohed as 19th century hangovers. Those who bask in their artificial prosperity are also the well-remunerated publicists of this El Dorado and use their talents to persuade the rest of humanity that if they have not struck gold it's their fault, their "bad luck", which they must accept as a fact of life. And so long as humanity can be conned into believing that the best they can do for themselves is to give their vote to one of these word-spinners, the longer will the major problems remain unsolved and the physical hardships and unhappiness of mankind prolonged.

We are rapidly reaching the end of the road where because the relative prosperity of the industrial worker is bought at the expense of food production, large numbers of people could afford cars and gadgets but not an honest-to-goodness joint once a week, because there wouldn't be enough to go round.

Mr. Wilson for the Labour Party says that "we should be producing more of our own beef" and maintains that this could be assured by

excess "demand". It is clear that most of us in this country can at present afford a week-end joint not because it is subsidised by the tax-payer (who is the tax-payer if not the public?) but because so far we have been able to import as much meat as we liked to supplement home-production. This did not mean, however that all meat exporting countries had vast surpluses. It meant, if we take the case of Argentina, that large sections of the population could not afford to buy meat on their earnings—or to put it in terms Fleet Street would understand, that the *gringo* (the Britisher, the foreigner) could afford to pay higher prices than the Argentinian for local raised meat. And because, in 1964, Argentina is just that much better off than starving Paraguay, her buyers are now busily outbidding the local buyers in Paraguay's cattle markets! Apart from revealing the vicious circle which only alarms Fleet Street when they get a taste of the medicine this country was the first to prescribe for world consumption, it underlines the existence of a gross shortage of essential food which cannot be written-off, fobbed-off or solved by economists, politicians and other money jugglers for very much longer if only for the obvious reason that as well as the hungry millions who live and die hungry, food shortages will hit the "have" countries in due course as well if nothing is done now to aim at doubling world production of food.

long-term guarantees to British farmers. We would trust Mr. Wilson's intentions more if he showed less inclination to appease the industrial monopolists, and declare his party's determination to make the best use of our natural wealth in the interests of the people of this country, those of the countries which make up our deficiencies and those of a former Empire whose potentialities were bludgeoned into serving primarily British affluence and not their own.

The "crash-programme" needed is one which switches priorities from industrial investment (car-gadget-war-production) and exports to the concentration of our keenest brains and our resources on the best utilisation of our land resources, for our own needs. When Mr. Wilson calls for increased beef production here which he says we are "capable of doing at competitive prices", he makes it clear that the Labour Party no more recognises the fundamental problem than the Tories, which is that we must produce more food, not at "competitive prices" but more food at any price. A starving man is concerned with keeping alive at any price, but in the world today there are hundreds of millions waiting at this very moment for death as a release from the agony of remaining alive.

And our Press is beefing about a meat crisis; and the politicians are engaged in a mutual slanging match in view of the autumn elections; and much of the public following in their footsteps say all the "right" things. None spare a thought—a practical thought for the millions of living-dead of this exciting but despicable world we have inherited and are doing nothing to change for the better.

WHITSUN saw demonstrations of recklessness, irresponsibility, bad manners and sheer bloody-mindedness. Lord Chesham urged the necessity for tolerance in the very difficult conditions. Authorities were "appalled", the situation was described as "horrible and ghastly". Prayers were called for, also a Royal Commission. "The problem is too serious to be left in the hands of well-meaning amateurs... "It is high time we looked at this matter in a scientific way and tried to do something fundamental about it". So said Mr. George Craddock, M.P. He was speaking of the eighty-eight deaths on the roads at Whitsun, the highest figure yet. In Sweden seventeen were killed, in France 'at least' eighty-three, Denmark four, Holland seven and in West Germany an estimated one-hundred-and-fifty....

DR. GEORGE SIMPSON magistrate of Margate bestrode his court like a colossus and handed out fines totalling £1,800 for a series of incidents over the holidays between what the newspapers termed "mods" and "rockers". As Dr. Simpson said, "The deplorable part of the pattern of their behaviour is their lust for destruction and for interference with other people. And, of course, this stupid rivalry between what they call Mods and Rockers." Many of the offenders in Margate and Brighton and in many other places where police or press identified the possibility or presence of gang-trouble, youths were fined, imprisoned or sent to detention centres (which have a 50% record of returns). The police spokesman of Margate said of the second day's arrests, which totalled only four, "With a little patience and understanding the policemen on the beat have been able to keep down the number of arrests. It could have been many more but tolerance seems to have paid off." The Mayor of Margate said, "These louts have far too much publicity. Publicity does the harm... I admit the newspapers did not bring them down. But they gave them the publicity they expected. Adults who crowded around and watched them must also share the blame"....

THE *Observer* REPORTS on a "deterrent" weapon site at Vandenberg Air Force Base on the Californian coast where there are missiles which can kill the entire population of Moscow or Leningrad. The British are ready to launch the Blue Streak rocket from the range at Woomera. In Southern Arabia 500 refugees, mainly women and children, have entered the Federation to ask for food. This marks a stage in the success of the British campaign against "the rebels". Claire Hollingsworth in the *Guardian* refers to a campaign to "isolate the rebels from their villages and agricultural land" and refers with

CONDITIONING

IN anarchist discussions, the term "conditioning" is often used, usually with the suggestion of an effective but ill-defined process which may be regarded as the cause of behaviour. The behaviour under discussion—anti-social, authoritarian, submissive, or whatever—is said to be the result of conditioning; or people are said to have been conditioned to do such-and-such. The indiscriminate use of the word shows that some confusion exists, which I shall try to remove.

We must first distinguish the everyday from the technical or psychological use. The general meaning is of a stipulation, or making something dependent upon something else; a second meaning is that of bringing something into a given state. Thus one might say that a person's expenditure was conditioned, i.e. limited, by his income; or that a roadworker became conditioned to the sound of the pneumatic drill, meaning that he became accustomed to it. Clearly such uses as these may be relevant to social or political behaviour. But it is important to note that they do not constitute explanations. That they are often felt as doing so is probably due to a confusion with the psychological use, which is much more limited. Here it is usual to distinguish two processes, known as classical and operant (or instrumental) conditioning. Both are methods of bringing about changes in behaviour. Classical conditioning is the better-known outside psychology. It is the method of I. P. Pavlov, and is concerned essentially with reflexes: that is, responses that are automatically elicited by a specific stimulus, and are not under the voluntary control of the subject. The original example is that of salivation.



charming feminine delicacy to putting down "prophylactic fire". Far from all the 'lust for destruction' of Mods and Rockers is the *Sketch's* picture of a captured Communist hitched to an armoured troop-carrier and being dragged through a stream in South Vietnam in an attempt to make him talk. A builder's labourer aged 24 was kept for nine hours in a police-cell at Horfield, Bristol. It was claimed by his father that the cell was half the size of a jury box and had an iron gridded door always locked, and a hard wooden bed with no mattress or pillows and only a fanlight above the bed. He had been arrested on 'suspicion of larceny' but he gave no further information to the police and was eventually released on bail. The day before he was due to surrender on bail he shot himself. 22-year-old Joseph William Masters is due to hang for capital murder at Walton Prison, Liverpool on June 5th or 6th. Protests are being arranged; details from Barnaby Martin, Peace Action Centre, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, via Warrington, Lancs., Telephone FRODSHAM 2385....

AN EX-SERVICEMAN'S ASSOCIATION in Auckland, New Zealand denied the incident contained in a book *Armageddon 1918* wherein it was said that New Zealand troops massacred Arabs in Surafend, Palestine in 1918 as a reprisal for a thief who shot a New Zealand trooper. The secretary said an enquiry should be held "while there are some men alive who know the facts. Ours is a story of intolerable provocation and murders of our own troops". A Mr. Davidson said it was a lie that New Zealand troops were responsible. He said that Australian troops organised the raid an Australian led it, and it included Australians, New Zealanders and Scots. A Dunedin man said that he helped to lay out 61 dead Arabs after about 250 soldiers had raided the village and massacred the menfolk....

A MEMBER OF the Northern Territory Legislative Council, in Melbourne suggested a special tax on all Australians "to pay for the sins of their forebears

against the aboriginals." It was quoted in *Friendship Universal* (U.S.A.) that "Maybe this country would not be in such a mess today if the Indians had adopted more stringent immigration laws". Half the gypsies attending a mass-christening ceremony in England declined to stay when they found press-photographers waiting....

MR. GEORGE BROWN speaking at a lunch in Birmingham to open a project for factory-built houses said (referring to the chairman of the builders), "You ended up as being a decent capitalist by bowing down before the press. You need them but I get by. There they are, they give themselves every benefit of the doubt. They misrepresent and distort everything any good man has said. I am sure they do it according to their light. It is about the best I could say for them. Being a good Anglican myself, what I think they need is a period of confession and of communion, and maybe then there will be hope for them, too." The Birmingham Branch of the National Union of Journalists protested in "the strongest terms" at the reference and called for him "to withdraw immediately and in entirety his unwarranted and irresponsible comment aimed at the integrity of journalists and made in the presence and to the embarrassment of thirteen members of this branch." A Labour Party spokesman quoted Mr. Brown as saying that it was a light-hearted joke....

MR. JOHN DAVIES chairman of the Rank Organisation addressing the annual conference of the Advertising Association, said that if the Labour Party intended to "wage political war" on advertising it should say so. He said it was rumoured that a quarter of what a company spent on advertising might be disallowed as a business expense. Whatever Labour intended, people had a right to be told. The "mainspring of Britain's expanding economy would be broken". Mr. Davies called critics of advertising, enemies, reactionaries whose spiritual home was in the feudal system, foolish, de-bunkers, detractors and "ignorant people who spare no effort to damage us, even though it be at the expense of our nation". He insisted that selling and advertising were suitable professions for gentlemen, and seemed hurt to have to mention one "appalling fact" which had come to his notice—that a number of people who earned their daily bread in advertising "do not believe in it" and are at best a little ashamed of it....

MR. PAVEL SHAKHOV the Russian delegate to the Colonialism Committee of the United Nations said, "We have an old Ukrainian saying to the effect that something is rotten in the state of Denmark".

JON QUIXOTE.

dogs, can have their reflexes conditioned. But the process is only of limited application: reflexes are relatively simple in character and few in number; the pairing procedure must be frequently repeated, or the results disappear; and the conditioned behaviour is not really the same as natural behaviour. Classical conditioning is thus unlikely to be of direct importance in discussions of social or political behaviour. (There is some evidence, however, that it plays a part in the formation of character traits, and it may thus be indirectly important.)

Operant conditioning is associated with the name of B. F. Skinner, a contemporary American psychologist. It involves presenting the organism with a situation such that a specific operation results in reward or reinforcement. The many experiments that have been

Continued on page 4

Aspects of Anarchism

"VISAGES de l'ANARCHIE", Ernestan, Paul Gille, C. Zaccaria, Manuel Devaldes, *Pensée et Action*, 3s. 6d.

FOR those who can read French, and want an introduction to different aspects of anarchist thought, this collection by various authors would be very suitable. Anarchism is, unlike most other political philosophies, or perhaps one should say social philosophies, not a single current but several. This leads to some of the confusion which surrounds anarchism in the popular mind. Each socialist party has its "line". There may be considerable differences between those who hold to this "line", but these differences are about secondary matters, not about essentials. Whereas about the only thing on which anarchists are agreed is that government is a bad thing. At a gathering of a dozen of them there will be at least thirteen or more different opinions,

which is confusing to an outsider. Yet these people with their widely divergent views can work together well, and when splits do occur in the movement they are rarely along easily perceivable lines of difference in theory. There will be syndicalists, individualists and communists on both sides of the gap.

In this, anarchism is unique in Europe, and is more like a complex of religions and philosophies such as Hinduism, all the more so in that anarchism is more a way of life than a political creed.

In this collection of essays Ernestan expounds the theories of William Godwin, Paul Gille studies the evolution of libertarian ideas with an optimism which recalls Kropotkin, and which I cannot, honestly, wholly share, Manuel Devaldes explains individualism with a much greater simplicity than Stirner seemed capable of, and there is a discussion of the works of Ernestan and a piece by Hem Day. A.W.U.

Counter-Gripe

DEAR COMRADES,
We must not, of course, indulge in any in-group humour, or I would comment upon the split infinitives and inability to write clearly that John Pilgrim has learned since going to school again. Perhaps the editors should have 'sorted out those bits' for him, but the trouble is that the door is then open for more gripes about censorship. . . .

However, I hope I may be allowed to get a few gripes about Pilgrim off my chest just for once. They have been accumulating for some time also.

He amuses me really, in an in-group kind of way, and one giggle I have is the predictable way in which he can be relied upon to react when ever FREEDOM speaks up for itself. The snipes and gripes against the paper bring nothing from him but muttered support from the sidelines, but my defence of our editor last year brought threats of resignation, and now our statement on our relationship to the movement makes him sorry. Although he thinks FREEDOM terribly important, it seems that our importance lies in being the kind of shop-window where our goods are tastefully arranged and where the blinds are drawn whenever the models have their clothes changed. No suggestion must be allowed to escape that behind the shop window there may be a shopfull of real live people.

He doesn't threaten to resign, etc., because he doesn't agree with us—but because he thinks we mustn't say things to upset people. It used to be comrades that we mustn't upset, but now it seems that, in common with Mary Canipa, he thinks we must always ask ourselves, before printing anything, 'What does this say of anarchism to a stranger'.

For Christ's sake don't let's upset any strangers. Don't say anything naughty about reporters for fear of upsetting reporters, don't let's say what we really think about Christian churches and their support for authority and militarism in case we upset any Catholic ex-military policewomen who may otherwise be persuaded to be converted to anarchism—or at least take out subs to our journals.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

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- Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
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★ LETTERS ★

Don't even let's say what we think about our relationship with each other in case we upset each other.

What kind of people does Pilgrim want us to be? What kind of mealy-mouthed, respectable, toeing-the-line, sycophantic hypocrites is he suggesting we should become in order to conform to his concept of the 'new anarchist'?

Well, by me, Johnnie, no thanks. And another thing—FREEDOM was not justifying its position when it published that statement on its relationship to the movement. Justification is not necessary. It was clarifying the position as asked for. And the pomposity-pricking 'Seated One Day at the Organ' was also asked for.

London, N.W.1. PHILIP SANSOM.

Bristol Bourgeois?

DEAR COMRADE,

While I am glad to see that Bristol Anarchists have started an anti-conscription campaign, their leaflet "Do You Sleep with your Girlfriend?" seems to me a childish piece of attention-mongering. At our first meeting of the A/C Campaign in Glasgow I saw it for the first time.

Of course it's true that many sleep with their girlfriends, and a few months

TO COMMEMORATE THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

SOME comrades have thought it would be a good idea, to commemorate the outbreak of the Spanish Revolution.

The upstairs room of the Pindar of Wakefield, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1, has been acquired for the evening of the 18th July, from 7-11 p.m. A number of entertainers (Sidney Carter, David Thomas, Karl Dallas, etc.) have promised to appear, if available.

There will be a small charge for admission—yet to be decided. Profits, if any, to go to the funds of the Anarchist Federation of Britain.

Any comrades with talent wishing to entertain the company are invited to telephone John Rety, GULiver 3902. Small modern jazz group especially wanted.

FINGS

Demonstration

June 6th (Saturday) 3 p.m., Foreign Office, Whitehall. Demonstration against Aden action. Proceeding to Smith Sq., 5 p.m. (optional) "Young Socialists" Anarchists are advised to bring their own posters and slogans.

Homer Lane Society

Can you help the Homer Lane Society with its project to establish a Community for Disturbed Children. Write to Roy Frye, 14 Ainger Road, N.W.3, for further information.

Demonstration

June 20th, "On site Inspection" of A.W.R.E., Orfordness, to find out if our Prime Minister is telling the truth about running down the production of weapons grade fissile materials, as we have reason to believe that this A.W.R.E. is being expanded. Market Place, Aldeburgh, 12 noon. East Anglia Committee of 100.

Accommodation.

There is a cheap double room available in an anarchist household. From June 26th for three months. Please write to Pete Hoida, 5 Colville Houses, Notting Hill, London, W.11.

Direct Action Decorators

For workers' control and active peacemaking. Decorators, electrical, carpenter, signwriter, etc., available for work on mutual aid basis. Jobs wanted.

D.A.D. 168 Station Road, Hendon, N.W.4. HEN 0422.

Anti-Polaris

Two-day March, June 27th and 28th. Faslane. Details CND 4 Frederick Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

French Libertarian Camp

Utilibus hired from 7th August to 22nd August. Shared cost. Seats still available. Details, Albon, 55 Station Road, Hailsham, Sussex.

Anti-election campaign has advanced to Putney border of Fulham. So meet middle of Putney Bridge, June 1st, at 7.30 for leafletting door-to-door.

"Freedom" sellers wanted for Street-corners, Hyde Park and public meetings. Get in touch with Peter Turner, c/o Freedom Press.

If you think that your 'fings' are worth inclusion in this column let us know. . . .

later they may both be sleeping with someone else; however, worry about infidelity has never seemed to be a strong theme in anarchist thinking, on the contrary many think it bad to be "tied" permanently to one person. Who do you think you're kidding?

Here we have the typical attitude of the bourgeois male—he's entitled to turn to prostitutes when away from his girlfriend, but for her to sleep with someone else is quite another matter!

My main point, however, is that this leaflet plainly regards girls as "for sleeping with only". One of the things I found refreshing among the libertarian left was that the men treated you as a

CONDITIONING

Continued from page 3
done have for the most part used birds or small animals, and the required operation is the pressing of a bar or key. Any action within the animal's ability, however, is equally amenable to the method. Unlike the classical method, nothing is elicited; the subject is free to make any response, although only those that bring about the specified operation will be rewarded. Another difference is that, by suitably arranging the frequency with which reward follows the operation, it is possible to render behaviour extremely persistent, so that eventually the subject will continue pressing the lever, etc., literally thousands of times with no reward at all. Like classical conditioning, this method can also be applied to humans; and like the former also, it has been offered as a general explanation of behaviour. Anyone who has seen a fruit machine being played will have seen an example of persistent lever-pressing for little or no reward. And indeed operant conditioning does seem to give a plausible account of several puzzling sorts of behaviour such as gambling and superstition. And many little habits such as eating at the same table every day, persistent tricks of speech, etc., can be shown to have a history of reinforcement, and to be amenable to alteration by operant methods—at least as long as the subject is not aware of what is being done.

I do not know of any evidence that either method is deliberately used by those in power to control behaviour in general, although, as in gambling, some of the mechanisms of operant conditioning may be inadvertently involved. Also, there is a certain amount of semi-deliberate use in work situations. This is no doubt partly due to ignorance, and more to the difficulty of arranging sufficiently controlled conditions in everyday life. This in turn may be traced both to the technical problems and to human nature, which is fortunately complex and variable.

However, this should not be allowed to conceal the fact that the danger of control of human behaviour is probably greater now than ever before in history. In the first place, conditioning techniques are effective in certain circumstances, particularly where many variables can be controlled. Such conditions are to be found in bingo halls, prisons, and schools. They form an essential part of the so-called "brain-washing" methods. In the second place, because human behaviour cannot at the moment be altered and controlled in a simple way, does not mean that this cannot be done in more complicated fashion. Just

POOR WEEK!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT MAY 23rd 1964

EXPENSES: 21 weeks at £70	£1,470
Sales & Sub. Renewals	£
Weeks 1-20	1,104
Week 21	45
	1,149
New Subscriptions:	
Weeks 1-20 (100)	106
Week 21 (3)	4
	110
	1,259
DEFICIT	£211

DEFICIT FUND
Hayes: Anarchist Group* 2/6; Stranraer: J.N. 10/-; London: G.M. 1/-; Worsley: P.B. 1/15/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Luton: J.L. 7/6; Exeter: J.L. 10/-; London: Victoria* 10/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; London: B.L. 10/-; Huddersfield: P.A. 10/-; Trinidad: V.R. 10/-; Dunblane: T.H. 2/6; Paris: G.M., N.M. 10/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-.

TOTAL 7 17 6
Previously acknowledged 351 0 11
1964 TOTAL TO DATE £358 18 5

*Denotes Regular Contributors.

whole human being, not only as a prospective bedmate, an attitude common among our "better classes". You were not expected to leave serious talk to the men, and you never heard the words "Don't you bother your pretty head . . ."; you were, in short, given your rightful place, neither demeaned nor exalted.

The attitude in this leaflet, comrades, of male superiority is nothing but shocking in a movement supposed to be egalitarian, and shows that some comrades have not outgrown their bourgeois outlook. They shouldn't leaflet until they do.

Yours fraternally,
Glasgow, May 15. MARIA FYFE.

as physical means of coercion are at their most powerful stage yet, so is psychological knowledge more advanced than at any other time. So too is the technological apparatus necessary, especially of course the mass media of communication. The reader may like to refer to "Techniques of Persuasion" by J. A. C. Brown (Penguin, 1963) for a review of this field, although Brown expresses what is in my view an unjustified optimism.

Behavioural scientists, more even than others, have the responsibility of ensuring that their knowledge results in greater freedom, and not in exploitation. J.K.R.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

Birmingham Group

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

Birmingham (University)

Dave Chaney, 7, Birches Close, Moseley, Birmingham, 13.

Birmingham College of Commerce Anarchist Society

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

PROPOSED GROUPS

HAYES & DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP

Contact Mike Wakeman, 12 Hoppner Road, Hayes, Middlesex.

COUNTY OF STAFFORD TRAINING COLLEGE

John Wheeler, C.S.T.C., Nr. Stafford, Staffs.

HEREFORD

Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close, Hereford

MANCHESTER

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

MERSEYSIDE

Details from Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13. (STO 2632). Every Saturday 2.30. Outside Lewis's paper-selling.

SHEFFIELD

Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

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

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

Freedom weekly

FREEDOM is published 40 times a year, on every Saturday except the first in each month.

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ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

Secretary: Arthur Uloth, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m. MAY 31 Eric Lister on:

Art for Freedom

JUNE 7 Brains Trust

JUNE 14 To be announced

JUNE 21 Albert Meltzer on: Is an Anarchist Daily Paper Possible? ALL WELCOME

Notting Hill Anarchist Group

Secretary N.H.A.G., 5 Colville Houses, London, W.11.

Public Meeting: British Oak Public House, Westbourne Park Road, Friday, June 5th, 7.30. Speaker: Brian Hart.

Bristol Federation

Irregular meetings—enquiries to Ron Stuttle, 9 Cornwallis Crescent, Bristol 8.

Cambridge Group

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

Dundee Group

Contact Rod Cameron, 6 Westfield Place, Dundee.

Edinburgh Group

Enquiries—Anne-Marie Fearon (Top flat), 31 Scotland Street, Edinburgh.

Glasgow Federation

Meets every Thursday, 8 p.m. 4 North Frederick Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

Oxford Group

Contact N. Gould, Corpus Christi.

Romford & Hornchurch

Contact John Chamberlain, 19 Chestnut Glen, Hornchurch, Essex.

Tunbridge Wells Group

Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at J. D. Gilbert-Rofle, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex.

Plymouth

8 p.m. Fred Spiers, 35 Ridge Park Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.

Reading

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

Tyneside Federation

Enquiries: Dave Wallace, 64 Belford Avenue, Horsley Hill, South Shields, Co. Durham.

1st Friday of each month at Ann Davidson and Dennis Gould's, 4 Benhams Place, N.W.3. Beginning March 6th.

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

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

Wimbledon S.W.19, Third Saturday of each month. 8 p.m. Phone WIM 2849.

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